The Soul of a Nation: Swordsmanship in Japan’s Modern Period

by

Isaac Joseph Meyer
Class of 2010

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Wesleyan University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts with Departmental Honors in History

Middletown, Connecticut April, 2010
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Looking back at this project, I can safely say that it was the hardest thing I have ever done. This thesis has required me to branch into everything from translation to statistical analysis, and I could not have completed it without assistance.

William Johnston helped me refine the original idea for this topic into something worth using, and helped me choose what two documents to work with. If not for him, I would still be madly scrambling for a work to translate.

Judith Brown gamely took on a thesis outside of her area of expertise, and proved to be an invaluable resource. She helped me with editing, checked my dismal mathematics, and most importantly helped me spot the kind of mistakes that can only be born from trying to mash ones thoughts onto paper at 11pm after two cups of coffee and an espresso shot.

Terry Kawashima helped me edit the horseback combat chapter of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan. She assisted me with the very important technical vocabulary that, surprisingly enough, is not taught in a Japanese textbook.

Azusa Saito of Duke University assisted me with nayomi, or the style of kanji readings used in names, during my stay in Hakodate, Japan. This skill proved invaluable while translating the Kendōka Shashin Meikan. Her assistance allowed me to avoid hours of scrambling through kanji dictionaries, giving me time to actually go out and experience Japan as something other than a two-month long study session.
Akiko Hatakeyama gave up a great deal of her sparse spare time as a graduate student to help me edit both translations. She patiently answered basic kanji questions and assisted me in turning barely understandable Engrish into something I felt confident appending to a thesis.

David Sperling of the Hebrew Union College and Clare Huang of Yale University both proofread earlier versions of this work. They graciously and kindly proofread my drafts and caught some very impressive grammatical mistakes, and accomplished both with unequaled wit and kindness.

George McCall, despite never having met me when I first contacted him a year ago about an old translation of his, went out of his way to help me assemble translations and images relating to my subject. He has been an immense help to this project, and is a credit to amateur historians and fans of history everywhere.

Last, but certainly not least, I would be remiss if I did not thank my friends and family for their constant support and encouragement. If not for their constant support, the idea of being close enough to the finish line to be writing an acknowledgments page would seem like a distant, laughable dream.
Table of Contents

Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Work .................................................................1
  Background ...........................................................................................................4
  Conclusion ............................................................................................................21

Chapter 2: An Analysis of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan ..................................................23
  The “Modern” Meiji Military ..............................................................................24
  A Unifying Experience .......................................................................................29
  Spiritual Warriors ...............................................................................................36
  The Katana in a New Age of War ......................................................................39
  The Art of the “Army Sword” ............................................................................44
  A New Weapon for the New Age .......................................................................51
  The Modern Mounted Samurai .........................................................................55
  A New Samurai for the New Age ......................................................................60

Chapter 3: An Analysis of the Kendōka Shashin Meikan .......................................68
  “This Thing Called Kendō” ...............................................................................69
  An Organization of Martial Virtue .....................................................................82
  A Conflict Without War .....................................................................................85
  The Embodiment of the Japanese Spirit ............................................................90
  Hanshi ..................................................................................................................98
  Kyōshi ...............................................................................................................104
  Seiren-shō ..........................................................................................................109
  Conclusion .........................................................................................................116

Chapter 4: Modern Japanese Swordsmanship and Conclusions .............................121
  “Kenjutsu” in the Pre-War Period and Beyond ..................................................121
  “Kendō” in the Pre-War Period and Beyond ......................................................125
  Conclusions .......................................................................................................130
Appendices ......................................................................................................................... 140
  Appendix A: Kenjutsu Kyōhan ....................................................................................... 140
  Appendix B: Kendōka Shashin Meikan ....................................................................... 164
  Appendix C: A Glossary of Japanese Terms ................................................................. 217

Bibliography ...................................................................................................................... 222
  Primary Sources ............................................................................................................. 222
  Secondary Sources ........................................................................................................ 225
CHAPTER 1: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE WORK

Several years ago, while working on a paper about the link between Zen philosophy and the practice of the martial arts (budō in Japanese), I noticed that there was almost no academic work on the subject of budō. A wealth of “first hand” accounts by practitioners were available, but aside from a few articles from the 1980’s and two or three books, I realized that there was practically nothing available for use on the academic level. This project has its origins in that realization.

As I quickly discovered, this omission has in turn allowed the practitioners themselves to write their own histories, and the result of that tendency has been a massive distortion of the historical record of budō. In one particularly memorable instance, two authors purporting to be seriously investigating the history of martial arts practice in Japan describe a style called “kijutsu”(気術) that allows the practitioner to strike down his opponent using only a shout.\(^1\) Even the more earthly depictions of the martial arts are often bogged down in half-truths and fabrications about the ancient origins and mystical attributes of the martial arts. For example, one book written by a practitioner of kendō ascribes the origins of the art to pre-Nara period Japan (c. 400 CE)\(^2\) when in fact the samurai class focused their training on the yumi (弓 bow), yari (槍 spear) and later teppō (鉄砲 firearm).\(^3\) Indeed, the katana (sword) did not become an important aspect of samurai training until the beginning of the 17\(^{th}\) century and the 250-year Pax Tokugawa.\(^4\)

---

4 Ibid., pp. 508-509.
These are, of course, only a few of the many examples of half-truths and legends regarding the martial arts being passed on as fact by practitioners with no historical training. These “facts” have even pervaded the academic circle. In one particularly memorable instance, an archaeologist named Myra Shackley studying graveyards in Zaimozuka, Japan that contained bodies of warriors from the Battle of Kamakura (circa 1333) drew the rather dubious conclusion that most warriors were high class samurai killed quickly by blows directly to the head (a feature of kendō that was not commonplace until the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century) that there was evidence of adherence to battlefield ethics (respect for the bodies of the dead, individual duels between combatants, a refusal to strike the opponent from behind, etc) and that most blows were delivered by a sword.\(^5\) Shackley also suggested that the head injuries found on the wounds were consistent with non-helmeted combatants, stating that helmets ran against the warrior ethic of the times and that no depictions of samurai from the period show them wearing helmets.\(^6\) In fact, combat in that period was usually limited to horse archery or pole-arms, both of which are more effective from horseback than a sword, and most of the bone damage recorded is too deep to be a cut from a sword, and is much more likely to be pole-arm based. The force involved also suggests horseback charges rather than individual duels.\(^7\) In addition, when discussing helmets Shackley completely ignored the evidence contrary to her theory; in fact, there is a great deal of evidence, including depictions of combat from the period, to contradict her claims.\(^8\) Finally, the lack of

\(^5\) Ibid., pp. 507-509.  
\(^6\) Ibid., p. 513.  
\(^7\) Ibid., p. 512.  
\(^8\) Ibid., p. 514.
injuries to the back of the head is consistent with foot soldiers defending a fixed position against a cavalry charge, which certainly seems a more plausible explanation than strict adherence to a “warrior ethic” in the heat of battle.⁹

As the Shackley case shows, misconceptions about *budō* and its history are so pervasive that they have had detrimental effects on our ability to comprehend the position of the warrior and warrior ethics in Japanese history. In order prevent mistakes like those above, we must first begin to investigate seriously and then debate the history of the *budō* throughout Japan. That is, in fact, the reason I began this project. Though historians have made inroads recently in investigations of the martial arts¹⁰, there are still very few historians working on the project, so I felt compelled to contribute to it in my own small way.

Of course, it is difficult to contribute new research to a field if you cannot work directly with primary sources, and since so few of those have been translated that meant working in the original Japanese. Since my Japanese is not up to the vagaries of the pre-modern language, my work was confined from the start to the modern period. Fortunately, one of the options left to me was arguably the single most important moment in the history of *budō*: the shift during the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taishō (1912-1926) periods, during which the martial arts evolved from the exclusive domain of the *samurai* class into an aspect of the *tennōsei idiorogii* (*Imperial Rule System*) and a part of the cultural heritage of all Japanese.

---

⁹ Ibid., p. 515.
¹⁰ Examples of such researchers are Karl Friday of the University of Georgia, Meir Shahar of Tel Aviv University and G. Cameron Hurst of the University of Pennsylvania.
Translation, especially from Japanese to English, has always fascinated me, so I decided to combine my two interests; I would translate a number of pieces related to my subject from Japanese to English, complete with commentary, and then discuss the issues related to my topic that those pieces brought up.

Within this work I structured my inquiry around two important questions: Why would the government take a practice that was traditionally associated with a minority of the population and emblematic of the warrior government that the Meiji Restoration had overthrown, and turn it into a component of its plan to create *shimin* (subjects) of the *tennō* (Emperor) out of the Japanese people? And why did the Japanese accept this ill-fitting “graft” on to their culture?

This thesis does not pretend to be a definitive work on the subject of *budō* or its relationship with ideology during the modern period. Such a definitive study would be the work of a lifetime and require linguistic skills far beyond my own. Yet, I hope that my contributions, however small, can at least help begin the process of understanding this critical moment in the history of Japan.

**BACKGROUND**

Before proceeding to the central topic it is necessary to discuss the historical background of the period, so as to understand the changes, both domestic and foreign, that brought about this revolution in the practice of *budō*.

**The Tokugawa Bakufu**

In September of 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu led his retainers and allied *daimyō* (the Japanese term for a feudal lord, lit. “Great Name”) from eastern and northern
Japan against a coalition of southern and western daimyō under the command of Ishida Mitsunari. Ishida fought to preserve the rule of the young Toyotomi Hideyori over Japan, while Tokugawa sought to take control of the country himself. The two sides met at the village of Sekigahara in modern Gifu Prefecture, and the Tokugawa alliance won an overwhelming victory after six hours of continuous fighting. In the aftermath, Tokugawa Ieyasu cemented his control of Japan and eventually declared himself shōgun, the supreme military ruler of Japan.11

In the 250 years of peace that followed were often referred to as the Edo Jidai12 or the Pax Tokugawa. During this period the samurai warrior class ruled (theoretically) over the entire country, which was divided into han (domains). These han were nominally subservient to the bakufu, or central Tokugawa government. This arrangement was referred to as the bakuhan-sei (bakufu/han system).13

During this period, the samurai class enjoyed supreme authority over all aspects of government. One of their most prominent status symbols was their martial training. Toyotomi Hideyoshi banned ownership of weapons by non-in order to prevent peasant revolts, and the Tokugawa bakufu continued to enforce that prohibition for the next 250 years. Gone was the social mobility of previous generations, as a hierarchical class structure was put in place and strictly enforced by the samurai monopoly on “legitimate” (i.e. government-supported) violence.14

The samurai monopoly on the koryū (古流 lit. “old flow,” a term for the pre-

12 江戸時代, named for Edo, the capital city of the bakufu which would eventually be renamed Tokyo.
13 Ibid., pp. 33-35.
modern variants of Japanese martial training) was further supported by the teaching system of the *koryū* itself. Secrecy was a strong component of *koryū* tradition, to prevent “corruption” of techniques and to add exoticism and desirability to a particular school or teacher’s style.\(^{15}\) Any commoner who was able to obtain a weapon would still have enormous difficulty finding a teacher willing to show him how to use it.

We have evidence for this prohibition across a remarkable array of primary source documents. For example, in 1645, only half a century after Sekigahara and eight years after the Shimabara Rebellion (the last major challenge to Tokugawa authority and the event that precipitated Catholic expulsion from the islands)\(^ {16}\) Miyamoto Musashi wrote in his *Go Rin no Sho* (五輪の書“Writings on the Five Rings”), a treatise on swordsmanship that, “. . .the Way of the Warrior does not include other Ways.”\(^ {17}\) According to Musashi, members of other classes had their own “Ways” and their own implements of accomplishing those Ways, and must be contented in them. The *koryū* were best left to the warrior to possess.\(^ {18}\)

To take another example, Yagyū Munenori, instructor to the Tokugawa shōgun and head of the *Yagyū Shinkage* (柳生新陰“Yagyū New Shadow”) school of swordsmanship, wrote in his *Heihō Kaden Sho* (兵法家伝書“Heirloom Writings on Tactics”) that , “this volume is to be taught and learned…and need not be detailed in writing. . .for someone who has mastered the combat maneuvers listed here, copy this


\(^ {18}\) Ibid., pp. 8-10.
volume for him…as proof that he is a student of this school.”19 This sends a very clear message about the intent of the work. This is not a work for enlightening the masses. It is a symbol of the school, showing that its possessor understands the secret knowledge passed down therein.

These two texts are of course only two of the plentiful sources available. They are, however, particularly valuable for our purposes because their authors, Musashi and Munenori, were practical opposites both in their styles of swordsmanship and in their social standing. Musashi’s Niten Ichi (lit. “Two Heavens One Sword”) was very simplistic and devoid of any unnecessary movement,20 stressing natural reaction rather than rote memorization of techniques.21 Munenori’s Yagyū Shinkage, in contrast, revolved around learned recollection of specific maneuvers for specific situations, hardly the sort of flowing response encouraged by Musashi.22 In addition, the two swordsmen enjoyed very different relative social positions; Yagyū Shinkage was, as mentioned earlier, the style taught to the Tokugawa shōgun, a position of no small prestige,23 while Niten Ichi did not have sponsors.24 For the two of them to agree on excluding non-samurai from learning or practicing koryū must mean that it was accepted across nearly all of the samurai class.

Outside of the samurai class, the belief in the exclusive samurai monopoly on violence and martial training was so widespread that it even began to pervade popular works for the masses. An excellent example is the Kanadehon Chūshingura (仮名
手本忠臣蔵 (lit. “Written Treasury of Loyal Retainers”), a bunraku puppet play that fictionalized the famous 47 Rōnin Incident, and arguably one of the most famous works in the Japanese literary canon. In one of the final scenes, as the rōnin venture out to avenge their dead master, Gihei, a merchant who has sheltered and assisted them, laments that he cannot join them in their revenge. He then says that he wishes he too were a samurai, for, “even if my stipend had been a mere handful of rice, I would…go with you.”

Such behavior, however, is outside the realm of his class, and no amount of wishing on his part can change that.

Actual practice of the martial arts during this period can be divided into two parts. During the first, in an attempt to prevent their martial skills from atrophying during the peace many masters began to codify the techniques they had utilized in combat, essentially choreographing those techniques so they could easily be taught to novices. This style of instruction eventually became known as kata (型, lit. “form”). The memorization of both single and pairs kata became the mark of the talented practitioner, and advancement in many schools of martial arts became dependent on one’s ability to perform kata flawlessly and in an aesthetically pleasing manner.

Many practitioners, however, objected to the kata system on the grounds that rote memorization would create a warrior incapable of reacting to new situations or of improvisation. This led to an alternative form of practice that became considerably more popular: the use of protective gear and wooden/bamboo equipment in order to allow for non-lethal sparring. This training technique became known as shinai.

uchikomi keiko (竹刀打ち込み稽古) and developed a strong following among several schools of swordsmanship.\textsuperscript{27} Yet, it too had critics, who alleged that the style was too sportive and divorced from actual combat.

Clearly, the samurai monopoly on violence had by this point evolved from a political prohibition designed to protect those in power into an accepted fact of everyday life, one which few were prepared to challenge. By the mid nineteenth century, however, the Tokugawa order was beginning to wane and great changes, both for Japan and the koryū, loomed on the horizon.

**The Boshin War and the Meiji Restoration**

By the nineteenth century, the Tokugawa hold over the han began to weaken as the government cash reserves ran lower and lower after the mid eighteenth century and the various han governments began developing increasingly independent policies. In particular, the lapse by the early nineteenth century of sankin kotai (参勤固体), a system whereby all daimyō were required to maintain a residence in Edo where they kept their families and which they were required to reside in for one year out of every two, allowed the daimyō considerably greater freedom of decision compared to the early Tokugawa years.\textsuperscript{28}

At the same time, the threat of the West began to loom over the horizon. The Tokugawa forces could, in theory, call on a fairly sizable army of 40,000 troops which would be further supplemented by the forces of the han governments, but these forces were composed entirely of individual samurai with no practical experience in group maneuver or combat along the lines of a Western militia or professional force. In

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. 63.
\textsuperscript{28} Totman, p. 292.
addition, the Tokugawa government had ceased upgrading the weaponry of its troops after the end of the Sengoku wars in 1615, with the result that it still wielded a mix of shock troops and firearm-equipped light infantry along the lines of a Renaissance army. The firearms used were matchlock designs and smooth bore cannon, both 16th century designs. As a result, the Tokugawa had no practical chance of resisting an armed incursion by the West. Thus the lamentation by the Neo-Confucian scholar Aizawa Seishisai in his Shinron (新論 New Theses) in 1825: “The Great Powers are dividing up the earth. Today we find ourselves alone in a hostile world; we defend a solitary castle under attack by enemies who erect fortresses along our borders. . .this is the situation facing us today. We must adjust to it. . .”

The First Opium War (1839-1842) further drove home the weakness of the East Asian political order vis-a-vis the West. Qing China, long the center of the Asian political system, was humbled by a combined foreign force of British, French and American warships and soldiers. Even the mightiest power in East Asia proved unable to withstand the ironclad warships, rifled weapons and superior drill of Western militaries; that being the case, what chance did a peripheral state like Japan have?

The immediate bakufu response was to declare a policy of firm refusal towards all overtures for new trade. In addition, the bakufu ordered all han to fire

31 Totman, p. 287.
immediately on any ship that approached their ports without authorization;\textsuperscript{32} however, this hard line proved unenforceable, as fear of Western retaliation forced the shōgun to relax his policies.\textsuperscript{33} The issue reached a head in 1853, when Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the United States arrived in Edo bay and demanded the opening of ports to the United States, as well as most-favored nation status for American traders. Similar treaties with Britain and France soon followed, and by 1859 the American consul, Townsend Harris, was using the threat of the Franco-British forces currently engaged in the Second Opium War to browbeat the bakufu into even more concessions.\textsuperscript{34}

These concessions discredited the bakufu attempts to maintain control of the situation. To make matters worse, young groups of samurai called shishi (“activists”) began an active insurrection against the Tokugawa government in the 1860s. The shishi justified their acts using nativist rhetoric and calls for sonnō jōi (尊皇攘夷 “honoring the emperor and expelling the barbarian”), relying on kokugaku (国学) scholarship (a linguistically nationalist style of literary analysis that came into being in the Edo Period) as a justification for their actions against both foreigners and the bakufu, which in their mind had betrayed the nation through their concessions to foreign governments. Eventually, the bakufu began to see the shishi as a greater threat than the foreigners, resulting in the complete disintegration of any sort of unified front.\textsuperscript{35}

At the same time, the bakufu began to adopt Western models of warfare,
forcing *samurai* to abandon traditional models of warfare in favor of Western-style drills using breech-loading rifles, and even in some instances allowing commoners to serve within *samurai* units. All of this further alienated the *samurai* class from their government and at the same time destabilized the balance of power between the *bakufu* and the *han*, touching off an arms race.\(^{36}\) From this point on, it was only a matter of time until the issue boiled over into open conflict.

In the end, it was the southwestern *han* of Tōsa, Satsuma and Chōshū, all of which had been on the losing side at Sekigahara, that forced the issue. Declaring their intention to restore rule to the *tennō*, the Japanese emperor who had lost power to the *samurai* in the 12\(^{th}\) century but was retained as a ceremonial figurehead, the three *han* armies marched to liberate the country from the *bakufu*. In the resulting conflict, known as the Boshin War (named for the year it occurred in the sexagenary cycle imported from China), the Imperial forces trounced the *bakufu*, gaining control of the country in only two years.\(^{37}\)

The new government declared the Meiji Emperor to be its head of state, and promulgated the Charter Oath, a document outlining the aim of the new government to modernize itself in the face of the foreign threat.\(^{38}\) The oath was made directly to the goddess *Amaterasu-ōmikami*, from whom the *tennō* was supposedly descended,\(^{39}\) and consisted of five separate oaths: to establish “deliberative assemblies,” to unite the classes in “vigorously carrying out the affairs of the administration of state,” to allow the common people to pursue positions within the new government, to break

\(^{36}\) Ibid., p. 292.

\(^{37}\) Gubbins, p. 63.

\(^{38}\) Ibid., p. 68.

off “evil customs” of the past, and to “seek knowledge” from across the world in order to “strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.” The Westernizing outlook of the Charter Oath was almost certainly an attempt to curry favor with the Great Powers, though the call for equal opportunity was likely an attempt by the lower-ranking samurai of the ruling cabal (particularly Ōkubo Toshimichi, Saigō Takamori and Kido Takayoshi) to ensure themselves fair access to government positions, rather than any sort of embrace of Western-style populism.

The martial practices in this period were not markedly different from those under the bakufu; however, as would be expected after 200 years of peace, the combat skills of the samurai class had declined markedly during the Tokugawa Period. Faced with peace, the samurai had reverted from warriors to bureaucrats. The Laws Governing the Military Houses, the code of conduct set out for samurai by the bakufu, is indicative of this change; the 1615 version encourages martial practice with a long commentary extolling martial virtue, but the 1635 and 1665 versions remove the editorial and replace it with a simple injunction that “arts of peace and war should be pursued single-mindedly.” By 1683, Article 1 simply calls for the practice of civil and military arts, loyalty and filial piety. By 1706, it was reduced to “One should practice the ways of peace and war, clarify morality and adjust customs.”

During the Boshin War itself, though both sides would occasionally arm commoners in a return of conscription practices dating back to the Nara Period (712-794 CE), the call up was treated more like a feudal military tax than a 19th century

40 Gubbins., p. 70.
41 Shimazu, p. 32.
levée-en-masse. After all, neither side was centralized enough to manage a full
conscript army.\textsuperscript{44} The leadership of the military continued to be confined to samurai
or shizoku\textsuperscript{45} families, and the leaders of both sides in the Boshin War were samurai.\textsuperscript{46}
Martial and physical training remained the hallmark of the elite. Prior to the late
1870s there was not even a physical education curriculum for the school system.\textsuperscript{47}
The changes that would introduce budō into the popular sphere would not occur until
the Meiji government had thoroughly established itself.

Meiji Japan

The Meiji Period covered the years from the end of the Boshin War to the
death of the Meiji-tennō,\textsuperscript{48} a 44-year span (1868-1912). During these 44 years,
Japan went from being an isolated backwater facing imminent absorption into a
European empire to being an imperial power in its own right, an industrial nation and
a de facto (if not fully recognized) great power.

The creation of this “New Japan” and the much-romanticized “departure from
Asia into the West” began with a ground-up restructuring of the power system put in
place by the bakufu. By the early 1870s the han were abolished and replaced with
the modern to-dō-fu-ken divisions (都道府県 roughly translated: districts and
prefectures) that are still in use today, a mandatory education system up to the
equivalent of middle school was established, and the former daimyō were ordered to

\textsuperscript{44} Hyman Kublin, “The 'Modern' Army of Meiji Japan,” \textit{The Far Eastern Quarterly} 9, No. 1 (1949), p. 23
\textsuperscript{45} Shizoku 士族 was a term used during the Meiji Period to refer to former samurai families after the
class system was formally abolished
\textsuperscript{46} Totman, p. 296
\textsuperscript{47} Donald Roden, “Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan,” \textit{Modern Asian
Studies} 28, No. 3 (1994), p. 515
\textsuperscript{48} In Japan, Emperors have a personal names (Mutsuhito, Yoshihito, Hirohito, Akihito, etc.) and a
regnal name assigned to them at the time of their ascendency to the throne and by which their
regnal period is known (respectively Meiji, Taishō, Shōwa, and Heisei).
give up their tax income to the new state, dissolve their domain armies and relinquish their titles.\textsuperscript{49} To enforce all these changes, the government established an 8000 man army with the primary purpose of supporting the new reforms and preventing an attempt by any _han_ to seize power and establish a new _bakufu_.\textsuperscript{50} Of course, the Imperial government also hedged its bets by appeasing as many figures from the old system as it possibly could. When the _han_ were dissolved, many _daimyō_ found themselves appointed to governorships and other prestigious positions in the new system. Indeed, even the ousted Tokugawa were eventually granted a spot amongst the peerage.\textsuperscript{51} For many _daimyō_, the new arrangement was in fact preferable to the old, because they no longer had to support large retinues of _samurai_ directly out of pocket.\textsuperscript{52}

While the government was extremely successful in controlling former _daimyō_ and other high-ranking members of the old government, its policies proved less effective against the middle and lower-ranking _samurai_. It was, in fact, from this quarter that the government faced its earliest direct challenges; during the 1870s Etō Shinpei, Maebara Issei and Saigō Takamori all led revolts composed mostly of _shizoku_ who had lost a great deal of their income and prestige as a result of the abolition of the _bakuhan_ system. In particular, the government decision to forcibly commute stipends for _samurai_ into a one time (and extremely meager) severance payment as well as the passing of the displeasure (anti-_samurai_ laws)\textsuperscript{53} pushed many

\textsuperscript{49} Totman, p. 299.  
\textsuperscript{50} Hyman, p. 22.  
\textsuperscript{51} Totman, p. 299.  
\textsuperscript{52} Kublin, p. 25.  
\textsuperscript{53} The _danpatsurei_ prohibited the wearing of the _katana_ and _wakizashi_ swords, long the symbol of _samurai_ status.
former *samurai* towards open revolt. In the largest of these revolts, Saigō Takamori led 20,000 men from Satsuma in a march on Tōkyō. All of the rebellions, however, were eventually put down by the government, which made use of the new conscription laws of 1873 to raise massive numbers of troops and overwhelm the *samurai*. Though these troops were not particularly well trained, and in a few notable instances were so poorly supplied that they were forced to fight hand-to-hand instead of with rifles, the defeat of the *samurai* rebellions was seen as a major victory for the new army. Even the failure of an ill-planned invasion of Taiwan in 1874 could not dampen enthusiasm for the new conscript force, which had proven itself by triumphing over the professional *samurai*.

From this point on, the army and (to a lesser extent, because of the considerably greater resources involved) the navy grew meteorically. The influence of the military became even more disproportionate after the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889. In an attempt to seal off the armed forces from “political meddling” the Emperor was made military commander-in-chief, thus making the armed forces only peripherally responsible to the civilian government. It was during this period that the army also inserted itself into the educational system. In 1886 the monbushō (文部省 ministry of education) announced the adoption of the *heishiki taisō* (兵式体操 military exercises), a series of military-drill inspired

54 Doak, p. 62.
57 Kublin, p. 21.
58 Hoyt, pp. 11, 13.
59 Lone, pp. 16-17.
aerobics that were mandatory for all students and led by a member of the military reserve.  

Victory in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) further bolstered the popularity of the military and established Japan as an imperial power.  
By 1905 Japan controlled Taiwan, Korea, southern Manchuria, Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands, an impressive feat considering that a scant few decades before Japan itself was under threat of conquest.  
Combined with the first successful revision of an unequal treaty with a Great Power (specifically the United Kingdom) in 1894, this string of successes put the Meiji government in an extremely popular position.

It is in this period that we find the first appearances of budō in its modern incarnations. The dissolution of the samurai class and the creation of the conscript army ended the samurai monopoly on physical training and violence. Many teachers of the koryū bujutsu were forced to adapt themselves to a situation where the training they offered was no longer necessary for soldiers. To borrow from modern usage, it served no purpose to bring a sword or a bow to a gun fight. Many teachers chose to take advantage of the influence of Western sports. Their teachings, they insisted, were not just for samurai and others nostalgic for the past, but could provide a person with the virtues of dedication, teamwork and perseverance needed to survive in the modern day. We know that the Japanese government subsidized the establishment of the Butokukan (Hall of Martial Virtue, named after a training hall in

---

60 Roden, p. 515.
61 Totman, p. 312.
62 Lone, p. 3.
63 Gubbins, p. 208.
Heian-period Kyōto), a training hall for budō, and the associated Dai Nihon Butokukai (Greater Japan Society of Martial Virtue) in 1895, which makes it clear that the revival of the gendai budō (modern martial ways) as the modernized styles were collectively known, did not occur without government consent. Indeed, Adachi Hatazo, an officer in the Imperial Japanese Army, recorded in his diary that during his time in cadet training in the first decade of the 20th century he was required to study both jūdō and kendō. There was also a movement to revive the practice of swordsmanship in the Japanese police forces. In particular, the Tokyo Police Force, led by its director Kawamichi Toshiyoshi, made a policy of hiring instructors to teach sword combat to recruits.

Unfortunately, a combination of the still-prevalent secrecy surrounding martial instruction and the great loss of records as a part of the destruction of the Second World War leaves us with very little in terms of direct evidence of these changes or the exact degree to which change was a result of government patronage rather than individual initiative. Of all the material that may have once existed pertaining to the teachers from this period, the only extensive material that remains is on Kanō Jigorō, who systematized jūdō (lit. “the gentle art,” a grapple-heavy style of unarmed combat) out of the disparate elements of jūjutsu (a koryū style) and Western-style wrestling while incorporating aspects of modern physiology.

As demonstrated above, it is during this period that the modern budō appear

---

66 Hurst p. 157.
67 A firsthand account of a Westerner's encounter with Kanō Jigorō can be found in: Joseph I.C. Clarke, Japan at First Hand (New York: Dodd, Meade & Company, 1918), pp. 66-68.
for the first time. Almost immediately afterwards, the organizations responsible for supporting the *budō* developed a rapport with the Japanese government, particularly its military and (as will be discussed later) educational branches. These ties continued to grow and flourish as Japan left the Meiji period.

**The Taishō Period**

On September 12, 1912, Japan saw the largest ceremony in its history, marking the funeral of the Meiji Emperor and the enthronement of his son and successor Yoshihito (who took the regnal name Taishō). The reign of the Taishō Emperor was much shorter than that of his predecessor, lasting only from 1912 to 1926. On his death, his son assumed the throne and the title of Emperor Shōwa, though he remains better known to the West as Hirohito.

This period was both a high and low point for Imperial Japan. On the one hand, marginal military participation by Japan in the First World War brought great returns in terms of political capital; Japan was granted a permanent seat on the Ruling Council of the League of Nations, and gained a mandate over former German holdings in China and Micronesia. On the other hand, those same successes in China led to a backlash against Japan among the Chinese population, beginning the rift between the two countries that would eventually end in war. In addition, the beginnings of a two-party system and an attempt to liberalize a political system dominated by the ruling elite created a great deal of instability. In the 14 years of the Taishō period the country was rocked by a political crisis in 1913, rice riots in 1918, a depression following the end of the war and riots in Korea, accompanied by

---

69 Totman, p. 428.
70 Ibid., p. 429.
the rise of the Socialists and Bolsheviks in Japan.\textsuperscript{71}

It is not surprising then that in an attempt to solidify its control of what was proving to be an increasingly volatile nation, the government turned in part to education as a means to control its populace. In turn, \textit{budō} became an increasingly important part of that education. Following a 1908 decision by the Imperial Diet, \textit{budō} was added to the educational curriculum in 1911, with \textit{jūdō} and \textit{kendō} becoming fully implemented aspects of education by the 1912 school year.\textsuperscript{72} Part of the stated goal of this education was to mold pupils into \textit{kokumin} (citizens) through the application of both Western-style competitive ethic and the infusion of “samurai spirit” into the daily lives of Japanese.\textsuperscript{73} In order to facilitate this new infusion of \textit{budō} into Japanese education, a vast increase in the number of certified instructors was needed. For \textit{kendō}, these instructors were provided by the \textit{Dai Nihon Butokukai}, which established a school for their training. The school was established in 1905 as the \textit{Bujutsu Gakkou} (School for Military Skills), but changed its name to the \textit{Bujutsu Senmon Gakkou} (Special School for Military Schools) in 1912, and finally to the \textit{Budō Senmon Gakkou} (Special School for the Ways of Combat) in 1918.\textsuperscript{74} Thus, the \textit{Butokukai}, the education system, the creation of virtuous \textit{shimin} (subjects) and the instruction of \textit{budō} were all strongly linked. This link in turn further strengthened the hand of the \textit{Butokukai} as the controlling force behind most \textit{budō}, with the organization claiming a membership of of 1,740,000 by the second

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., pp.370-371, 429.  
The addition of *budō* to the nationwide curriculum required a nationally consistent structure for the arts. As the educational curriculum had been standardized in the Meiji Period, so was the curriculum of *budō* standardized by the *Butokukai* during this period in order to ensure that the instruction its teachers provided would be identical across the country. For example, the *kata* (forms, essentially prearranged movements designed to instill unthinking correct response to a given attack) of the various schools of *kenjutsu* were all reviewed by a board of *budō* instructors from the *Butokukai* in 1912 (with Kanō Jigorō holding a seat as Vice Chair), and ten were selected and modified to be the standard *kata* for *kendō*, which all *Butokukai* instructors were required to teach.

Thus, by the start of the Taishō Period, *budō* practice was an established aspect of Japanese education, and would remain so until it was prohibited by the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers (S.C.A.P.) after the Second World War. From being an ostracized aspect of Japan's benighted feudal past in the years following the Meiji Restoration, the *budō* had grown into an expression of quintessential “Japaneseness” to the point that they were included in the educational curriculum and became the focal point of an organization with a membership close to two million.

**CONCLUSION**

This, then, is the great transformation that occurred during the imperial period;

---

75 Guttmann and Thompson, p.107
76 Ibid., p. 107
in the space of fifty years, budō went from the outmoded legacy of an extinct and highly exclusive social class to the cultural property of all Japanese and a focal point of the understanding of “Japaneseness” as it was understood and professed by mainstream ideologues. By translating, footnoting and analyzing two texts from the period, I hope to contribute to our understanding of this fascinating change that occurred in such a short time. In other words, I wish to explore the involvement of the martial arts in what Carol Gluck described as the Japanese government’s move to take control of the country via the appropriation of national myths. If, as, Yamagata Aritomo wrote, the goal of the Meiji government was “[to insure that] in due course, the nation will become one great civil and military university,” then my goal, to extend the metaphor, is to discover in what way the two texts described below fit into that university.

The first of these texts is the Kenjutsu Kyōhan (Manual for the Teaching of Kenjutsu). Published in 1909, it is an army sword manual containing descriptions of how to teach the basics of swordsmanship to army officers (recruits were not instructed in such techniques). The second is the Kendōka Shashin Meikan (Photographic Record of Kendō Practitioners). It is a record book containing profiles of kendō practitioners who had been awarded special titles by the Butokukai. The volume was published in 1925, at the tail end of the Taishō period.

---

77 Gluck, p. 5.
78 Ibid., p. 15.
CHAPTER 2: AN ANALYSIS OF THE KENJUTSU KYŌHAN

The Kenjutsu Kyōhan (剣術教範, Manual for the Teaching of Kenjutsu) is a manual on the basics of armed combat published for use by instructors in the Japanese military in 1909. Though no author is explicitly given, the first page states that the text was approved by the Minister of War, Field Marshall (and future Prime Minister) Terauchi Masatake (also read Masakata), the Minister of War from 1902 to 1912, most famous as the man who browbeat the Korean monarchy into accepting annexation by Japan. It was published, presumably under the auspices of the government and Ministry of War during the zenith of Japanese military and imperial power and only four years after the great triumph of the Russo-Japanese War. It is divided into three sections: one on general practice, one on guntō (軍刀, saber) and one on jūkenjutsu (銃剣術, bayonet drills). Each of these sections is further subdivided into parts that contain small paragraphs on a specific topic (stances, techniques, etc).

The Kenjutsu Kyōhan was published by the Buyōdō (武揚堂, “Hall of Martial Study”), a publishing firm founded in 1897 that still exists today. Interestingly, the name of the publishing company itself is a reference to pre-Restoration Japan; in the Tokugawa Period education system, a han school would usually contain a Buyōkan (武揚館).
武揚館, “House of Martial Study”), a term for the section of the school responsible for training in traditional methods of combat.7

The study of a sword manual used by a twentieth century military may seem rather pointless at first glance. After all, modern warfare rarely allows the individual soldier a chance to use so esoteric a weapon as a sword. The significance of the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*, however, goes far beyond the practical techniques demonstrated therein. In fact, the work is more correctly viewed as a sort of microcosm of the Japanese military institution in itself -- on the one hand, a thoroughly modern army that had just won a great victory in a modern war, and on the other a fighting force whose leadership, if not method, was very much grounded in the ideas, aesthetics and ethics of their not-too-distant feudal ancestors.

**THE “MODERN” MEIJI MILITARY**

As suggested above, the first question to raise about a work like *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* is: why would the military bother to write it at all? In an age of warfare dominated by howitzers, machine guns and mass infantry charges, the idea of Terauchi’s Ministry of War taking time to teach one-on-one swordsmanship to an officer seems at best rather nostalgic and at worse wasteful and dangerous. After all, such instruction was not likely to be of much use in the trenches or on the field.

Yet, it is important to remember that at this point in history, swordsmanship remained an important badge of distinction in the officer corps of militaries worldwide. Though the vicious trench warfare of the Russo-Japanese War had

---

inaugurated the system of modern warfare that would lead to the mass slaughter of
the First World War, the militaries of the early twentieth century were still only fifty
years removed from the Charge of the Light Brigade in time, and even less in
mindset. The strains of Tennyson, “When can their glory fade / O, the wild charge
they made”\(^8\) still echoed through the minds of the officers who had fought in the
Crimean War, and consequently through the minds of the new generation of officers
they themselves had instructed. The Japanese military, trained as it was by Western
professionals, was just as susceptible to this kind of thinking as a Western
professional force. To provide an example from the Russo-Japanese War, a
“symbolic” attack by the Japanese on a fortress outside Liaoyang on the date of the
Emperor's birth failed to obtain its objective at the cost of 4,800 casualties.\(^9\)

This sort of hidebound thinking was especially prevalent in the officer corps
of the early twentieth century military establishment, and nowhere was that outlook
better epitomized than in swordplay. For example, Henri Maginot, the officer whose
name would forever be associated with the apex of outmoded military theory and a
contemporary of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan, was a fanatic devotee of fencing during his
time in the military, going so far as to instruct his own sister in order to provide
himself with an opponent. On the other side of the Channel, a young officer in the
British Army by the name of Winston Churchill was well known for his devotion to
“the fencing,” having practiced it since his time at Harrow.\(^10\)

If this attachment to the sword, the old symbol of the “nobility of combat,”

---

8 Alfred Tennyson, “The Charge of the Light Brigade.” At Wikisource.org,
10 Cohen, pp. 215-216.
was strong across the world, nowhere was it more evident than in Japan. The Meiji military, though armed and organized in a modern Western fashion, was still in one particular way the spiritual successor of the bakuhan armies. Its officer corps was composed almost entirely of shizoku (士族, the Meiji Period term for a family from what had once been the samurai class).\textsuperscript{11} From the time of its inception the Imperial military had been a refuge for samurai. Originally, it was composed of four divisions of samurai “donated” to the Emperor by various han,\textsuperscript{12} and even after the Conscription Act was passed and the rank-and-file squads and divisions filled entirely with commoners\textsuperscript{13} the officer corps remained composed almost entirely of samurai, and later shizoku.\textsuperscript{14} This officer corps was in turn dominated by men from the Satsuma and Chōshū-han, which together had contributed the largest number of troops for the overthrow of the bakufu. To provide an illustrative example, after the Russo-Japanese War the men in the highest positions of power in the army were Yamagata Aritomo (Chōshū), Kodama Gentarō (Chōshū), Terauchi Masatake (Chōshū), Kuroki Tametomo (Satsuma), Nozu Michikane (Satsuma), Kawamura Sōroku (Satsuma) and Nogi Marutsuke (Chōshū).\textsuperscript{15}

Those among the officer corps who had been schooled in a pre-Restoration han academy, exemplified by men like Katsura Tarō (a future Prime Minister) and Tōgō Heihachirō (who led the Japanese fleet to success at Tsushima and trounced the

\textsuperscript{11} Drea, p. 75
\textsuperscript{14} Harootunian, p. 48

26
Russian Baltic Fleet), would have received the traditional Neo-Confucian education of the *samurai* class, complete with training in traditional styles of unarmed combat, swordsmanship and the use of the bow and arrow. Those born after the Restoration, such as Yamashita Tomoyuki (who would later gain fame as the “Tiger of Malaya” for his leading role in the seizure of the British colonies that today comprise Malaysia and Singapore at the start of the Second World War) would have gone through military academies such as the *Kainan Chūgakkō* (海南中学校, a former *han* military school where Yamashita received his education). These quasi-military academies used *hakama* (袴, the traditional *samurai* leggings) as part of their formal dress code and included instruction in traditional combat as well as rifle and artillery training in their curriculum. As late as 1931, the Imperial Army contained a “School of Military Arts” responsible for teaching “fencing and unarmed combat” as well as rifle shooting and gymnastics to officer candidates, as well as special preparatory schools that functioned in lieu of a normal high school; students applied, were admitted and instructed in both traditional combat and values and modern military techniques, and upon graduation were eligible candidates for an officer rank.

It is particularly worth noting that the group of revolutionaries such as Saigō Takamori, Itō Hirobumi, Itagaki Taisuke, and others, who were most directly responsible for the overthrow of the *bakufu* and who took control of the government

---

16 Lone, pp. 6-7; Hoyt, p. 21.
17 Hoyt, p. 137.
18 Ibid., p. 119-120.
19 Many Japanese writers of this period, when discussing *kendō*, *jūdō* or other native combat traditions, will use terms like “fencing” or “Japanese wrestling” in lieu of the Japanese terms while writing in English, presumably in an attempt to meet the Westerner on his own ground.
after 1868 (known collectively as *genrō* 元老) were all educated prior to the
restoration and were all members of the *samurai* class. Many of these men had been
raised from birth to believe in the importance of the *samurai* class and value system.
For example, Yamagata Aritomo was an exponent of the works of Aizawa Seishisai,
an early nineteenth century writer who, in his *Shinron* (新論, “New Theses”) listed as
the most important goal for the defense of Japan against Western “barbarians” the
revival of *samurai* spirit.21 In the *Shinron*, Seishisai speaks glowingly of the
sacrifices of the *samurai* class, especially during the fourteenth century Mongol
invasion, when, “indeed, did anyone not aspire to die ardently in the nation’s
defense?”22 Similarly, both Itō Hirobumi and Kido Takayoshi23 were avid disciples
of Yoshida Shōin, a *samurai* revolutionary who was eventually executed by the
*bakufu* in 1859. Yoshida too was an advocate of the importance of the *samurai*
spirit, for “the warrior should keep death constantly before him and have ever in mind
that the one death [that he will face] should not be suffered in vain.” Furthermore,
Yoshida believed that *samurai* ethics were essential for soldiers, since “if [soldiers].
.stand only in one place and face death together, then, though they may have no other
thought than meeting death, they will instead hold on to life and gain victory.”24
Clearly an overwhelming percentage of the *genrō* had been educated to believe in the
importance of the *samurai* philosophy even in a supposedly modern army, and it
would seem that the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* reflects, in part, a commitment to just such an

---

21 Seishisai Aizawa “The New Theses of 1825” in *Anti-Foreignism and Western Learning in Early
22 Ibid., p. 214.
23 Whose name is occasionally read as Kido Kōin.
ideology.

A UNIFYING EXPERIENCE

As stated above, the Meiji military included a great many holdovers from the pre-Restoration forces of the han and bakufu, especially when it came to the mentality of the officer corps; however, one great change made in the Meiji Period drastically altered the concept of warfare among the Japanese.

Prior to 1873, martial training and the bearing of arms were restricted solely to the samurai class. As part of the caste system of the Tokugawa Period no non-samurai was eligible for any kind of combat training.\textsuperscript{25} There is some dispute as to how effectively this prohibition was enforced. For example, records from the Tokugawa Period show commoners enrolled at schools of shinai uchikomi keiko because the teachers were desperate for income from students to avoid losing their schools.\textsuperscript{26} This sportive version of combat, however, remained an exception; the government was very careful to maintain its monopoly on violence and cracked down harshly on any attempts by non-samurai to intrude on it.

The situation changed drastically at the start of the 1870s. The Meiji government, having only recently been established, was in a very unstable position. The continued sovereignty of the emperor rested only on the good will of the daimyō of the Satsuma, Chōshū and Tosa alliance, and in theory any one of those daimyō could withdraw their support and damage the ability of the new government to enforce its proclamations. In addition, as part of a drive to curry favor with the West

\textsuperscript{25} Roden, p. 515.
\textsuperscript{26} Guttmann and Thompson, p. 63.
and as a means to abrogate the unequal treaties of the Bakumatsu period, the government decided to modernize its military apparatus.\textsuperscript{27} Both of these factors came together to influence the promulgation of a law imposing universal conscription in 1873.\textsuperscript{28}

Conscription was not an entirely foreign concept in Japan. During the rampant wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, for example, daimyō would often levy peasants to supplement their armed forces. Indeed, surviving records indicate the use of conscription by the Imperial Court of the Heian Period (795-1185),\textsuperscript{29} undoubtedly the source of Yamagata Aritomo's statement that, “as in ancient times, the farmer and the soldier are now one and the same.”\textsuperscript{30}

From its inception, the conscription system faced a great many difficulties. The original conscription order contained the phrase “blood tax” as a part of the phrasing,\textsuperscript{31} a rather poor word choice that convinced many peasants that the government was out to steal their blood, resulting in local resistance to the first round of conscription orders.\textsuperscript{32} Shortly thereafter the conscript army faced difficulties combating the samurai rebellions of the early 1870s (as was to be expected of an army with only three years of experience) though the conscripts, with reinforcements from the National Police Department as well as the assistance of mercenaries hired by the government, were eventually triumphant.\textsuperscript{33} After its troubled inception, the conscript Imperial Army went on to defeat a force of natives during a punitive raid on

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{Kublin21-22} Kublin, pp.21-22.
\bibitem{Aritomo197} Aritomo Yamagata, “Universal Conscription Ordinance,” p. 197.
\bibitem{Kublin23} Kublin, p. 23.
\bibitem{Yamagata197} Yamagata, “Conscription Ordinance,” p. 197.
\bibitem{Ibid197} Ibid., p. 197.
\bibitem{Hoyt11} Hoyt, p. 11.
\end{thebibliography}
Taiwan in the mid 1870's, and gained worldwide fame as a modern army with its decisive victories in the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War.\textsuperscript{34} The Meiji government had its modern fighting force and with it, the ability to enforce its will in matters domestic and foreign. This success, however, only raised a new problem: how to bind this new force to the government and ensure its loyalty.

The answer to that question was the re-appropriation of the \textit{samurai} legacy of the Tokugawa period, in particular the concept of unquestioning loyalty to a leader. After all, it was only a small interpretive leap to turn injunctions such as “having only wisdom and talent is the lowest tier of usefulness; it is far more important to have a loyal heart”\textsuperscript{35} to the needs of the new government. The government could use symbols of the samurai in order to redefine the old meaning of loyalty of \textit{bushi} to \textit{daimyō} into a new system of loyalty of \textit{shimin} (subject) to tennō. Of all of these symbols, the most prominent was swordsmanship.

As a part of this new policy of building loyalty through the use of traditional symbols and ideas all officers in the army were required to study \textit{kenjutsu} as a part of their stay at the Toyama Military Academy (戸山陸軍学校 \textit{Toyama Rikugun Gakkou}).\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Kenjutsu} was also a required course for naval officer candidates at the Etajima Naval Cadet Academy outside Hiroshima in addition to their standard drills;\textsuperscript{37} however, \textit{kenjutsu} was not, as a matter of course, taught to conscripts. Their training focused instead on more practical aspects of warfare.\textsuperscript{38} In all likelihood, it was simply impractical to teach combat techniques involving a sword to

\textsuperscript{34} Lone, p. 11; Gluck, p. 89; Jukes, p. 81.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p 20.
\textsuperscript{38} Drea, p. 78.
Above: A division of the 1st Japanese Army marching in formation after the Battle of Mukden during the Russo-Japanese War.

Below: Picture of Our Valorous Military Repulsing the Russian Cossack Cavalry on the Bank of the Yalu River by Watanabe Nobukazu. Images courtesy of the Wikimedia Foundation.
a soldier who would not be issued one, especially since the soldier would be rotated out after only a few years and it usually takes several years of practice to build up a basic level of competency in most forms of melee combat.

Instructing officers in kenjutsu served two purposes in the Meiji military. First, as noted in the previous section, swordsmanship was traditionally associated with the samurai class, and thus was among the status symbols of the Tokugawa order. Though that order was now gone, there is no reason to believe that its symbols lost any of their potency, especially since any male born prior to the 1876 disestablishment of the samurai class would have seen the samurai first-hand. That means that until the 1890s, the new recruits of the army would have had direct experience with the samurai and the most direct symbol of their authority, the sword.

Second, kenjutsu was part of the moral education that was crucial to the army's goal. As we have seen, one of the aims of the new government was to find a way to ensure the loyalty of its military and its populace in general. Indeed, the former Home Minister, Suematsu Kenchō, stated in a series of lectures that the most important duty of the new government was “moral education” designed to inculcate the kokumin of Japan with loyalty to the government. The military was an important part of this process as it furthered the moral education begun in the school system. In 1909, the year Kenjutsu Kyōhan was published, the army and navy

39 In early 20th century militaries only officers were issued swords.  
40 The term of service varied throughout the Meiji Period. At the beginning of the conscription system, the period was 3 years. Yamagata, “Imperial Conscription Ordinance” p. 197.  
41 Norman, p. 50.  
43 Ibid., pp. 123-124.
together had 227,687 men in uniform,\textsuperscript{44} and as of 1901 the government was drafting approximately 187,907 men, or 39 percent of the available draft pool, every year.\textsuperscript{45} Thus, as an institution of moral education, the army reached out to approximately 200,000 men every year, meaning that it was an extremely effective method for disseminating the new national ideology of loyalty to the state. In the words of Tanaka Giichi, “the army is the final national school.”\textsuperscript{46}

Though supposedly a wholly modern concept, this moral education was in fact grounded in two facets of Japanese tradition. The first was neo-Confucian, as evidenced by phrases like the following from the 1908 \textit{Guntai Naimusho} (軍隊内務書, Handbook for Army Administration): “The barracks is the soldiers' family where soldiers share hardships and joys, life and death . . . a family means that the company is one household in the one village of the regiment. The heads of the household are the father and the mother. The company commander is a strict father, and the NCO a loving mother. The lieutenants are relatives and in perfect accord with their company commander who they loyally assist.”\textsuperscript{47} The second was lifted from the \textit{bushidō} code. The Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors, with its injunctions to live simply and frugally\textsuperscript{48} is practically a direct translation of the Tokugawa period precept that riches will spoil a good retainer.\textsuperscript{49} In this regard, \textit{bushidō} proved

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{45} Yamagata, “The Army,” p. 117.
  \item \textsuperscript{47} Drea, p. 81.
  \item \textsuperscript{49} Yamamoto, p. 4.
\end{itemize}
particularly effective. One of the many problems encountered in the course of this national education was that Japanese lacked a word for “countrymen”: the nearest equivalent, *kokumin*, had the meaning in the Tokugawa period of people from the same *han*, meaning that the average Japanese identified as the *kokumin* of his native *han*, not as a *kokumin* of Japan.\(^{50}\) The *bushidō* value of loyalty, however, had a meaning understood by all Japanese,\(^{51}\) and transferring that loyalty from *daimyō* to *tennō* proved the most effective method of teaching “loyalty to the state” to the Japanese.

But what relationship does this education have with the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*? As stated above, swordsmanship was a symbol of authority in the pre-Restoration era, and because up until the beginning of the Shōwa Period (1926) most Japanese were only one generation removed from that feudal society its symbols continued to have power even in the supposedly “modern” society of Japan. Indeed, the writings of F.J. Norman, a British national born in India and a former member of Her Majesty's Hussars, indicate that he received considerably more respect from the average Japanese of Tokyo once he took up the practice of *kenjutsu*.\(^{52}\) Though Norman was in Tokyo during the 1890s, almost 30 years after the Meiji Restoration, it is clear that the symbols of the feudal order had not yet lost their potency. In an army striving to inculcate *samurai* values on a nationwide level *kenjutsu* provided the most visible symbol of its *samurai* heritage, and one of the most obvious methods for displaying the usefulness of old ideas in the new order. Indeed, it is no accident that the first

\(^{50}\) Doak, p. 38  
\(^{51}\) Suematsu, p. 127  
\(^{52}\) Norman's birthplace, Mooltan (the modern spelling is Multan) is in modern Pakistan. Norman, p. 44
and most popular war song of the Sino-Japanese War was called *battōtai* (抜刀体, “The Unit with Swords Drawn”), or that prints depicting the story of Captain Higuchi, a Japanese officer who risked his life to save a Chinese girl who had wandered into a battle, nearly always show him with the girl tucked under one arm and his sword in the other. Like the preceding examples, the purpose of the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* was a spiritual, as well as a physical education: to teach officers (and to have the concept trickle down to the recruits) that while the uniforms and equipment of the Imperial Army were modern, it was in many ways a direct descendent of the *samurai* forces of the feudal period. Officer and enlisted man alike were *samurai* serving the their new master, the Meiji *tennō*. Thus injunctions to bow to your opponent before a match, to treat sparring equipment seriously, and carefully check the straps and fittings were more than formalities. They were essential to the continuity and moral viewpoint provided and supported by *kenjutsu*.

**SPIRITUAL WARRIORS**

We have discussed the symbols and ideas behind the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*; now what of its practical application? After all, officers who carried swords on the battlefield might well end up using them one day, and that knowledge leads us to the obvious question: does this manual really teach them how?

Certainly it claims to. Part Eleven of the text stresses the importance of practicing on various types of terrain, a practice only important for those expecting to

54 Ibid., p. 141.
56 Ibid., p. 2.
use swords on an actual battlefield. The text also emphasizes the development of mental poise. Later we will deal with the physical aspects of kenjutsu. For now, our primary interest is in the mental aspects of the text.

What exactly is the mindset endorsed in the text? The basic principle seems to be intertwined with kiai (気合), the shouting that accompanies matches in most martial arts, including modern forms of aikidō, karatedō, jūdō and kendō. The shouting itself is of course not indicative of any type of mental strength, though beyond that basic level of agreement interpreters of budō and bujutsu have a wide range of understandings of both kiai and “mental strength.”

Certainly, as mentioned in our introduction, more fanciful interpreters have credited kiai with a wide variety of powers. One of the more impressive stories is of a samurai who using only the sound of his voice could paralyze a bird in flight without harming it. Undoubtedly, this story has about the same level of credibility as some of the more fanciful tales of Robin Hood or King Arthur in the British military tradition.

A more likely interpretation is that the mental strength encouraged in this instance refers to the morale of soldiers. Morale and its importance in military situations is beyond the scope of this paper and a subject in itself. Suffice it for our purposes to say, that in any form of military engagement troops with high morale will last longer in a fight before breaking or retreating and will be more organized and cohesive during a fight, resulting in greater combat effectiveness. Since there are

57 Ibid., p. 2.
58 Ibid., p. 5.
60 Ibid., p. 94.
publications from the 1930s referring to the importance of the practical, combat-oriented aspects of kendō, it is logical to assume that in a military environment more friendly to the practical aspects of swordsmanship, the practical mental benefits of such practice would be emphasized. In fact, a reading of military documents reflecting on the experience of the Russo-Japanese War reveals that the Japanese High Command considered the seishin (精神, usually translated as “spirit” or “will”) of its soldiers to be one of the decisive factors in their victory, a concept they derived from the emphasis on refinement of the seishin that played such an important part in Edo Period samurai training. More than one member of the General Staff expressed the opinion that victory had been brought about by shizoku officers and their strongly developed tan. The Kenjutsu Kyōhan, for its part, ascribes great importance to developing self-confidence in practitioners.

That is not to say, however, that the more traditional understandings of kiai and kiryoku has no place in the text. On the contrary, a reference to “natural shout” in the text of part 32 indicates that use of kiai during matches was encouraged by instructors of this form of “Army” kenjutsu; however, the text also specifically states that vocalizing on purpose should be avoided. Presumably simply shouting for the sake of shouting is not what the writer or writers of the text had in mind. Indeed, it very likely they were influenced by stories of old masters stopping opponents mid-

63 Humphreys, p. 7.
64 勇 is a character referring to the gallbladder, which in the traditional Japanese understanding of physiology is the source of various spiritual energies. It is usually used in concert with the term 腹 (‘hara’) which refers to the spiritual center of a human being. The importance of tan is underlined by terms such as daitan (大胆, lit. “large tan”) meaning “courage.” E.J. Harrison, The Fighting Spirit of Japan (London: W. Foulsham & Co., Ltd., 1955), p. 104.
65 Meyer, Kenjutsu Kyōhan, p.5.
66 Ibid., p. 4.
combat with a single shout or mesmerizing an opponent with a stare.\textsuperscript{67}

The key to understanding \textit{kiryoku} and “natural voicing” in the \textit{Kenjutsu Kyōhan} is provided by two parts of the text. The first is part 29, which indicates that a good student of \textit{kenjutsu} will be able to respond flexibly to changes in the style of the opponent.\textsuperscript{68} The second is part 30, which states that, “it is better to throw into an attack than to allow the opponent any leeway.”\textsuperscript{69} Taken together, the two precepts reveal the essential nature of \textit{kiryoku}. It is the ability to act aggressively in order both to stop the opponent from taking the initiative to attack and to maintain a level of composure that will allow rapid reaction to any change in the situation. It is, in other words, exactly the type of mentality encouraged in officers and soldiers by most militaries. A soldier with strong \textit{kiryoku} is a soldier with good morale.

\section*{THE KATANA IN A NEW AGE OF WAR}

Having thus discussed the mental aspects of combat in the \textit{Kenjutsu Kyōhan}, we must now turn to the physical movements depicted, which as described in the \textit{Kenjutsu Kyōhan}, can be broken down into two components: techniques derived from saber fencing but utilizing a \textit{katana} and modern techniques based on bayonet combat. Before discussing these, however, it is important to discuss the blade itself.

As mentioned in a previous section, during the Edo Period the \textit{katana} (along with a shorter blade called a \textit{wakizashi}) was considered a sign of \textit{samurai} authority and wearing one was a privilege accorded only to the \textit{samurai} class. After the passage of a series of laws abolishing the stipends and privileges of the \textit{samurai}

\textsuperscript{67} Harrison, pp. 100-101.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid., p. 5.
collectively called the *danpasurei* (断髪令) the wearing of swords in public was prohibited. 70 *Katana* fencing began to fall out of favor, though it was never completely abolished. The decision to incorporate *gekken* (撃剣, a synonym of *kenjutsu* and *kendō* often used in the Meiji Period) into police training preserved a core curriculum of instruction that could be (and was) later utilized to revive the practice.71

But once the practice was revived, what of its practicality? Was a *katana* of any use on the battlefield? There is no mention of the *katana* anywhere in the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*, though this in and of itself is not enough to rule out its use by officers. The use of the sword in general certainly had not fallen out of favor; Japan maintained sword-wielding cavalry divisions through 1904 and deployed them in the Russo-Japanese War.72 Moreover as the 1909 imprint on the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* suggests even after the experience of machine guns and trench warfare provided by the conflict with Russia the Imperial Japanese Army apparently still found swordsmanship to be a worthwhile pursuit for its officers. Indeed, the Japanese were apparently not alone in this practice. In 1923 the United States still maintained a sword-wielding cavalry corps of 721 officers and 8,887 men.73

The combat value of the sword itself is difficult to assess, but in this regard we are greatly assisted by the writings of F.J. Norman, who was honorably discharged in 1887 after eleven years of service in the Hussars and found himself living in Tokyo.

---

70 Gubbins, p. 90.
71 Hurst, pp. 157-158.
Above: F.J. Norman with his teacher Umesawa-san.
Below: F.J. Norman with the members of the Takanawa Fencing School, where he practiced his swordsmanship.
Images from *The Fighting Man of Japan*, published 1905.
the following year as an English teacher at the Toyama Military Academy.\textsuperscript{74} His long history as a cavalryman gave him a considerable acquaintance with European sword techniques, and his personal interest in maintaining his skills and learning new styles gave him an impetus to seek out a teacher for \textit{kenjutsu}. Finding one in the person of a man he identified only as “Umesawa-san,” Norman then proceeded to practice \textit{kenjutsu} in Japan for about ten years,\textsuperscript{75} (after which his name is no longer present on the list of resident foreigners in Japan).\textsuperscript{76}

F.J. Norman had a great deal of praise for the Japanese techniques of fencing instruction. On the whole, he found that the smaller size of a \textit{katana} vis-a-vis a European saber or fencing foil meant that less space was necessary to attack effectively and that while a European saber scabbard was long enough to encumber movement the \textit{katana} scabbard produced no such problems. In addition, if reach was necessary a two-handed grip could more than make up for the shorter length of a \textit{katana}.\textsuperscript{77} A fencing lunge also requires level ground, which was not realistic on a battlefield, whereas \textit{katana} strikes were much easier to adapt to uneven terrain.\textsuperscript{78} Finally, the forward guard utilized in \textit{kenjutsu} allowed for relatively small motions in both attack and defense, minimizing the need for raw physical strength in order to be an effective fighter.\textsuperscript{79} On the whole, Norman was very much impressed by \textit{kenjutsu} and the \textit{katana}, though a certain sense of ethnic pride led him to assert that there was still plenty of value to European fencing.\textsuperscript{80}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[75] Norman, p. 40.
\item[76] Bennet, p. 10.
\item[77] Norman p. 42.
\item[78] Ibid., p. 53.
\item[79] Ibid., p. 54.
\item[80] Ibid., p. 54.
\end{footnotes}
Based on the considerable time Norman devoted to the sword as an instrument of combat, it is clear that by the dawn of the twentieth century “combat” (as opposed to sportive) swordsmanship had not fallen by the wayside in the minds of the world’s military officers, despite the massive changes in warfare occurring around the globe. The official use of the katana in the army appears to have been minimal, however, if indeed it was used at all. This is most likely explained as an outcome of the importation of European military thought into Japan; European swords had displaced native ones in the full-speed rush to create a modern army. Even though the saber appears to have been less effective, it still had the benefit of a Western origin, practically guaranteeing itself a place in the new military.

Of course, some officers may have come to the same conclusion as Norman that the katana was more a more effective implement of violence than the saber. After the Russo-Japanese War a Western observer and practitioner of jūdō named E.J. Harrison recorded that many veterans returning from Manchuria told tales of substituting the swords issued to them for their “ancestral blades.” The issue of what type of blade was used is further complicated by the fact that some officers of shizoku origin would take a native blade and outfit it with a European-style scabbard and fittings, creating a weapon that is difficult to classify in either category. The confusion may even date further back than that -- one katana forged prior to the Meiji Restoration was outfitted with a European scabbard and designed to be worn suspended from a belt in the European fashion. Another weapon from the Taishō

---

81 Harrison, p. 89.
Period has a tip done in the European style, with a much more gradual slope down to the point of the sword. These examples show the great variety of overlap between the ideas of “Japanese” and “European” swords. In the end, it may be more appropriate simply to talk about swordsmanship in general rather than attempting to lump the weapons of Meiji officers in one category or the other.

THE ART OF THE “ARMY SWORD”

Having discussed the weapon itself, we will now move on to the way its use is described in the Kenjutsu Kyōhan. Unlike many of the previous sections, where the emphasis is on the position of the Imperial military as a holdout of pre-Restoration samurai ideology, here we see a strong indication of European influence.

As mentioned earlier, swordsmanship was not a feature particular only to the Japanese officer. The practice enjoyed considerable favor among Western armies as well. Since the officers of Western armies were the ones responsible for modernizing the Imperial Japanese Army, it seems only logical that some of their concepts of swordsmanship would find purchase in the minds of Japanese officers.

As part of the program to modernize the Japanese army and navy, the Meiji government, and later Taishō government as well, organized a series of Western military missions to Japan. The principle behind these missions was that the Japanese government would reach an agreement with a Western country, hire instructors on an individual basis from that country's armed forces, and bring the instructors over for several years to provide instruction to officers and enlisted men on the basic principles of European warfare. As a part of such a program, in 1884

84 Ibid., Catalog no. 109.
Lower Left: An Officer’s Saber from the French Navy, c. 1850. Image courtesy of the
Wikimedia Foundation.
Right: Item Catalog No. 133, A sword mounting from the late Edo Period. The ribbon-like
attachment to the scabbard allows it to be mounted on the waste in the same manner as a
saber. Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Below: Item Catalog No. 109, a *katana* made in the early 20th century by the famous
Gassan Sadakazu. Notice the rounded tip, particularly in comparison to the other *katana*
on this page. Image courtesy of the Tokyo Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
the Japanese government hired Joseph Kiehl and Étienne de Villaret as a master-at-arms and instructors in European fencing. Specifically, they were to focus on the saber, most likely because saber closely resembled gekken/kenjutsu with its strong emphasis on slashing techniques, bayonet fighting, and general physical exercise. Kiehl and Villaret held this instruction position for three years, and their teachings left a marked imprint on the kenjutsu training practiced in the Imperial Japanese Army. Indeed, the desire to have a written manual on the subjects of their instruction provided the impetus for the Kenjutsu Kyōhan. The military nature of the techniques taught by the French instructors also led to the Japanese name for the saber: guntō (軍刀), meaning “army sword.”

Thus, while both the sword and the term kenjutsu are derived from Japanese, the actual techniques described in the Kenjutsu Kyōhan bear more resemblance to European saber fencing. The text does retain holdovers from more traditional kenjutsu/gekken styles. For example, the thrusting attack against the throat described in part 38 is certainly derived from kenjutsu since saber is an exclusively slashing style. In more traditional forms of kenjutsu (such as the techniques described by F.J. Norman) emphasize slashing, and “its votaries never deliver a point except at the throat.” (Italics mine) In addition, the targets used in this “guntōjutsu” style are limited to the traditional kenjutsu targets of the head, torso, and lower arm, though the arm target is extended to the elbow rather than restricted only to the wrist joint as

86 Ibid., p. 6.
88 Norman, p. 50.
89 Meyer, Kenjutsu Kyōhan, p. 6.
described by Norman. Saber fencing, by contrast, allows attacks against any area above the torso aside from the hands. Guntōjutsu also includes a concept called seme, an offensive forward step designed to pressure the opponent into retreating, in each of the descriptions of guntō attacks, though it is never explicitly referred to by its Japanese name. In the most obvious example of a traditional holdover, the armor shown in the illustrations provided with the text is a traditional set of Japanese bōgu (防具, the protective armor developed during the Tokugawa period that is used to this day in kendō) rather than the white suit, face mask and gloves traditionally used in European fencing.

With all that said, the essence of guntōjutsu remains saber combat. In particular, a classic saber position in the illustrations section of the text, with the torso held perfectly straight, the leading arm angled down and forward and the feet positioned in a figure-L with the weight of the body evenly distributed. Such a stance is completely foreign to kenjutsu, where bringing the shoulder forward, leaning weight on to the lead foot and tucking the sword back towards the legs in a two-handed grip is more traditional. The one-handed-grip recommended in Part 39 is also a feature of saber rather than a native concept. While one-handed grips exist in more traditional Japanese styles they were relatively uncommon, most likely because there was no native tradition for the use of shields or bucklers with a katana.

90 Norman, p. 51.
91 Meaning literally, “an attack” or “an offensive move,” derived from the verb semeru (攻める), “to attack.”
93 Ibid., p. 14.
95 Yagyū, p. 11.
96 Meyer, Kenjutsu Kyōhan, pp. 6-7.
97 Musashi, p. 23.
Unfortunately, past this point it is difficult to trace the “lineage” of many of the moves depicted here, because of the similarity in training style for both saber and kenjutsu/gekken; both styles focus heavily on a system of parry and counter-attack, and since many of the techniques depicted in the text are parry/counter pairs, it is difficult to ascertain whether a particular maneuver is European or Japanese in origin. The parries in the illustrations, however, appear to be very high, with slashes blocked at a height above the head, and the thrust parries appear to be performed with the elbow and wrist. In contrast, kenjutsu as depicted by F.J. Norman focuses on deflecting cuts with small movements rather than stopping them with all out blocks, and on shunting thrusts with the shoulder rather than flicking them aside with the wrists or elbow. Thus it would seem that the defensive maneuvers described here are more European than Japanese. This impression is further reinforced by the lack of kata (型, a pre-arranged series of attacks and counters used to train via rote memorization) one of the major features of Edo-period martial practice. Instead, the focus appears to be on shiai (試合, matches or competitions). This discrepancy makes a great deal of sense. Since its inception during the Edo period, one of the most enduring criticisms of kata practice was that its static nature caused the practitioner to focus on overly complicated, impressive maneuvers rather than techniques of actual utility, which made it difficult to react to changes in the strategy of an opponent on the fly. This is most certainly not a healthy attitude to inculcate in people who were being trained to go into actual battles.

100 Norman, pp. 54-55.
It is, however, also worth noting that while the techniques and illustrations of the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* show only one-handed techniques, the fifty-fourth section of the text indicates that “according to the situation [you can] use both hands or the left hand.”\(^{102}\) The two-handed and left-handed grips are more traditional in Japanese swordsmanship, as related in the descriptions of the previous section; however, it is never used in saber fencing, making its inclusion in the section on the *guntō* rather strange. This particular discrepancy may be explained by recalling the case of Yamashita Tomoyuki mentioned earlier. Yamashita, like many other *shizoku*, received instruction at an extremely traditional school that included elements of traditional swordsmanship.\(^{103}\) His case was not unusual. Private recollections indicate that private lessons continued well after the government closed the *Buyōkan* in Okayama Prefecture, possibly with government consent.\(^{104}\) Since schools like the *Kainan Chūgakkō* and the Okayama *Buyōkan* catered to *shizoku*, which provided the core of the Imperial Army's officer corps, it is probable that many officer candidates had prior experience in more traditional styles of *kenjutsu* that they blended into the *guntōjutsu* of the Toyama School.

Sources from the period also record the beginnings of a strong anti-foreign backlash around this point, as growing feelings of nationalism combined with perceived humiliation over the Triple Intervention after the Sino-Japanese War to produce a strong sense of ethnic nationalism. As a part of this movement, the wholesale importation of Western ideas at the expense of traditional culture came under severe scrutiny, and more traditional aspects of Japanese culture began to

---

103 Hoyt, pp. 119-120.
104 Harootunian, p. 164.
regain popularity they had not enjoyed since the Tokugawa period. As a part of this movement, traditional styles of kenjutsu began to experience a strong national resurgence under the auspices of the new Dai Nihon Butokukai. It is possible that this revival of more traditional styles had begun to blend into the techniques taught at the Toyama school, resulting in the inclusion of more overtly Japanese techniques at the expense of the original French style. Though this influence is currently impossible to prove, we do know for a fact that the reverse is true: the katate-men (手面) technique described in Ōsawa Anjirō's Kendō Shinan (剑道指南, Instructions for Kendō) is described as “stepping forward with your left foot, opening up your body sideways, stretching out your left arm, and with your shinai at the correct angle, striking their migi-yokomen (右横面, the right side of the head) with your shinai.” This technique is nearly identical to the one-handed strike described in part 46 and depicted in the illustrations section of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan.

To summarize, the fencing style presented in the Kenjutsu Kyōhan represents an amalgamation of two different influences: on the one hand, the inclusion of many Japanese elements to what was fundamentally a European style, prompted by the shizoku upbringing of many of the officers as well as the need to preserve some degree of “Japanese-ness” in their style. On the other hand, even with the inclusion of Japanese components guntōjutsu remained fundamentally European in basis, and the European influence is both obvious and strong.

106 Hurst, p. 159.
A NEW WEAPON FOR THE NEW AGE

Throughout the Meiji Period, new words were constantly being coined in order to represent the new concepts being imported from Europe. Every new concept, from *minzoku* (民族, ethnic group) to *keizai* (経済, economy; economics) had to have a word created for it in order for any form of discourse based on the concept to begin. In many cases, the new phrase was derived from an older term. This tendency is particularly obvious in one case -- the word for a distinctly European weapon, the bayonet, became *jūken* (銃剣, lit. “gun sword”) and the techniques associated with this weapon became *jūkenjutsu* (銃剣術).

Perhaps it was for this reason that *jūkenjutsu* was included in the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*. The techniques associated with this weapon comprise approximately one-third of the book, and the training method designed for it is an unusual and interesting mixture of European and Japanese concepts. Unfortunately, here it is considerably more difficult to determine the exact degree of influence of Kiehl, de Villaret and other European teachers because of one of the essential features of the bayonet. Bayonet techniques are nearly universally derived from spears, and *sōjutsu* (槍術) or spear combat, was a common component of *samurai* education. As a result, it is impossible to be sure which concepts are specifically European and which are derived from prior indigenous martial traditions.

The training exercises themselves are performed with a *mokujū* (木銃, lit.

---

109 Eventually, rather than assigning *kanji* compounds for new words, the standard procedure for importing a word became the use of *katakana*, a phoenetic syllabary. Thus, some European concepts have no *kanji* attached to them (ex. Ideology=*イヂオロギー=idiorogii).

110 Jones, p. 267.
Above: A practitioner of jūkenjutsu sparring with a kendōka.
Below: A practitioner of sōjutsu sparring with a kendōka.
Images from *Kendō Shinan*, digitized by George McCall.
“wooden gun”) designed to simulate the actual weight of a rifle.\textsuperscript{111} Several of the techniques in the mokujū repertoire appear to be based on older sōjutsu maneuvers; in particular, the emphasis in part 58 on twisting one’s hips in order to put force into a thrust\textsuperscript{112} is a component of many Japanese (and generally Asian) martial arts. The stance described in part 58 and in the 15\textsuperscript{th} part of the illustrations section\textsuperscript{113} is also a derivation of sōjutsu. A practically identical stance appears in a print depicting a sōjutsu versus gekken match by Katsushika Hokusai from the mid-nineteenth century, and in another print depicting sōjutsu from a similar period.\textsuperscript{114} Since the same stance also appears in a section of the Kendō Shinan describing the techniques necessary to defeat a sōjutsuka (槍術家, practitioner of sōjutsu) using kendo,\textsuperscript{115} it also seems that the practice of sōjutsu endured well into the twentieth century, making its incorporation into jūkenjutsu more likely.

That is not to say that there are no obvious incidents of Western influence in the text. Indeed, Western influence is most directly visible in the illustrations section of the text. Whereas in the guntōjutsu section the practitioner is depicted as wearing a traditional set of bōgu over western-style training clothes,\textsuperscript{116} the jūkenjutsu outfit as depicted in illustration section 14 is considerably more European in nature, with the practitioner wearing only the chest and thigh protectors from a bōgu while sporting a European-style protective cover for the forward arm. In a final touch of modernity, the clothing worn underneath the protectors is a European-style military

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{111} Meyer, Kenjutsu Kyōhan, p. 3.
\footnote{112} Ibid., p. 9.
\footnote{113} Ibid., pp. 9, 15.
\footnote{114} Ibid., p. 42; Knutsen, p. 49.
\footnote{115} Ōsawa, Kendō Shinan.
\footnote{116} Ibid., p. 14.
\end{footnotes}
uniform, and the figure in the illustrations has both an officers cap and a Western mustache.¹¹⁷

As mentioned before, it is rather difficult to ascertain to what extent the techniques themselves are European or Japanese owing to the essential similarity between the bayonet and the spear. Much like guntōjutsu there is a large emphasis on parry-and-counterattack combinations, though the focus is changed from sweeping the attack aside to hitting the incoming weapon in order to deflect it, as well as on semei-type offensive steps.¹¹⁸ Thus, it would seem that to a much larger extent than in the use of the sword, the bayonet managed to retain its roots in sōjutsu. In fact, this is made more likely by the fact that Yamagata Aritomo, one of the genrō and the man most responsible for the formation of the Imperial Army, was a devotee of sōjutsu. He practiced it for his entire adult life and was famous for his ability to swiftly defeat practitioners of other styles, particularly of gekken/kenjutsu.¹¹⁹ It would seem likely, then, that the man most responsible for the Meiji Army would extend his own preferences to the techniques taught to the modern soldiers. Yet, this is only a supposition. Proof of the degree of borrowing involved in the techniques of jūkenjutsu would involve the extensive translation and review of nineteenth century bayonet manuals, an activity far beyond the scope of this investigation. However, an inspection of a roughly contemporary U.S. Army guide to bayonet drills written by General George McClellan reveals a system of drills revolving around keeping the arms extended away from the body and using a system of retracted and

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p. 15.
¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 10.
¹¹⁹ Draeger, p. 23.
extended footwork. This is in contrast to the system of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan system of shuffling footwork with the arms kept close to the torso, similar to the one described in the guntō section and including native ideas like seme. Thus, we can conclude that the fighting system of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan is rather different from the bayonet drills of at least one other major power.

Much as in guntō training there is no evidence of kata practice in the techniques describing the use of the mokujū. Even more so than the saber, the bayonet is a military weapon designed specifically to inflict great harm, so it is likely that the arguments regarding the static and rote nature of kata advanced against their use in sword training had just as much if not more purchase when advanced against their use for the bayonet. Thus, much as in the prior section the importance of shiai combat is emphasized for training. Aside from some general guidelines on behavior, no rules regarding the shiai themselves are written in the text. Presumably they are the same as those used for guntō matches and are elucidated in some other volume.

THE MODERN MOUNTED SAMURAI

The final written section of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan is attached as an appendix, which along with the lack of corresponding illustrations in the text means it was most likely written at a different date and by a different author or authors. It refers to a specifically European system: what is known in Japanese as jyōbaguntōjutsu (乗馬軍刀術) or horseback saber combat.

Though the popular image of the *samurai* today is that of the Edo period fighting man on foot, prior to the Edo period *samurai* were mainly a mounted force. For most of their history the highest ranks of *samurai* were composed entirely of mounted troops. This most likely resulted from the long-standing viewpoint of most Japanese generals that a mounted soldier was of greater utility on the battlefield than a foot-soldier.\(^{122}\) Thus it would seem that mounted combat has a long and distinct pedigree for the Japanese soldier, and that *jyōbaguntōjutsu* is simply a continuation of that tendency.

Yet, the truth is that *jyōbaguntōjutsu* as it is laid out here is a distinctly European importation. In fact, the Japanese warrior of the *Sengoku Jidai* (戦国時代, “Warring States Period,” 1467-1600) was primarily a spearman, owing to the relative ease with which a spear can be used from horseback when compared to a sword. Prior to that, his main use had been as bow-equipped light cavalryman.\(^{123}\) In fact, sword-wielding cavalry is primarily a European innovation, since the smaller size of a saber allowed European cavalrmen wield it at the same time as a pistol.\(^{124}\) By contrast, the loss of any form of striking power of a sword compared to a spear was unimportant for European soldiers since after the Thirty Years War the use of armor among European armies fell off in the face of the rapid increase of gunpowder technology.\(^{125}\) In addition, while the traditional mounted warrior of Japan was used


\(^{123}\) Ibid., p. 16.


\(^{125}\) Jones, p. 242.
as shock cavalry against ranks of poorly-equipped foot-soldiers, the European cavalryman had a different set of tasks; riding down enemy soldiers after their formations had been broken up by friendly infantry and utilizing their superior mobility to prevent opposing cavalry from doing the same. Though the cavalry charge was retained as a tactic, it enjoyed nowhere near the prevalence it once had and was often accompanied with artillery barrages in order to weaken formations that would then be broken by a charge.

All of these Westernized cavalry roles are reflected in this section of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan. The training is divided into two parts – one involves duels against opposing practitioners in order to learn the techniques necessary to defeat opposing cavalrymen and the other involves attacking a series of opponents on foot. The exercises of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan are thus derived from the exercises of European cavalry, and do not show any indication of derivation from the samurai tradition.

The practice of jyōbaguntōjutsu heavily modifies the practices of guntō for duels between opposing cavalry. The target areas that can be attacked for a point are restricted only to the head and upper torso. Attacks against the arms have been completely removed, presumably because the movement of the opponent combined with that of his horse would make striking the arms in any precise fashion nearly impossible. In addition, the previous focus on attack/counterattack combinations has been completely removed. Instead, preference is given to alternating strikes and

---

126 Turnbull, p. 16.
127 Jones, p. 249.
128 McClellan, Cavalry, p. 96.
130 Ibid., p. 13.

thrust, with blocking performed only as necessary. There is also considerably more focus on physical maneuver than in previous sections, because maneuvering the horse into the correct position can drastically improve the practitioner's chances of victory. For example, since all cavalrymen were trained to use sabers with their right hand, the practitioner is enjoined to maneuver so that his right side faces the opponent's left, allowing him to attack with his good hand and forcing his opponent to switch over to his off side. Withdrawing from combat was similarly a matter of maneuver. A skilled practitioner always attempts to retreat to his left or push maneuver around his enemy by turning right. Finally, if all else fails and the enemy maintains too strong a guard, it is always possible to strike his horse or the reigns of the rider causing it to panic and throwing him off balance.

The other aspect of *jyōbaguntōjutsu*, that of riding down a fleeing opponent on foot, is distinctly European in its origins. In a pitched battle of traditional *samurai* armies during the *Sengoku* period, a cavalry force that had broken an opposing block of infantry with a charge would not usually pursue that group off the field of battle. Such a pursuit would draw the cavalry away from their valuable role as shock units and would not present the cavalrymen with any advantages in terms of captured or killed opponents. The pursuit of a broken force represents a distinctly European approach to tactics, where driving an opposing force off the field is one of the primary uses of cavalry; the defeated force driven off in this manner cannot rally and

---

131 Ibid., pp. 13-14.
133 Ibid., p. 14.
134 Turnbull, pp. 16-17.
return to the field under such pressure.\textsuperscript{135} Thus, the recommendation of part five of the appendix to practice attacks against enemies on foot and prone\textsuperscript{136} reflects the adoption of the European model of war by the Imperial Japanese Army.

All of this emphasis on maneuver, as well as on striking to throw off an opponent rather than for a point, is foreign to the other sections of the text; it is almost certainly European-derived, with no attempt to preserve an essential Japanese tradition. Indeed, abandoning any Japanese root for the practice of horseback combat is sensible in this case, since the role of cavalry in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century was vastly different from its role 200 years prior. This particular facet of the \textit{kenjutsu} of the Toyama School was Japanese in name only.

\textbf{A NEW SAMURAI FOR A NEW AGE}

To recapitulate in the \textit{Kenjutsu Kyōhan} we find a style of melee combat that derives its name, imagery and (in some cases) equipment from an older Japanese tradition while, along the lines of the rest of the Meiji military system, incorporating facets of European styles and traditions in an attempt to stay relevant to the present age. This practice is subdivided into three parts, each of which has maintained a varying degree of loyalty to the original Japanese martial systems. Though it is impossible without a more thorough examination of 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} century military documents from both Europe and Japan to discern this with absolute certainty, it is reasonable to assume that \textit{jyōbaguntōjutsu} maintained very little continuity with pre-Restoration traditions, \textit{jūkenjutsu} maintained the most, and \textit{guntōjutsu} lay somewhere

\textsuperscript{135} Jones, pp. 64.
\textsuperscript{136} Meyer, \textit{Kenjutsu Kyōhan}, p. 12.
in between.

Now, having explored the text we are left with the necessity of answering one final question: what place does the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* have in the narrative of the *budō* and *bujutsu* practices of the Meiji period?

After considering this question along with those posed in the introductory chapter, one conclusion seems inevitable. The *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* is representative of a larger survival strategy taken by practitioners of the martial arts after the Meiji Restoration. Rather than taking the more common path of turning their styles into sport-like practices with the ultimate goal of physical and moral development (the path chosen by Kanō Jigorō in his creation of *jūdō* and by the *Dai Nihon Butokukai* in its standardization of *kendō*) some practitioners insisted on maintaining, first and foremost, the lethal nature of the martial arts as methods of combat. The logical choice for the pursuit of such a policy was the army, especially since the higher ranks of the military were primarily *shizoku* and thus sympathetic to the preservation of the traditions of their class. These men were “survivalists,” attempting to maintain the original nature of martial practice, and they were also *shizoku* to the last man. Indeed, Terauchi Masatake was himself a prime example, since he believed so greatly in the importance of swordsmanship for a twentieth century army.

In following this policy the survivalist faces a large obstacle; the martial traditions of the mounted lancer, *katana* and *yari* were not of value in a European martial system. They could, however, be adapted to the modern situation by the incorporation of European concepts. Accordingly, the ad hoc combination of European and Japanese fighting systems that made up the martial education of a Meiji
officer were lumped together, standardized, and eventually included under the wide label of *kenjutsu*.

Of course, the drastic changes introduced in order to facilitate this policy of creating “modernized” *bujutsu* do raise the question: to what extent is what we see here still Japanese in any way? Is it simply a full import of European values with the Japanese root maintained only in name? Though it is clear that to some extent Japanese influence is visible in the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*, is that remainder overshadowed by the European influences in the text?

In the final analysis, while the weapons taught as a part of the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* are of distinctly European ancestry, the method by which recruits learn them is of distinctly Japanese origin. George McClellan of the United States Army described in his writings the general teaching style used for instructing recruits in the use of the saber:

> The use of the sabre is taught by means of commands and numbers. The commands of execution are called *times*, and these times are subdivided into particular movements called *motions*. At the commencement of the instruction, the instructor calls the numbers and executes the motions himself; when the recruit becomes accustomed to the use of the weapon, he is obliged to execute the motions and call the numbers simultaneously with the instructor; after that the recruit calls the numbers and executes the motions for himself; finally, he executes the
motions without calling the numbers. \(^{137}\)

To summarize, the European system focuses on repetitive memorization of forms that are then drilled by rote into the future cavalryman. As such, the European system of drill for melee weapons was at this point functionally identical to the system of *kata* employed by Tokugawa period martial arts academies. This means that the European system also incorporates many of the weaknesses of *kata*-based instruction, namely the tendency to dull one’s ability to react rapidly to new situations in combat. Since this is, of course, an extremely important talent on the battlefield, it would seem that this sort of rote practice would be discouraged by the military. Discouraging one style of practice, however, is not possible without having another available to replace it. The European tradition lacked a system of non-lethal dueling that was not built on the “first blood” rules of the honor duel. \(^{138}\) Such a system is impractical for battlefield combat, where the object is not to wound but to kill.

Japan, however, did have a native tradition of non-lethal sparring as a form of swordsmanship. *Shinai Uchikomi Keiko* provided practitioners a chance to practice combat using bamboo weapons that can be swung at full power with little chance of injury to the combatant. \(^{139}\) The system encountered much criticism during the Tokugawa period for its lack of realism. After *Jikishin-kage-ryū*, an offshoot of Yagyū Munenori’s style, introduced the *shinai* and protective gear to its practices one

\(^{137}\) McClellan, *Cavalry*, p. 21  
\(^{139}\) Hurst, p. 84.
of the star pupils, Terada Muneari, left the school in disgust at the practice.\textsuperscript{140}

The reception of the *shinai* and the sparring matches in which it was used eventually grew into greater acceptance because, in the words of the mid-Tokugawa swordsman Fujita Tōko, “Contesting with live blades . . . may indeed be valiant, but if you attack all out and strike someone he will die on the spot . . . this is hardly a practice to be used among friends.”\textsuperscript{141} Simply put, use of the *shinai* allowed for realistic, aggressive combat in a way that live swords did not.

Thus, *Shinai Uchikomi Keiko* became the standard in terms of preparation for actual combat among the *samurai* class. It is, in fact, this same tradition in which those among the *genrō* and the Imperial Army officer corps who had practiced swordsmanship as a part of their education were trained. Thus, the concept of the *shinai* and of non-lethal combat enjoyed considerable acceptance among those in power, and their acceptance appears to have had a large impact on the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*.

As noted before, there is no mention in the text of any sort of pre-arranged sequence along the lines described by McClellan. That style, along with the native *kata* system that resembled it, were completely excluded from the training offered to officers in the text. Instead, the focus of the text is solely on *keiko*-style combat using either a bamboo saber based on the design of the *shinai* or the *mokuji*. Since the text focuses on basic strikes, followed by counterattack techniques, it would seem that the essential style of the training was to teach recruits basic techniques, followed by counters and more advanced techniques, with the ultimate goal of having them

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., p. 84.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p. 85.
spar in order to ingrain these maneuvers into their fighting style.\textsuperscript{142}

This inference of a solely \textit{keiko} oriented training style is born out by the records of F.J. Norman, who discusses briefly in his writings the training methods employed to teach swordsmanship at the Toyama Army Academy and the Etajima Naval Academy. According to Norman, the Japanese place far less emphasis on form than their European counterparts, preferring to practice sparring:

\ldots little or no attention is paid by the officers to the teaching of parade and show movements to their men, or to what is so generally and so falsely termed "smartness" among us, and perhaps more especially so is this the case when we come to such matters as \ldots the use of the sword and bayonet. Loose play and plenty of it is invariably their rule, and so, though a squad of Japanese soldiers or sailors may not be able to go through the sword or bayonet exercise with the same precision as a squad of our guardsmen, it will certainly be found that far and away a greater proportion of them will know how to use the weapons they are armed with better and more effectively.\textsuperscript{143}

Norman not only noted the distinction between Japanese and European training styles, but indicated an approval of the “loose play” practiced by the Japanese. In his mind the system may not have been as pretty, but it was certainly more effective and resulted in better fighting ability.

\textsuperscript{142} This is essentially identical to the sportive practice of \textit{kendō} discussed in the next chapter and to the modern practice of \textit{kendō}.
\textsuperscript{143} Norman, p. 29.
The “loose play” advocated by F.J. Norman. This photograph is of a sparring match between Norman and his instructor Umesawa. Such sparring matches were the primary means of instruction in gekken/kendō, and their use became common in the styles taught at Toyama as well. Note also the one handed nature of Umesawa’s counter-attack.

Image from *The Fighting Man of Japan*, published 1905.
The final aspect of the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* we must discuss is the name of the text itself. Though the text calls itself a manual of *kenjutsu*, it contains three distinct styles of combat that are only related in their combat focus. Are these three techniques really all *kenjutsu*? The reality is that the use of the descriptor *kenjutsu* is evidence of an older mentality in regards to the martial arts. Prior to the Meiji period martial techniques were not taught piecemeal, but rather as part of a *heihō* (兵法, “Military system”) that incorporated a variety of weapons and unarmed techniques. While most styles shifted away from this technique of teaching after the Meiji Restoration, since the time required to teach multiple weapons was incompatible with the sportive and spiritual aspects of the *gendai budō*, there were doubtless some who still supported it. The *Kenjutsu Kyōhan* can, from this perspective, be viewed as a modern *heihō*. Its various elements are designed to be part of a complementary and contiguous system of combat.

Thus, in our final summary of the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*, we find a text that incorporates the European weapon systems brought over during the modernization of the military with a degree of influence from the Japanese weapon systems of the pre-Restoration *samurai*, all of which are taught using a traditional Japanese style designed to make effective, if inelegant fighting men.

---

144 Hurst, p. 69.
145 Guttman and Thompson, p. 61.
CHAPTER 3: AN ANALYSIS OF THE KENDÔKA SHASIN MEIKAN

The Kendôka Shashin Meikan (剣道家写真名鑑, A Photographic Record of Practitioners of Kendô) is a work depicting the backgrounds and training of 309 kendôka who attained distinction on a national level. It was published in 1925 under the auspices of an organization formed specifically for the purpose, the Kendôka Shashin Meikan Kankô-kai (剣道家写真名鑑刊行会, Organization for the Publishing of the Kendôka Shashin Meikan).\(^1\) The names of the members of this group are not listed, nor does their publishing group remain in existence. Given the nature of the text, it seems probable that they were a group hired by the Dai Nippon Butokukai to produce this work, and were disbanded once their job was done.

The text is subdivided into roughly four sections. The first consists of pictures of the various branch offices of the Butokukai (one for each prefecture, as well as in Taiwan) and pictures of the founders and supporters of the Butokukai. Each of the remaining three sections deals with a special grade of kendô practitioner. In order of seniority, those grades are hanshi, kyōshi and seiren-shô. Each section contains a name, year and place of birth, current address, training information and the year in which the practitioner received his title. If applicable, the ryūha (流派, “style” or “school”) of the practitioner is also listed.

Before delving into these sections, however, it is important to understand their context, both in terms of the evolution of kendô and the creation of the Butokukai in order to support its propagation.

---
\(^1\) Meyer, Kendôka Shashin Meikan, p. 1.
“THIS THING CALLED KENDŌ”

In discussing Japanese swordsmanship in the early modern period, we must first clarify the history of the practice itself. During the Sengoku wars, swordsmanship was rarely taught as an independent art and, in writing, was lumped together with various other martial disciplines under the term *heihō* (兵法), meaning tactics or strategy. During the long peace of the Tokugawa period, however, the need for well-rounded combat discipline gradually faded away. As a result, focus on one weapon or style as a means of aesthetic self-cultivation became the norm, and the *heihō* began to split into the various *koryū bujutsu*, or traditional martial arts. This tendency was at least partially encouraged by the Tokugawa leadership. Desirous of a *samurai* class incapable of direct military resistance to the *bakufu*, the Tokugawa leadership altered the prerogative of the *samurai* from combat to self-cultivation and service to authority. The official Tokugawa stance can be readily traced through the reissuing of the *Buke Shohatto* (武家諸法度, Laws Governing the Military Houses). This text was discussed in the previous chapter, but restate its importance briefly, the *Buke Shohatto* were the official regulations for *samurai* produced by the *bakufu*, and over time they began to emphasize civil governance over military skill.

It was from this background that swordsmanship began to emerge as a distinct subject of instruction. Yet there was some disagreement throughout the period as to exactly what to call it. Throughout the Tokugawa period the terms *Kenjutsu* (剣術) and *gekken* (撃剣) were used interchangeably for the specific practice of

---

2 For a more in-depth discussion of *heihō*, see the chapter on the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*
3 Guttman and Thompson, p. 61.
4 Also read as *gekiken*
swordsmanship. In addition, many practitioners held on to the older, catch-all term of *heihō*, and some, wishing to emphasize the self-cultivation aspect of practice, developed a new term: the “Way of the Sword,” or *kendō*.

The practice of swordsmanship in this period has been discussed in detail in the introduction, and there is no need to repeat that discussion at length here. For our purposes, suffice it to say that *kenjutsu* practice at the time involved the rote repetition of a series of forms, or *kata*, and that some practitioners felt that this style removed the conditions of practice too far from the actual conditions of combat, since there was no need to respond to a given situation with rapidity or creativity. As a result, many schools began to develop non-lethal sparring methods using bamboo swords, called *shinai* (竹刀), and heavy fabric and lacquer armor known as *bōgu* (防具). While this development did not displace *kata*-oriented teachings, it supplemented the practice in many places and developed a strong following of its own. This style of training became known as *shinai uchikomi keiko*, and its influence was felt as far as the peasant class. Since the *shinai* was non-lethal, *keiko* was not technically combat training, and thus could be practiced by commoners without violating the Tokugawa ban on commoners receiving weapons training.

Though the practice of *shinai uchikomi keiko* was introduced originally simply as a training mechanism, it quickly began to symbolize far more than that. In addition to allowing practice across class boundaries, the introduction of non-lethal sparring allowed for contests between practitioners of different *ryūha* without violating the extremely strict *bakufu* controls on lethal dueling. For the first time...

---

6 Hurst, pp. 84-85, 95.
A modern *shinai*. The design for the *shinai* consists of four pieces of bamboo bound together so that the flex of the bamboo, rather than the target struck, absorbs the force of impact. The design has remained practically unchanged since the 18\textsuperscript{th} century.

Image courtesy of the Wikimedia Foundation.
since the Sengoku period, members of the various *ryūha* could try their skills in situations approximating combat, allowing for a (relatively) impartial evaluation of the effectiveness of techniques. In spite of criticism that the weight and shape of a shinai compared with a live blade made *keiko* an inaccurate standard by which to test techniques, *shinai*-based combat became the new standard of skill in swordsmanship for a swordsman. This, in turn, allowed for the spread of techniques among different *ryūha*, a precursor of a genuinely national form of swordsmanship.7

The new level of interaction between *ryūha* also had a political side. *Shinai Uchikomi Keiko* (increasingly referred to as *gekken*, while *kenjutsu* became associated with *kata* practice) allowed non-political interaction between *samurai* of various *ryūha* (and often of different *han*) for the first time since the establishment of the *bakufu*. It also allowed for an unprecedented level of interaction between *samurai* and members of other social classes.8 This level of interaction was, in turn, essential for the beginnings of a national consciousness in Japan. Indeed, by the mid nineteenth century *gekken* had become strongly associated with new waves of nationalism sweeping the country, especially since many of its patrons were lower ranking *samurai* and commoners, the groups with the strongest interest in revamping the Tokugawa system.9

By the 1860's, *gekken* practice had become a hotbed of anti-*bakufu* activity.

7 Dan, p. 67.
8 The Pre-restoration class system was immensely complex, with each of the four “primary classes” subdivided into a huge number of individual classes. The non-*samurai* who practiced *gekken* were mainly from the more well-to-do levels of the farmer and artisan classes, considered to be the two highest ranking social groups after the *samurai*. *Gekken* practice should not be misconstrued as including people from all social groups. While it was more inclusive than other martial styles it was not by any means a universally inclusive practice and retained an air of exclusivity. Dan. pp. 65-66.
9 Ibid., p. 65.
Many of the groups oriented towards the overthrow of the bakufu and the nominal restoration of power to the tennō, including the Kinnō (謹皇, “Revere the Emperor”) Party of Tosa-han, the Kaimei (解明, “Enlightenment”) party of Chōshū-han and the Seigi (正義, “Justice”) party of Mito-han, had their origins in political discussions among fellow gekken practitioners. Some of the more avid anti-government revolutionaries, including the infamous Sakamoto Ryōma, first became involved in politics through gekken practice. By the time of the Meiji Restoration, then, gekken was firmly associated with the pro-emperor movement.

It would seem logical, then, that gekken, one of the symbols of the restoration movement, would attain a special place in the new imperial government. In fact, however, for all practical purposes the official response to gekken was the opposite. At a time when the primary goal of the government was to gain the respect of the Great Powers through rapid Westernization, gekken was too heavily associated with traditional, and therefore “outmoded” ways of thinking. Gekken was not sponsored by the government, and in many urban centers gekken schools were actively suppressed by the authorities. The style of swordsmanship that had contributed so much to the Meiji Restoration was cast aside in a furious movement to “modernize.”

Despite this rejection, there were holdouts of gekken practice that kept the tradition alive during this period. The first was the Keishichō (警視庁), or the department of the police. Kawaji Toshiyoshi, the man responsible for organizing the Tokyo Police, was of shizoku decent, and made it a keishichō policy to hire other

---
10 Ibid., p. 66.
11 Ibid., p. 66.
12 Ibid., pp. 66-67.
13 Occasionally read (incorrectly) as Kawamichi Toshiyoshi.
shizoku, resulting in a police force that, in 1874, contained 3,000 people, all shizoku.\textsuperscript{14} When the police force was partially militarized in order to combat the samurai rebellions of the 1870s, the combat training of the police officers, particularly in gekken, proved invaluable when government warehouses began to run short of ammunition for modern weapons. Seizing the moment, Kawaji began lobbying the government to insist that all police officers be required to train in swordsmanship in order to prepare them for combat.\textsuperscript{15} His petition was accepted, becoming the first instance of government-sponsored swordsmanship under the new regime. Indeed, the keishichō proved essential not only in supporting gekken, but in making its practice uniform. In order to provide the police with a uniform gekken curriculum, Kawaji insisted that the gekken instructors working for the police, all from different ryūha, work out a single curriculum in order to avoid teaching contradictory lessons to students. This decision laid the groundwork for the further standardization of sword techniques in the next century.\textsuperscript{16}

Kawaji certainly was not the only one to see a patriotic value in gekken. A shizoku named Ōzawa Torakichi also saw a patriotic value in the continued practice of gekken. Formerly an instructor at a bakufu military academy and a member of the yūgekitai (遊撃隊) an elite squad of pro-bakufu samurai, Ōzawa was unable to secure a government position after the collapse of the bakufu. Instead, Ōzawa opened a school, the Mito-han Tōbukan (東武館, Hall of Eastern Combat), where he began to teach gekken in his own style, the Hokushin Ittō-ryū (北辰一刀流). Ōzawa stressed

\textsuperscript{14} Harootunian, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., pp. 47-48.
\textsuperscript{16} Guttman and Thompson, p. 106.
gekken as a form of patriotism, and tied his teachings to pride in the history and accomplishments of Japan. His style of teaching proved very popular, and many of his future students (such as Monna Tadashi, who appears in the *Meikan*) went on to influential positions in the *Butokukai*. Nor was Ōzawa the only shizoku who started a school to support his instructions. Across the country, private schools founded to support traditional samurai ideology sprang up in an attempt to maintain the legacy of the samurai class in the face of modernization. In particular, the schools founded by Saigō Takamori in Satsuma proved very influential, and while many of his students joined his ill-fated revolt against the government a fair number remained on the side of the central authorities and were eventually elevated to high positions, bringing with them their support of traditional practices including gekken.

The final area in which gekken traditions were maintained in the 1870s was, oddly enough, in showmanship. Sakakibara Kenkichi, the headmaster of the *Jiki-Shinkage-ryū* (直心影流) and one of the many swordsmen to fall on hard times after the Restoration, hit upon the idea of holding gekken demonstrations for the public along the lines of a sumō competition. Matches would be refereed with a clear winner, while announcers would provide commentary. Sakakibara proceeded to found the *gekken kaisha* (撃剣会社; “The Gekken Company”) and organized his first demonstration in 1872 in the Asakusa ward of Tokyo. The matches were an immediate hit with the public, though many samurai disapproved of the “demeaning” nature of the sport-like competition. Sakakibara's swordsmen, however, being

---

17 Dan, p. 73.
19 Cohen, pp. 162-163.

Below: A match sponsored by the *Gekken Kaisha*. The contestant on the left is Ogawa Kiyotake (a student of Sakakibara) and the one on the right is Akamatsu Gundayū (a samurai from Chōshū-han). The referee is Nomi Jōjirō, another one of Sakakibara’s students. Sakakibara Kenkichi is observing on the far right. Note that the ring and the *hakama* worn by the referee are both reminiscent of sumo wrestling. Image courtesy of George McCall.
mostly dispossessed *samurai* and opposed to the modernization policies of the new
government, quickly found themselves under government scrutiny for fear that the
*Gekken Kaisha* would provide a safe haven for anti-government activities, much as
gekken had fostered anti-*bakufu* protests only ten years earlier. After the Saga
Rebellion, the government shut Sakakibara down, and he was not allowed to resume
his activities until 1877.\(^\text{20}\)

Thus, during the 1870s we see, on the one hand, official government
repression of traditional swordsmanship. On the other, there was an increasing
tendency towards competition and cooperation across *ryūha* lines, as well as
increasing associations between gekken and pro-government activity, as exemplified
by the *keishichō* and the *Mito Tōbukan*. It is also worth noting that while gekken
was officially repressed by the government on the grounds that it was a feudal
holdover, it had many patrons among the *genrō*. In particular Kido Takayoshi,\(^\text{21}\) a
member of the Iwakura Mission to Europe and the man responsible for educating the
Meiji-*tennō* as well as Katsu Kaishū, a prominent adviser to the government on naval
affairs, were both devoted practitioners of gekken.\(^\text{22}\) As a result, the foundations
were laid down for a revival of gekken on a national level during the next twenty
years.

Though the first part of the Meiji period was marked by a rapid rejection of
native traditions, during the 1880's this tendency began to reverse. The movement
back towards native traditions began, in part, as an intellectual movement among a
group calling themselves the *Seikyōsha* (生協社, “Society for Cooperation”), who

\(^{20}\) Dan, p. 73.
\(^{21}\) Also read as Kido Kōin.
\(^{22}\) Dan, p. 110.
argued that pride in native traditions was an essential part of modernization if Japan hoped to gain the respect of the West. Without any pride in their own accomplishments, the Seikyōsha argued that Japan would become nothing more than a Western puppet that gobbled up foreign ideas without producing anything of value itself.23 Their argument is summed up nicely in an editorial from the May 23rd, 1891 issue of Kokumin no Tomo (国民の友, “Friend of the People”):

If someone stood on London Bridge and shouted that England's independence was in danger, that England was on the verge of destruction, how would Englishmen treat him? They might consider him insane and put him in a mental institution. Or they might consider him good material for Punch. That would be all. No one would take him seriously, because the English have complete confidence in their country's independence. The reason the English are a great nation is not only that they are a great people, but that they believe they are a great people.24

This type of argument began to build up a following during the 1880s and early 1890s, helped in part by the fact that many Westerners began to advocate for the importance of preserving traditional Japanese values. For example, during this time Lafcadio Hearn, an American lecturer on English Literature at Tokyo Imperial University, began to translate traditional Japanese tales for sale in the English-

23 Pyle, p. 54.
24 Ibid., p. 147.
speaking world, an act many Japanese took to be an endorsement of their culture.\textsuperscript{25} Hearn also provided some of the first descriptions of *gekken* to reach the English speaking world, describing the “traditional style of fencing” as a healthy form of competitive exercise.\textsuperscript{26} A few Westerners even began to take up *gekken* and other traditional martial practices. The case of F.J. Norman, who practiced what he referred to as *kenjutsu* intokyo for approximately ten years, has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Norman, however, was not the only such practitioner. Edwin Baelz, the chief physician to the *tennō*, became particularly famous for his study of *kenjutsu* under Sakakibara Kenkichi, as well as his constant (and unsuccessful) advocacy to the Ministry of Education that both *gekken* and the newly-created art of *jūdō* be included in the educational curriculum as a form of exercise as well as a means of building national spirit.\textsuperscript{27} In 1897, E.J. Harrison, an American journalist in Japan, began practicing *jūdō* in his off time and published a book on his experiences.\textsuperscript{28} As a result of these Westerners’ embrace what were now being called the *gendai budō* (*現代武道*), there was a strong growth in interest in the martial arts, now that they had been deemed as not being contrary to Japan's progress.

The final impetus towards a return to pride in Japan's “native accomplishments” was provided by Japan's victory in the First Sino-Japanese War. In addition to displaying the impressive feats of modernization carried out by the Japanese military apparatus over the previous thirty years, the war also took on a symbolic aspect in the popular discourse. A war with China, the traditional center

\textsuperscript{25} For one example, see: Lafcadio Hearn, *In Ghostly Japan* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1899).
\textsuperscript{28} Harrison.
of the East Asian world, symbolized Japan's intent to “leave Asia and join the West,” a popular slogan of the times. After the war Japanese intellectuals praised their nation as unique for its integration of Japanese values and Western technology. The phrase of the moment was *yaban no genkisa* (野蛮の元気さ), the “vigor of the barbarian.” Japan's supposedly “barbaric” traditions of martial aestheticism, according to these notions, made it superior to the West, where industrialism had made the people lax and weak.  

In this atmosphere, the *budō* in general and *gekken* in particular began to prosper. Swordsmanship, with its strong association with the *samurai* class and the “*bushidō*” values cultivated by the government provided an excellent example of the kind of native arts that could preserve the *yaban no genkisa*, and in so doing support the rising star of Japan. The government was quick to seize the opportunity. In 1895, shortly after the conclusion of the war, the government sponsored the creation of the *Dai Nippon Butokukai* to promote the martial arts across Japan, and arranged for the organization to be endorsed by the Imperial family. The government also funded the construction of the *Butokuden* in Kyoto, a reproduction of a martial training hall from the Heian period.

From the time of its inception, the *Butokukai* took upon itself two aims: to standardize the practice of swordsmanship in Japan and to lobby for the inclusion of *gekken* in the educational curriculum. The process of doing both took decades. By

---

29 Pyle, p. 182.
30 A discussion of *bushidō* and its government-sponsored role will follow later in the chapter.
31 The *Butokukai* was originally divided into five divisions: *gekken*, *jūdō*, *naginata* (a type of glaive), *kyūdō* (archery) and *sōjutsu*. Unless specified otherwise, this paper will confine “*Butokukai*” to mean the *gekken* section.
Photograph of a kendō practice from the 22nd Year of Meiji (1890). The armor and clothing worn by these practitioners remains virtually unchanged to this day. Image courtesy of the International Kendō Federation.
1925 various ryūha remained even within the boundaries of Butokukai-sponsored practice\textsuperscript{33}, and while the Butokukai successfully arranged for gekken to be added to the educational curriculum in 1912\textsuperscript{34} it remained optional until the 1930s.\textsuperscript{35} One area where the Butokukai did have immediate success was in promoting the spiritual-training aspect of gekken. In order to facilitate this emphasis, in 1920 the Butokukai mandated that the jumble of sword techniques known throughout the nation as gekken, kenjutsu, etc., be officially renamed kendō.\textsuperscript{36}

\textbf{AN ORGANIZATION OF MARTIAL VIRTUE}

Having thus discussed the origins of kendō, it is important now to investigate the organization created by the government to control it. As stated above, the Butokukai was established in the wake of the First Sino-Japanese War, as part of an surge of nationalist sentiment across the country. The group was first established through the work of two individuals in particular: Watanabe Chiaki, the governor of Kyoto and a shizoku, and Mibu Motonaga, the head priest of the Heian shrine.\textsuperscript{37} Mibu's involvement in particular is indicative of the level of government approval received by the Butokukai, despite its nominal independence.\textsuperscript{38} The Heian Shrine (a replica of an older shrine of the same name) with which Mibu was affiliated was also constructed in 1895 to commemorate the 1,100 year anniversary of the founding of

\textsuperscript{33} Even among the youngest groups of practitioners listed in the Kendōka Shashin Meikan, ryūha affiliations are listed. Meyer, \textit{Kendōka Shashin Meikan}.

\textsuperscript{34} Guttmann and Thompson p. 112.

\textsuperscript{35} Hurst, p. 164.

\textsuperscript{36} Dan, p. 90.

\textsuperscript{37} Meyer, \textit{Kendōka Shashin Meikan}, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{38} Recall that Meiji Japan did have a state religion in the form of State Shinto, though other religions were officially tolerated. Mibu Motonaga was not only a priest but by virtue of his position also a member of the Department of Shinto, and his position as a priest at Heian Shrine gave his role a particularly strong symbolic importance to that department.
Heian-kyō (the city that would eventually be known as Kyoto) by Kammu-tennō.

The shrine itself was heavily associated with State Shintō and Emperor worship, and during its founding ceremony Kammu-tennō was enshrined as a kami (神, usually rendered as “god” but more accurately “spirit”) and as protector of Kyoto.\footnote{39 John Dougill, *Kyoto: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 8.}

That Mibu would involve himself in the establishment of the Butokukai speaks volumes as to the level of official approval of gekken as a patriotic activity as well as a desire to link martial arts with Emperor worship and state religion. In a further move to strengthen that relationship, His Imperial Highness Prince Komatsunomiya Akihito was established as the First Minister of the Butokukai,\footnote{40 Meyer, *Kendōka Shashin Meikan*, p. 2.} a move that guaranteed the organization the official approval of the Ministry of Education.\footnote{41 Guttmann and Thompson, p. 45.}

The organization would have to wait, however, to receive its official headquarters. Like the Heian Shrine, the Butokuden, which was not completed until 1899, was a replica of an older Heian period building by the same name, used by nobles of the time for a form of horseback archery.\footnote{42 Ibid., p. 45.} The new building served as a headquarters for the Butokukai as well as a training facility. It was described by a British visitor as being similar in design to a temple, with many traditional features to the architecture.\footnote{43 Harrison, p. 16.}

After its inception, the Butokukai began to grow rapidly, and by the 1920s had an estimated membership of two million.\footnote{44 Ibid., p. 16.} In an attempt to regulate the grading of kendō practitioners, the Butokukai established special ranks for the most talented
practitioners outside of the standard kendō rank system. The highest of these ranks was hanshi, the next kyōshi and the lowest seiren-shō. In order to support the practice of kendō the Butokukai even set up a pension system for hanshi-level practitioners, though this was eventually discontinued.\(^45\)

In the long term, the organization created by Watanabe and Mibu had one primary goal: the acceptance of kendō as a mandatory part of the school curriculum.\(^46\) In a nation with a school enrollment rate of 81 percent by the turn of the century and 94 percent by the end of the Russo-Japanese War\(^47\) the acceptance of kendō into the educational curriculum would be a massive boon to the practice, in much the same way that the mandatory practice of football in the modern American education system guarantees a level of familiarity with the sport among all Americans. In order to accomplish this goal, however, the Butokukai first had to create a standardized kendō curriculum. To this end, it launched two initiatives. The first was to create a standardized list of regulations, including officially recognized kata, for the practice of kendō, a process that culminated in 1912 with the proclamation by a committee containing representatives from the largest kendō ryūha as well as the Butokukai of a list of standard kendō kata and practices. In an interesting twist, Kanō Jigorō sat as Vice Chairman of this committee.\(^48\) The second part of this initiative was the creation of a school capable of producing qualified teachers who would meet the standards of the Ministry of Education. This was accomplished

\(^45\) Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan pp. 22, 26, 35.
\(^46\) Dan, p. 86.
\(^48\) Guttmann and Thompson, p. 107.
through the foundation of a national school for teachers controlled directly by the
Butokukai, called *Bujutsu Gakkō* (武術学校 “School of the Military Arts”) during its
founding in 1910, renamed the *Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō* (武術専門学校 “Specialty
School for the Military Arts”) in 1912, and then renamed again as the *Budō Senmon
Gakkō* (武道専門学校 “Specialty School for the Martial Ways”) 1919, though the
school was often referred to by the shortened name *Busen*. In addition, several
regional schools, known as *Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō* (武術教員養成所, “Instructor's
School for The Military Arts”) were set up to fulfill the role of the *Busen* on the local
level, though they gradually began to see their role usurped by the growth of the
*Busen*.

**A CONFLICT WITHOUT WAR**

Now, then, we are faced with one final question in our discussion of modern
*kendō* and its role in the Butokukai. What was its purpose? Of what value was
*kendō* in the new Japan?

In order to discuss this aspect of *kendō*, it is first necessary to discuss one of
the most prominent Western imports into Japan: the concept of sport. The place of
sport in late nineteenth century society is, of course, far beyond our scope here, so our
discussion is best confined to a brief summary. Simply put, sport served two
purposes in Victorian society. On the one hand, it provided an excellent method for
the physical training of youth at a time when the concept of physical education going
hand-in-hand with mental education was just coming into vogue. In the words of

---

49 Hamaguchi, p. 10.
50 Meyer, *Kendōka Shashin Meikan*, p. 27.
Herbert Spencer, “sportive activities” were “divinely appointed means” to human welfare and development. The second purpose of sport was to cultivate a certain set of social values based around competition amongst individuals and cooperation among teammates in order to foster culturally approved values. In summary, to use the words of William Matthews, professor at the University of Chicago, “The splendid empires which England has founded on every corner of the globe have their origins largely in the football contests at Eton, the boat-races on the Thames, and the cricket-matches on her downs and heaths. . .the race so widely dominant. . .is dominant because its institutions cultivate self-reliance, and its breeding develops endurance, courage and pluck.”

Given the importance that sport held in this worldview, it is no wonder that one of the many criticisms leveled at “feudal” Japan after its forced re-opening was that the people there lacked any appreciation of sport. All of the extraterritorial zones in Japan during the bakumatsu period had a sporting club, and the foreigners there availed themselves of the chance to enjoy sports ranging from lawn tennis to rifle shooting while lampooning the Japanese for their “effeminate” lack of sports (gekken and sumō were too barbaric in nature to count).

The Japanese government did not consider sports a particularly high priority at the start of the Meiji Period. The system established by the Educational Ordinance of 1872 did not include a mandatory physical education component for any level past elementary school, a phenomenon most likely explained by a Confucian attitude towards education in which “physical fitness” was devalued.

51 Roden, p. 511.
52 Ibid., p. 512.
53 Ibid., p. 512-513.
compared to erudition and intellectual training. Indeed, the first impulse towards sports in Japan came from Westerner yatoi (雇い, lit. “the hired,” a term for Westerners hired to assist in the modernization process) working in education who voiced concern about “narrow intellectualism” without corresponding physical development. In the words of W. Gray Dixon, hired by the monbusho to teach at a commercial school intoyko from 1876-1880: “the frequency of sickness among the students and the general delicacy of their physique demanded greater attention to out-of-door exercise.”54 In response to these concerns, the Ministry of Education began a program of kei taisō (刑体操) or light calisthenics in 1878 under the direction of George Leland, an American yatoi. Leland, however, was concerned that under the new system physical education would become a privilege exclusively of the shizoku class much as martial and physical training had been the exclusive domain of the samurai. As a result, he was hesitant to add sports of any kind to the school curriculum.55

His opposition, however, was eventually overridden by the Minister of Education Mori Arinori, who in 1886 introduced a new physical education curriculum (before being assassinated in 1889 by a zealot claiming that he had “disrespected the Imperial family” with his pro-Western views). At the lower levels, this curriculum was based around heishiki taisō (兵式体操) or “military-style exercises” designed to imitate the training program used by the army. According to Arinori, this program would both increase fitness and build obedience to the state. At the higher levels of education, however, Arinori was worried that heishiki taisō, being in essence a form

54 Ibid., p. 514.
55 Ibid., p. 515.
of military drill, would repress the independent thinking of the students, making them useless as the innovators Japan so badly needed. His solution was to begin including European style sports in the curriculum.\textsuperscript{56}

Sports quickly became a focus of national interest, and the success of Japanese athletes was seen as a success for the Meiji government and the new, modern Japan herself. When, in 1895 the Higher Normal School of Tokyo, or \textit{Tōkyō Ichikō} (東京一校) baseball team crushed a team of Americans formed jointly from the Yokohama Field Club and the U.S. Navy, the victory was vested by some with huge importance. In the words of one student chronicler, writing the following year, the strength of Japanese spirit was “expressed first in our great victories in the Sino-Japanese War, and now by our great victories in baseball.”\textsuperscript{57} Sports had become a national pastime and a measuring stick against the West.

While baseball occupied a pedestal as the most favored of the imported Western sports, enthusiasts of \textit{gekken} seized the opportunity to promote their art as a form of “native” sport. After all, the non-lethal methods of sparring in \textit{gekken} had already been adapted into a successful form of competition for centuries that was designed to produce self-improvement in the practitioner. Was this not also the goal of European sport? Besides, sports were meant to express national characteristics. As mentioned earlier, cricket, rowing and tennis were quintessentially British, and baseball was quintessentially American (in the words of Albert Spalding, baseball had “all the attributes of American origin [and] American character.”)\textsuperscript{58} What could be more quintessentially Japanese than \textit{gekken}? Indeed, even the practitioners of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. 516.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 530.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Ibid., p. 517.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
European sports recognized this fact. In popularizing the sport in Japan, baseball coaches drew parallels between great games and the warrior epics of ancient Japan, between the bat swing and the sword stroke, and between the code of fair play and bushidō. Even the equipment used for Japanese baseball was from gekken. An 1891 photograph of an Ichikō practice shows a catcher wearing a men, a protective face covering used in gekken, and the students observing the match wearing hakama, a piece of formal clothing worn in gekken (and today, in kendō). The school song of the Ichikō baseball team epitomizes this equation of baseball and Japan’s warrior tradition:

Among literary and martial arts pursued
In the righteous air of the First Higher School
Baseball stands especially high
With its spirit of honor that refuses to die

The crack of the bat echoes to the sky
On cold March mornings when we chase balls on the ice
Year in and year out, through hardship and pain
Enduring all hardship, we practice our game

While the years have seen many a foe
Come to our schoolyard where strong winds blow
Upon touching the sleeves of our armored warriors
We turn them away, speechless with fright

The valorous sailors from Detroit, Kentucky and Yorktown
Whose furious batting can imitate a cyclone
Threw off their helmets, their energies depleted
Behold how pathetically they run away defeated

Courageously, we marched twenty miles south
To fight the Americans at Yokohama
Though they boast of the game as their national sport
Behold the games they have left with no score

Ah, for the glory of our Baseball Club!
Ah, for the glitter it has cast!

59 Ibid., p. 521-523.
Pray that our martial valor never turns submissive
And that our honor will always shine far across the Pacific.\(^6^0\)

To summarize, then, sport as an arena of national improvement and
competition reached a powerful vogue in Japan by the late 1880s, and enthusiasts of
gekken pushed hard to ensure that their beloved practice was included in this new
popularization of competition, especially in the education system. This was one of
the most important aims of the Butokukai, and one that we will see surface strongly in
the text itself.

Having thus discussed the origins of *kendō* as it appears in the text, the nature
of the *Butokukai* and the atmosphere in which both were created, we now turn to the
text itself.

**AN EMBODIMENT OF THE JAPANESE SPIRIT**

The first section of the *Kendōka Shashin Meikan* is composed of
“background” information and photographs about *kendō*, describes a “history” of
both the practice and the *Butokukai* organization. The text opens with a small
section describing the history of *kendō*, followed by pictures of various famous
locations in the history of *kendō* as well as the original organizers of the *Butokukai*
and the participants in the first two national *Butokukai*-sponsored *kendō*
tournaments.

The opening paragraph of the text describes *kendō* as “the embodiment of the
Japanese spirit . . . a method of training the body and mind that is unique to our

\(^{60}\) Ibid., pp. 533-534.
country, and something that can be proudly shown to the rest of the world.”

Thus, the practice of *kendō* as described here is essentially a sport. Rather than the lethal techniques of the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*, the *Kendōka Shashin Meikan* emphasizes training of the mind and body as well as the national uniqueness of *kendō* practice. Recall from the previous sections that this is completely in line with the viewpoint of sports in the Victorian and European traditions. Viewed through this lens, *kendō* is an essential display of Japanese character in the same way that, according to Spalding, baseball is quintessentially American.

This section of the *Kendōka Shashin Meikan* is followed by pictures of three Shintō shrines: Kashima

Shrine in Kashima City, Ibaraki Prefecture, Katori Shrine in Katori City, Chiba Prefecture and Heian Shrine in Kyoto, Kyoto Prefecture. The selection of shrines here is not random. Each shrine depicted has been associated historically with swordsmanship. Two of them are associated with a traditional *heihō*; Iizasa Yamashiro-no-kami Ienao, a swordsman from the fourteenth century and founder of the *Tenshin-Shōden-Shintō-ryū*, usually called by its shortened name of *Shintō-ryū* (神道流, lit. “The School of the Way of the Gods”), frequented both Katori and Kashima Shrines and credited the deities enshrined therein with divine revelations which lay the basis for the highest teachings of *Shintō-ryū* (which also happens to be the oldest still extant *ryūha* of swordsmanship). The Heian Shrine in Kyoto also has a martial association by virtue of its physical proximity to the

---

62 Alternatively read as Kajima.
63 Ibid., p. 3-5.
64 These same characters also refer to the Shintō religion systematized in the Meiji period out of indigenous traditional religious beliefs.
Butokuden and its association with the Imperial family and the martial “national religion” of State Shintō, as discussed in the previous section. The final location photographed is the Butokuden, an obvious choice both because of its association with the Heian period martial tradition and its place as the headquarters of the Butokukai.

The next series of pictures depicts individuals responsible for the organization of the Butokukai. It opens with two members of the Imperial family, Prince Komatsunomiya Akihito and Prince Fushiminomiya Sadanaru, who held in succession the title of Minister of the Butokukai. Both princes were members of seshū shinnōke (世襲親王家) or cadet branches of the Imperial House. In addition, both were career officers of the Imperial Japanese Military, and the pictures of them in the text show the pair in full dress uniforms. It is therefore likely that the two princes were chosen to lead the Butokukai because they represented both an imperial and a military connection for an organization that even in 1920 was still forced to compete for influence with the military (in the form of the heishiki taisō) and with western sports. These connections provided an extremely useful advantage for the Butokukai.

The next two pages depict the organizers of the Butokukai. The first page, listing the chairmen and vice chairmen of the organization, is essentially a list of the most influential men in the Kyoto area. Watanabe Chiaki, the original Chairman of the organization, was the colonial governor of Hokkaidō and governor of Kyoto during the establishment of the Butokukai, and Kitagaki Kunimichi, a chairman of the

67 Guttmann and Thompson, pp. 45, 106.
68 Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan, p. 7.
organization succeeded him in both roles. Ōura Kanetake, another chairman, was a career politician and former member of the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department who eventually attained the position of Home Minister and later Chairman of the Butokukai. Mibu Motonaga (as noted before) was the Chief Priest of Heian Shrine as well as the first vice chairman, Kinoshita Hiroji, a vice chairman, was the former Principal of Ichikō and an exponent of kendō during his time there, and Konishi Shin'emon was a wealthy businessman from the Kansai area who is mentioned as an important backer of the Butokukai, though he lacks an official title. All in all, the first group of Butokukai organizers was composed of extremely influential men. More importantly for our purposes, they were influential men who chose to align themselves with the cause of the Butokukai and the martial arts.

This list of influential and powerful men, when combined with the Imperial connections implied on the previous page, raises a very important question. Why was all this influence necessary? The martial arts in general, and gekken/kendō in particular, have very distinguished lineages as traditional Japanese arts. Presumably the revival of interest in traditional culture that occurred through the 1880s and 1890s would have been such a boon as to make unnecessary the intercession of businessmen, politicians educators and other powerful figures in

---

70 This name can also be read “Ōura Kanetaka.”
72 Guttmann and Thompson, p. 107.
73 Ibid., p. 87.
order to support the Butokukai. The twenty-year period during which gekken was officially suppressed, however, significantly set back the cause of a single, unified and nationally popular school of swordsmanship. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the interim the military had developed its own brand of kenjutsu, and official repression of gekken had forced several ryūha to refuse admission to the public and close themselves to all but the families of current practitioners. All in all, the situation facing the Butokukai was reminiscent of the early Tokugawa period, with a large divide between the various practices that had been collectively labeled gekken. The institution faced from its inception sharp resistance from within as it was dependent on individual ryūha for instructors and members, and was not capable of producing its own instructors until the creation of the Busen in 1910. These ryūha were not interested in abandoning their independence or seeing their style altered in the name of producing a national sport. Some even refused to participate in the Butokukai and went “underground,” taking only a limited number of students and teaching them in the more traditional style devoid of a sportive element. In addition, the organization faced resistance from without, as its drive to see kendō included in the national curriculum had been stymied by the Monbushō bureaucrats who had deemed kendō both dangerous and uncivilized in 1886, 1895 and 1906. The Butokukai also faced competition from the military, which preferred to encourage the heishiki taisō and similar exercises because of their paramilitary nature.

75 Dan, p. 72.
76 Yamaguchi, p. 10.
77 The degree to which these schools were able to maintain their independence and the lineage of modern styles of “kenjutsu” which claim descent from them is still of some dispute. Draeger, p. 73.
78 Guttmann and Thompson, p. 116.
79 Dan, p. 79.
all, it is no wonder that a tremendous amount of influence and clout was necessary to support the Butokukai.

The next page of the text concerns itself with the various organizers and instructors who participated in the founding of the Butokukai. Of particular interest to us here is that the instructors listed, unlike the practitioners in the later sections of the text, do not have any ryūha affiliation listed. This is in spite of the fact that prior to the foundation of the Butokukai it was impossible to learn gekken without affiliating oneself with an instructor and, consequentially, that instructor's ryūha. This omission is, in all likelihood, an attempt to stress the unifying nature of the Butokukai, rather than the individual lineages of its founding group of instructors. It is worth noting, however, that in this section too the authors are not above stressing the influence of their organization. Uchitaka Jinzaburō, President of the Kyoto Commercial and Industrial Bank, is mentioned as well, but only in his role as the construction manager for the Butokuden.

The following two pages depict two of the first national level events for kendō organized by the Butokukai. The first photograph is from the first Butokukai enbu and shows the first twelve men ever to receive a title from the Butokukai, in this case the title of seiren-shō. The photo is from 1896, and records the names of each recipient. In addition, each name is paired with the honorific prefix ko (故), roughly equivalent to the English expression “the late.” As is the case with the instructors

80 Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan, p. 9.
82 Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan, p. 9.
83 演武, meaning roughly “combat exercises” is an older term for a style of joint practice between different martial disciplines. Like heihō, it can also refer generally to the practice of the martial arts.
84 Meyer Kendōka Shashin Meikan, p. 10.
on the previous page, no ryūha is listed for the recipients. This is particularly odd in light of the fact that the recipients were all likely born prior to the Meiji Restoration, meaning that in order for these men to have learned swordsmanship they would have needed to be affiliated with a ryūha. Indeed, at least one recipient, Okamura Sakonta, was the head of a ryūha. We know from secondary sources that Okamura was the head of the Okamura nittō-ryū and a retainer of Okayama-han. That the Butokukai was able to convince such a man to take part in the enbu speaks volumes about their influence among the shizoku community. The second of the two pictures is less helpful since it does not provide any names, though it does provide us with a date for the first tournament ever organized by the Butokukai: 1896, only one year after the foundation of the organization. Both pictures also provide us with one other important clue about the nature of the Butokukai. Rather than Western clothes, military uniforms, or hakama, in both pictures everyone wears a formal-style kimono cut in traditional fashion.

The final series of pictures in this section shows each of the branch offices (shibu, 支部) of the Butokukai throughout Japan and its territorial holdings. Interestingly, the shibu are organized, not by iroha or phonetic order, but by the regions of Japan. The first page contains shibu from the Kantō (central Japan) region, the second from Tōhoku (northern Honshū), and so on. Most, though not all,

86 Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan, p. 11.
87 Ibid., pp. 10-11.
88 イロハ, or iroha ordering, is based off a poem from the Heian Period (795-1185) of the same name. The poem contains each of the syllables of Japanese once, and the order in which they appear in the poem became a common form of “alphabetization” prior to the introduction of the phonetic ordering system based on Sanskrit during the Meiji Period.
of the prefectures are represented. Tochigi, Yamanashi, Kanagawa, Tottori and Hiroshima prefectures are not depicted, though all are fairly cosmopolitan. In addition, there is no Tokyo branch office, though Taiwan does have one. The “colonies” of Okinawa and Hokkaido are also omitted, most likely because of their small populations.89

This section tells us a great deal about the reach of the Butokukai. Clearly, the organization saw itself as national in scale, though it apparently did not consider certain areas that we now consider “Japanese” to be a part of that nation. Indeed, there is a strong effort to reinforce a sense of nationalism and community in the pictures. Every picture depicts a building erected along traditional lines in an architectural design very similar to that of the Butokuden, and every picture containing students from the shibu (most notably the Fukui and Ishikawa shibu) shows a group of students in uniform (either hakama or more modern Western designs) with the rising sun flag in the background. Clearly, this is an organization stressing its patriotic roots.90

The final question we must address is the curious omission of five prefectures and Tokyo from the list. The answer may be found by analyzing the geographic distribution of the omitted regions. With the exception of Tottori, each of the omitted prefectures is in what is now considered the Tokyo metropolitan area. This area was home to the Zen Nihon Gakusei Kendō Renmei (全日本学生剣道連盟, All Japan Student Kendō Federation) as well as Kokushikan University, both centers of

89 Ibid., pp. 12-21.
90 Ibid., pp. 15.
kendō practice and competitors with the Butokukai for influence. While neither organization was able to expand much outside the Tokyo area, their presence may explain the absence of the Butokukai in that zone. The final omission, Tottori prefecture, in 1918 had a population of only 500,000 (lower even than Okinawa) and was likely omitted for that reason.

Having thus discussed the content of this section of the Kendōka Shashin Meikan, let us now see what conclusions can be drawn from it. What it shows us is the ideal view the Butokukai maintained of itself as an organization that was thoroughly grounded in the samurai/shizoku tradition that was at the same time supportive of modernization and the “new Japan.” The Butokukai was, in many ways, an exemplar of the attitude described by Kenneth Pyle as dominating the final two decades of the nineteenth century in Japan. It was an ideology of cultural revival and pride in native traditions rather than of wholehearted acceptance of Western culture and values. In other words, the Butokukai views itself as, at heart, a patriotic and nationalist organization, promoting an activity that can “be proudly shown to the rest of the world.”

HANSHI

Having thus examined the opening of the text, it falls to us now to discuss the sections dealing with individual practitioners of kendō. The first of these deals with hanshi (範士, lit. “an exemplar”), the highest rank a living kendōka could attain from

91 Dan, p. 93.
94 Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan, p. 2.
The Butokukai. The rank had stringent requirements in terms of skill, and even more so in terms of age; only those who had practiced kendō for forty years beyond their age of majority (i.e. those who had practiced for forty years past the age of twenty) were eligible. This section contains some of the most famous kendōka in modern history. For example, Takano Sasaburō authored the Kendō Kyōhon and became one of the leading figures in the Butokukai and was also a master of the Ōnoha-Ittō-ryū. Nakayama Hakudō was another famous modern kenshi whose sayings on kendō are still taught to modern students of the practice. Naitō Takaharu and Monna Tadashi were both former students of Ōzawa Torakichi as well as future heads of the Butokukai kendō-bu and were essential participants in the process of carrying the values of patriotism and self-cultivation so essential to the Mito Tōbukan into the Butokukai.

There were 18 living hanshi recorded in the Kendōka Shashin Meikan, for whom we can develop something of a composite group profile before discussing their individual traits (see tables on next page). In 1925, the year the Kendōka Shashin Meikan was published, the average age of the hanshi was 66 and the median age was 67 years. The group, however, contained a wide range of ages. The oldest member, Yamane Masao, born in 1840, was 85, and the youngest, Takano Shigeyoshi, born in 1872, was only 50. As for their birthplaces, none of the eighteen were born outside of the three primary Japanese islands of Honshū, Shikoku and Kyūshū. No hanshi

---

95 The Butokukai eventually implemented a posthumous variation of this title, jōhanshi. However, since the KSM text deals only with living practitioners no jōhanshi are discussed in the text itself. Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan, p. 22.
97 Dan, p. 246.
98 Ibid., p. 87.
are recorded from Yeso (modern Hokkaidō) or from Okinawa, both of which were (and in some respects, still are) considered Japanese colonies during the Meiji period. All of the hanshi, being from the three “original” Japanese islands and, with only one exception (Takano Shigeyoshi), born before the Meiji Restoration, were thus products of Tokugawa society. They provide us with some insight into the training practices of the Tokugawa period.

What are those training practices? The vast majority of the hanshi were trained in a traditional style, either by an individual teacher or through attendance at a han or private school. Of the 18 hanshi, only two were trained outside this tradition: Takahashi Kyūtarō and Kawazaki Zenzaburō trained with the police force, which included swordsmanship in their curriculum as early as the 1870s, and used ryūha instructors exclusively. Thus, while technically these men were not trained in the traditional manner, in practice their training would likely have strongly resembled those of the other, more traditionally schooled hanshi.

The remaining sixteen hanshi read like a survey of traditional swordsmanship training styles. Nine were taught by individuals or small groups of individuals. Though each of these cases is interesting, four in particular are worth comment. The first is Takano Sasaburō, one of the few recorded cases in the text of direct family transmission, having been taught by his grandfather Takano Mitsumasa. The next two men, Honma Saburō and Kimura Nofuhite, are remarkable mainly in that they

### Age Structure of Butokukai Award Holders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Individuals</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Median Birth Year</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oldest 11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanshi</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>66 67</td>
<td>1858 77 to 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyōshi</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>53 52</td>
<td>1873 73 to 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seiren-shō</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>46 42</td>
<td>1883 66 to 78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ryūha Affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affiliated</th>
<th>Unaffiliated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanshi</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyōshi</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>84.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seiren-shō</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Traditional Training</th>
<th>Non-Traditional Training</th>
<th>Other or No Record</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Transmission</td>
<td>Dōjō Affiliated</td>
<td>Han-Affiliated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanshi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyōshi</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seiren-shō</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Since many kendōka received training from more than one source, the totals for training do not match those given in the text.

Data for the above tables were derived from the *Kendōka Shashin Meikan*.

---

11% was chosen rather than 10% so as to have more than one point of reference for the *hanshi* group.
were instructed by Sakakibara Kenkichi\(^{103}\), the same man who organized the *Gekken Kaisha* and a master of the *Jiki-Shinkage-ryū*.\(^{104}\) The Last of these men is Noda Chōzaburō, who was trained in *Shinkage-ryū* (the traditional school of the Tokugawa shōguns) by Watanabe Noboru. What makes this case unusual is that in addition to being an instructor Watanabe was also a *koshaku*, a title of nobility in the new Meiji system.\(^{105}\)

Of the remaining seven *hanshi*, four were trained in private dōjō. Two, Monna Tadashi and Naitō Takaharu, as mentioned before were students of the *Mito Tōbukan* and its instructor Ōzawa Torakichi.\(^{106}\) Takano Shigeyoshi (not related to Sasaburō) was a student of the famous Tokyo Meishinkan school, and Yamane Masao attended the less well known Eimeikan.\(^{107}\) Two members of the *hanshi* group trained in a school belonging to a *han*: Miyawaki Danji (*Kumamoto-han*) and Sō Shigetō (*Kurume-han*).\(^{108}\) The final *hanshi*, Tomiyama Tsubura, is the only one for whom we have no information about his training.\(^{109}\) Because his birth year, 1852, puts him at around sixteen by the time of the Meiji Restoration, it is likely that he would have begun studying swordsmanship before this point and thus received a more traditional style of training.

Before continuing, it is also important that we note the *ryūha* affiliations of the practitioners. Of the 18 *hanshi*, 17 have some *ryūha* affiliation and only one, Kimura Nofuhite, has none (most likely because his training was split between two

\(^{103}\) Ibid., pp. 23, 25.

\(^{104}\) Dan, p. 83.


\(^{106}\) Ibid., pp. 24-25.

\(^{107}\) Ibid., pp. 24-25.

\(^{108}\) Ibid., p. 24.

\(^{109}\) Ibid., p. 23.
teachers and thus he did not continue with either one long enough to be officially certified). In addition, three hanshi were certified in multiple ryūha. The most common ryūha are Jiki-Shinkage-ryū (four adherents) followed closely by Shinkage-ryū, Mutō-ryū and Onoha Ittō-ryū (2 each). The hanshi group, then, contains a proliferation of ryūha, with few of the members sharing a common style.

The last important issue to consider about the hanshi are the years in which they were awarded their titles by the Butokukai. Interestingly, the youngest member of the group, Takano Shigeyoshi, was also the first among the group to receive his title (1912). Conversely, Kawazaki Zensaburō, despite being thirteen years older than Takano Shigeyoshi, received his title only two years before the Kendōka Shashin Meikan was published. A few of the hanshi do not have years of award given next to their titles, presumably because they received equivalent titles prior to the establishment of the Butokukai that were then carried over to the organization. Among those for whom we do have data, however, the award date was extremely late considering the difficult requirements set out for the title. There is no rationale given for this, leaving us to speculate as to a reason. Arguably the most likely is that since the Butokukai did not begin to realize its institutional power until after the Russo-Japanese War, when its membership began to approach the two million mark. It seems likely that in a country of over 50 million, it would take such a large number to put into place the machinery to evaluate practitioners on the national level. Thus, the late dates of award show the difficulty of establishing a national system of evaluation for the hanshi rather than any lack of skill among the members.

110 Ibid., p. 24.
111 Ibid., p. 23.
of the group themselves.

What does the above information tell us? Assuming that the *hanshi*, although a small group, provide a reasonable stastistical sample of their generation of *kendōka*, we can see that for this generation the practice of *kendō* was dominated by traditional practices. There is no clear centralized order to the training (which, we must recall, was the primary goal of the *Butokukai*), nor is there any clearly dominant style amongst them. The sheer variety of their training represents the hundreds of years of Confucian-inspired factionalism that the *Butokukai* was out to undo. If the *hanshi* group can be taken as representative of the generation before the Meiji Restoration, and thus prior to any serious movement to create a national style of *kendō*, then clearly the *Butokukai* had a long task in front of it indeed.

**KYŌSHI**

Let us then turn to the highest possible rank of a *kendōka*, the *kyōshi* (教士, lit. “great instructor”), who are for the most part men of the next generation. The requirements, while stringent, were less strict than for *hanshi*, mainly in that there was no minimum age associated with the title. That being said, since *kyōshi* was the highest rank available for those under sixty, it was still extremely prestigious. Indeed, the *kyōshi* can count some distinguished members of the *Butokukai* among their ranks, such as Ōgawa Kinosuke, one of the members of the committee that established the official *Butokukai kata* as well as Mochida Moriji, master of the Noma dōjō, established by the founder of Kodansha Publishing and *kendō* enthusiast

---

114 Meyer, *Kendōka Shashin Meikan*, p. 28; Dan, p. 124.
There are 57 kyōshi recorded in the text, which mentions only those alive at the time of its publication in 1925. Although in terms of age there is some overlap among the older kyōshi and hanshi, the kyōshi were a distinctly younger group than the hanshi (see tables on page 101). Indeed, the two youngest kyōshi, Nakashima Shūichirō and Inoue Daishirō, were born in 1888, making them only 35 and 36 (respectively) at the time of their kyōshi award. Since the median birth year of the group is 1873 and the average year is 1872, half of kyōshi were born in the 1880s or 1870s, roughly a decade after the Meiji Restoration.

How does this generally younger generation of title holders compare to its predecessors? In some ways the training of the kyōshi strongly resembles that of the hanshi. Eleven kyōshi trained in whole or in part with individual teachers, including two (Kadono Hidetada and Ōkouchi Tomozō) who were trained by Sakakibara Kenkichi and two others who were trained by hanshi. There are also five students of han schools and han instructors (Ozawa Anjirō, Itō Ryōya, Fujita Kusōyoku, Fujisaki Gosaburō and Ina Moritaka) and a further ten who studied in a private dōjō of some kind. Two of the kyōshi, Shinozaki Ninbei and Fujisaki

116 Though this is only thirteen years from the average hanshi birth year of 1859, it is important to keep in mind that the hanshi, particularly those who had a more traditional samurai education, would also have started their weapon training much earlier than samurai born after the Meiji Restoration (a good example of this being Tōgō Heihachirō, who began such studies when he was 13). Hoyt, p. 20.
117 Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan, pp. 27, 28, 38.
118 Ibid., pp. 29, 32.
119 Ibid., pp. 27, 31.
Gosaburō, learned kendō from the police. Finally, there is no record of training for one of the kyōshi, Kitamura Yoshinao, but since he was born ten years prior to the Meiji Restoration it is safe to suppose that he received a fairly traditional training, especially since he also had a ryūha affiliation. Each of kyōshi fit the pattern established in the previous section of either traditional transmission through a school (han or otherwise), an individual or the police force, the first national institution to adopt kendō in any significant sense.

Yet this only accounts for roughly half the kyōshi. What, then, of the training of the other half? Here is where we start to see the first significant impact of the Butokukai. The training of the remaining half of the kyōshi is split primarily amongst three different institutions which comprised the teaching schools of the Butokukai. The first were regional schools collectively called Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo (武術教員養成所, “Schools for the Teaching of Bujutsu Instructors”). The second was the centralized teaching institution that eventually replaced them called variously the Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō (武術専門学校), Budō Gakkō(武道学校), or Budō Senmon Gakkō (武道専門学校), and usually referred to by the shorter name Busen. The final source was the headquarters and branch offices of the Butokukai itself. There are also kyōshi who received part or all of their training in other non-traditional venues, such as Itō Seiji and Sawa Tomohiko, both of who were trained in kendō at their local middle schools, presumably from Butokukai instructors since neither have ryūha affiliation.

Particularly interesting is the fact that this group of kyōshi who trained with

---

120 Ibid., pp. 31, 33.  
121 Ibid., p. 33.  
122 Ibid., pp. 27, 32.
the Butokukai or with affiliated organizations were all born after the Meiji Restoration and comprise the majority of that large age group born in the late 1870s and early 1880s. In other words, within the larger group of kyōshi, the younger members of the group trend more towards the centralized training of the Butokukai rather than the pre-Restoration system. Though there are a few kyōshi who were born after the Meiji Restoration but trained in the traditional manner (such as Shiga Nori, born in 1881 and trained individually by a master named Kawakami Shirō, though he also trained with the Butokukai)\textsuperscript{123} to a large extent the divergence in training methods between pre- and post-restoration kyōshi is very clear.

Having discussed their training we must now turn to the ryūha affiliations of the kyōshi. In many ways, the ryūha affiliations listed here are little different from those in the hanshi section. As before, the most popular ryūha are Jiki-shinkage-ryū, Ōnoha-Ittō-ryū and Shintō-ryū, though Hokushin-Ittō-ryū (a similar style to Ōnoha-Ittō-ryū) approaches them in popularity. In addition, the text records several other ryūha, whose presence indicates the wide reach of the Butokukai and its ability to draw practitioners of disparate backgrounds. The most noteworthy characteristic of the kyōshi, however, is the fact that so many of them are not affiliated with any ryūha. Nine of the 57 kyōshi, or around 16%, are not members of a ryūha, compared to only one unaffiliated hanshi out of 18. In addition, all of the unaffiliated kyōshi were born some time after 1876, the year of the Satsuma Rebellion, and with it the breaking of the military power of the samurai.\textsuperscript{124} Like the rising prevalence of organizations such as the Busen or the various Butokukai branch offices, this increase

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., p. 33.
\textsuperscript{124} Hoyt, p. 11.
in unaffiliated *kendōka* signifies an increasing degree of success in centralizing the authority of *kendō* under the *Butokukai*. After all, if there is only one system of *kendō* then there is no need for a designation of *ryūha* -- a unified system requires no variations.

There is, however, one discrepancy in this pattern. One of the *kyōshi*, named Ōshima Jikita, is listed as a member of the *Butokukai-ryū*. This is the only reference to such a *ryūha* in this section of the text, though there are two more in the following section. No explanation is given as to the meaning of this distinction; however, there is one likely explanation. The *Kendōka Shashin Meikan* text was clearly the product of multiple editors, a fact born out by the non-standardized terminology used throughout the text. For example, the schools established by the *Butokukai* prior to the *Busen* are referred to in various sections of the text as the *Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo* as well as the *Dai Nippon Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo*. This is likely a case where a practitioner of standard, *Butokukai*-derived *kendō* (elsewhere marked simply by the absence of a *ryūha*) was marked in a different fashion by a specific editor. This theory is supported by the fact that of the eight *kyōshi* recorded on that page, only Ōshima trained solely with the *Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo* and received his title from the *Butokukai* (indicated by a year of receipt next to the title).125 There are two similar cases later in the *seiren-shō* section of the text. Sakiyama Itaru is listed as a practitioner of *Butokukai-ryū*, and Okuda Zentarō has “*Butokukai Kendō*” listed as a *ryūha* affiliation. Since Sakiyama was a student of the *Busen* and Okuda learned at the headquarters of the *Butokukai,* both cases support the theory that this is simply

---

126 Ibid., pp. 50, 58.
an editorial anomaly and not some hitherto undetected movement to form a distinct “Butokukai ryūha.”

The final remarkable case recorded here is that of Itō Seiji, a freshly minted kyōshi (he received his title in 1922) from Arayu Prefecture as well as a practitioner of Jiki-Shinkage-ryū. What makes Itō Seiji’s case remarkable is what he did for a living: he is listed as commander of the 4th Infantry Group of the Imperial Japanese Army.\(^{127}\) This is remarkable for several reasons. First, it confirms suppositions from the previous chapter that army officers were entering the military with prior experience in traditional kendō, strongly influencing the outlook and evolution of military guntōjutsu; and second, the fact that kendō had become an acceptable pastime for a military officer speaks to its growing respectability in the public sphere, especially compared to the extreme pro-Western stance of the early Meiji government.

**SEIREN-SHŌ**

Having discussed the kyōshi, we now turn our attention to the largest and youngest group of kendōka in the text, the seiren-shō (精錬証, lit. “testimonies to refined practice”) who comprise more than three-fourths of the kendōka recorded in the Kendōka Shashin Meikan. The members of this group are less distinguished than the hanshi and kyōshi, though many are noteworthy for having learned from hanshi and kyōshi recorded in the previous sections. Yet, they are important to the historian for providing us with the largest working sample of kendōka, and thus the clearest

---

\(^{127}\) Ibid., p. 27.
picture of a generation of kendōka (see tables on page 101).

The average age of the Seiren-shō at the time of publication was 45 and the median age was 42, but within that average there is an extremely wide range. The eldest seiren-shō was 78, while the youngest was only 26. 128 This 52-year range is impressive, but it does not undermine the fact that the majority of the Seiren-shō were distinctly children of the Meiji period. Using the average and median ages for the seiren-shō we can determine that over half the group was born after the disestablishment of the samurai class. In other words, the seiren-shō generation was a generation of the “new Japan” where, unlike for the previous generations, swordsmanship was not a tradition dominated by traditional practice. As a result, the average seiren-shō learned kendō in an extremely different environment from the kyōshi and hanshi. Let us see what impact that difference had on their training.

Despite the fact that the average age of a seiren-shō was only eight years separated from the kyōshi average, the training information of the seiren-shō is vastly different from what was observed in the previous two sections. Of the 238 seiren-shō, only 63 learned kendō in whole or in part through direct transmission from an individual. 129 Among that group, a few familiar names appear. For example, twelve students were taught directly by Takano Sasaburō-hanshi, 130 and another student is recorded as a student of Sakakibara Kenkichi. 131 Watanabe-koshaku, the count who trained Noda Chōzaburō-hanshi, also had a student named

---

128 The name of the older seiren-shō, born in 1847, is illegible due to distortion in the original text. The younger is Kuroka Tetsuhirō, born in 1899. Ibid., p. 50.
129 It is difficult to give an exact number due to both damage/image distortion in the text and the fact that many students have multiple sources listed for their training.
131 Ibid., p. 37.
Doi Toyokichi in this group.\textsuperscript{132} Han-related training also declined, most likely due to the disestablishment of the han far prior to the time when an average seiren-shō would have begun training. Han students account for only six of the 238 seiren-shō.\textsuperscript{133}

Many of the other sources of training that had been prevalent among the hanshi and kyōshi also declined here. For example, only thirty-four students were trained in any sort of traditional school or dōjō, with the three largest being the private schools Yūshinkan, Meishinkan and the Mito Tōbukan. The police forces also account for very few of the seiren-shō, totaling only six of the 238 (though eighteen seiren-shō are listed as currently working in a police department). This result, however, should not be taken as indicating a decrease in interest in kendō among the Japanese Police Forces. Rather, it is indicative of the split in curriculum between the Keishichō and the Butokukai. When the Butokukai began to assert authority over the teaching of kendō around 1910, one of the means it used to that end was the restructuring of curricula handed down from the Keishichō.\textsuperscript{134} As a result, a master of the police kata and training would not be considered a master by the Butokukai. Put another way, this figure indicates a break between the “practical” gekken/kendō of the police and the “sportive” system of the Butokukai. Yet eighteen of the seiren-shō are listed as working for the police both in Japan proper, in colonial properties like Korea, and in the Japanese holdings in China,\textsuperscript{135} so clearly even after this split in training methods there remained some interplay between the two groups.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., p. 39.
\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., pp. 38, 42, 56, 57, 60.
\textsuperscript{134} Guttmann and Thompson, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{135} For examples, see Meyer, Kendōka Shashin Meikan, pp. 39, 44, 48, 54.
The traditional sources of training observed among the *hanshi* and *kyōshi* see a strong decline in the *seiren-shō*, but in their place new training techniques arose. Most prominent among these is the *Butokukai* itself. As noted earlier, the *Butokukai* maintained *shibu* offices in nearly every Japanese prefecture, as well as a *honbu* (本部, headquarters) in the form of the *Butokuden* in Kyoto. These *shibu* and *honbu* are responsible for training 83 of the *seiren-shō*, or around 35 percent of the total *seiren-shō* group. In addition, nineteen *seiren-shō* learned *kendō* from the one of the incarnations of the *busen*, with a further six having trained at its predecessor, the *Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo*. This increases the total of *Butokukai* or *Butokukai* affiliate-trained *seiren-shō* to 108, or 45 percent, a massive jump compared to the previous section.

Why did such a sudden shift occur? Why did individual transmission and other such traditional methods loose, to use an economic metaphor, such a large slice of their market at this time? The answer is twofold. First, the text itself as well as the information available on the *Butokukai* paints the picture of an organization clearly designed to ride the surge of nationalist feeling and patriotism that rocked Japan in the 1880s and 1890s. By associating itself both with Japan's past and with its present glory as well as with the power and majesty of the Imperial house, the *Butokukai* was able to establish itself as the premier association of martial artists in Japan. This is particularly true of *kendō*, where there was no centralized competing organization (such as Kanō Jigorō's *Kodokan* for *jūdō,*136 though Kanō himself was friendly with the *Butokukai*) capable of grabbing a market share. On the other hand,

---

136 Dan, p. 81.
traditional methods of training had been badly harmed by the anti-martial arts edicts of the 1870s as well as by the collapse of the samurai class and the subsequent loss of that important source of patronage. Many of the smaller ryūha were forced underground, taking only close family and friends of the current head of the ryūha and avoiding any attempt to advertise their existence.137 By the time the schools “re-emerged” during the 1880s and 1890s, the movement had begun to centralize kendō into a single system of instruction, a process that started in the police department and spread into the wider kendō circles. Simply put, the traditional dōjō and individual instructors could not compete with the Butokukai in terms of funding, numbers of qualified instructors or prestige. Though other schools, such as the Mito Tōbukan, would continue to exist (and do to this day),138 they were unable to overcome the Butokukai in terms of popularity.

Before moving on to another topic, one final part of the seiren-shō training statistics is worthy of mention. Fifteen of the recorded seiren-shō are listed as being trained at the Toyama Rikugun Gakkō, or Toyama Army School. This is, of course, the same school discussed in the previous chapter, where a fusion of Japanese styles with Western military techniques produced a style of kenjutsu associated with the army. As was the case with Itō Seiji in the previous section, these fifteen seiren-shō provide further support for the hypothesis that the officers being trained in army kenjutsu also likely had training in traditional kendō. Thus, there was more interplay between the two than previously thought. Indeed, Butokukai-influenced styles of kendō may have provided part of the impetus for the movement to use

137 Ibid., p. 72.
138 Ibid., p. 181.
traditional blades in place of sabers described by E.J. Harrison during the Russo-Japanese War.\(^{139}\) It may also have played a part in the eventual shift in army sword design from the \textit{kyū-guntō} (旧軍刀, “old style sword”, a design more saber than \textit{katana}) to the \textit{shin-guntō} (新軍刀, the stylistically traditional “army \textit{katana}” made famous during World War II)\(^{140}\) and the addition of more traditional sword styles (such as \textit{iai}, or quick-draw techniques) to the army training system.\(^{141}\) These fifteen officers reveal better than any other group the interplay between the various styles of swordsmanship that grew out of the changes of the Meiji Restoration. Their impact and that of those like them will be discussed to greater effect in the conclusion.

Moving on to the \textit{ryūha} of the seiren-shō we note once again that the proportion of practitioners not affiliated with a \textit{ryūha} has increased: from 17 to 37 percent, or 88 of the total 238. This is strong evidence for the ongoing success of the \textit{Butokukai} in its efforts to forge a unified style of \textit{kendō} and undo the fragmentation of the \textit{ryūha} system. Among the remaining 63 percent of seiren-shō with \textit{ryūha} affiliations, the trends in \textit{ryūha} affiliation that were observed among the \textit{hanshi} and \textit{kyōshi} remain. By far the most dominant \textit{ryūha} are the various derivations of \textit{Shintō-ryū}, which is sensible when we recall that it was (and is) Japan’s oldest still existant \textit{ryūha}. Yet, even it could claim only thirty seiren-shō, and most of the other \textit{ryūha} could only claim around fifteen. Indeed, among no group in the \textit{Kendōka Shashin Meikan}, be it \textit{hanshi}, \textit{kyōshi} or seiren-shō, does any one \textit{ryūha} come close to claiming prominence. This tendency may in part explain why no

\(^{139}\) Harrison, p. 89.
\(^{140}\) Fuller, p. 8.
\(^{141}\) Hurst, p. 65.
ryūha were able to challenge the dominance of the Butokukai. Simply put, none of them had the influence to do it.

Before concluding our discussion of the seiren-shō and moving on to a conclusion regarding the text as a whole, one final point of importance must be made regarding the ryūha in the Kendōka Shashin Meikan. The ryūha able to claim the largest numbers of adherents throughout the text, as noted above, are Jiki-Shinkage-ryū, Shintō-ryū, Mutō-ryū, and the twin Hokushin- and Ōnoha- branches of Ittō-ryū. What is worth noting about this is that these ryūha are historically some of the most important and largest in the history of Japan. One of the headmasters of Jiki-Shinkage-ryū, Naganuma Kunisato (1688-1767), is credited with producing the first set of bōgu, and with it creating the non-lethal sparring techniques that, when disseminated across the country, resulted in the creation of kendo.\textsuperscript{142} Shintō-ryū, as noted in an earlier part of this chapter, is the oldest ryūha in Japan, dating back roughly to the fourteenth century. Ōnoha- and Hokushin-ittō-ryū are both derivations of the original Ittō-ryū, as is Mutō-ryū (though it split off earlier). Ittō-ryū and its derivations maintained a strong following throughout the Tokugawa period and well into the Meiji Period. The famous and influential Takano Sasaburō, one of the most famous Meiji kendōka, was also an exponent of Hokushin-ittō-ryū.\textsuperscript{143}

The fact that the Butokukai was able to affiliate itself with these powerful ryūha certainly was one factor in its success as an organization. Without further records (most of which are either forbidden to non-members or were destroyed during the Second World War) it is impossible to know exactly why so many powerful ryūha

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Guttmann and Thompson, Japanese Sports, p. 63.
\item Hurst, p. 50.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
chose to work with the *Butokukai*. Yet perhaps clues can be found if we recall that by the Bakumatsu period and the fall of the Tokugawa *bakufu* the mass development of non-lethal sparring and the ability of various *ryūha* to test themselves against one another without fear of serious injury contributed towards the spread of a more national, unified style of swordsmanship. It may well be that the consensus among practitioners was that the *Butokukai* was the organization to support such a trend.

**CONCLUSION**

We come, then, to the central question of this chapter: what kind of *kendō* is this? What is the style that the *Butokukai* is trying to propagate, and why? This, of course, leads to another question: how well were they able to do it?

Let us approach the first question. *Kendō* as shown here is clearly a system in the midst of serious change. On the one hand, it retains many famous practitioners trained in an highly traditional manner, men trained during a time when *kendō*/*gekken* was a system that was theoretically based around actual combat. Put simply, the *Butokukai* incorporated practitioners from a time when the teachings of swordsmanship were thought to be first and foremost about combat. This is borne out by several oddities in the pre-war *kendō* tradition indicative of a more “live combat” oriented approach to training. For example, for most of the pre-war period grappling was considered an acceptable maneuver in *kendō*. At any time, a *kendōka* could drop his *shinai* and attempt to throw the opponent to the ground. If he was successful, he was considered to have won the match. This rather unsportsmanlike oddity was reinforced by a vaguely *heihō*-esque mentality whereby students were encouraged to study both *kendō* and *jūdō*, for in the words of Takano Sasaburō
“kendō and jūdō aren’t entirely distinct things. These two are, for example, like a mino [straw rain cloak] and kasa [conical rain hat]. You can’t say either is sufficient by itself. Therefore, in addition to studying kendō, you should study jūdō as well if you have the opportunity.”

A further holdover from a more combat-oriented mentality was the occasional implementation of “uneven matches,” where kendōka would fight against sōjutsuka (spear-users) and jūkenjutsuka (bayonet-wielders) in an attempt to test their actual combat prowess against such alternative weapons. A final indicator of traditional influence was the tendency to fight only single point matches. The first competitor to score a clean hit was declared the victor; after all, in traditional sword-fighting one clean hit would end the fight altogether.

Such combat-oriented training meant that there was certainly an element in the Butokukai that viewed kendō as more than a sport. Yet, at the same time the wild success (particularly in the seiren-shō generation) of Butokukai-sponsored training methods as well as references in both the Kendō Kyōhon and Kendō Shinan to decreasing usage of grappling techniques as well as sword-on-spear or sword-on-bayonet matches, show that attitudes towards kendō were undergoing a strong shift towards a more “sportsmanlike” viewpoint. This view of kendō seems to depict it more as a method of self-improvement than of combat. In the words of the text itself, kendō is “a method of training the body and mind” rather than simply a form of combat. The distinction between combat training and sport, however, was rather indistinct at this time. Recall from an earlier section the emphasis on sport as

---

146 Dan, p. 101.
Two holdover techniques that originated in gekken style combat training and were retained in kendō. On the left is an example of orishiki-dō, or a kneeling strike to the torso. On the right is an attempt at a foot sweep in order to knock down the opponent. Images from Kendō Shinan, courtesy of George McCall.
a sort of “bloodless war” and the equation of victory in the Sino-Japanese War with the Ichikō High School's great triumphs in baseball. Thus, the boundary between combat training, the various būdō and martial arts and sports was extremely blurred, a state best illustrated by the movement to include baseball as a būdō, spearheaded by Oshikawa Shunrō in an editorial from the 1911 edition of Undō Sekai [The World of Sports].

Kendō is emblematic of this confusion. The text shows it to be the product of a combination of both traditional factors like distinct ryūha and newer, sport-oriented concepts like centralized curricula (evidenced by the dominance of the Butokukai). How successful the Butokukai was at integrating sportive ideas into kendō while maintaining it as an essentially combative art, and how successful were its descendant organizations, will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

---

148 Guttmann and Thompson, Japanese Sports, p. 87.
CHAPTER 4: MODERN JAPANESE SWORDSMANSHIP AND CONCLUSIONS

Having discussed the history and practice of kendō as it is reflected in the two preceding documents, it now falls to us to summarize our conclusions from the previous chapters and discuss their contribution to the overall topic of this work. Before doing this, however, it is important to discuss briefly the history of swordsmanship in Japan after the end of the Taishō Period (1912-1925), through World War II and into the present. In this way, it will be possible to develop a stronger understanding of swordsmanship in modern Japan, which in turn can provide valuable insight into the practice itself.

“KENJUTSU” IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD AND BEYOND

We will begin with the collection of practices labeled kenjutsu that were taught at the Toyama Army School and described in the Kenjutsu Kyōhan. As stated in the second chapter, the kenjutsu of Toyama included guntōjutsu (saber combat), jūkenjutsu (bayonet combat) and jyōbaguntōjutsu (horseback swordsmanship). Turning first to guntōjutsu, the evidence provided by secondary studies of the Japanese military (particularly those of Richard Fuller, an expert on Japan’s military swords) shows that the kenjutsu practiced at the Toyama Military Academy continued relatively uninterrupted through the rest of the imperial history of Japan. The only modification to the curriculum came as a result of an upsurge of nativist sentiment generated by the (perceived) unfavorable settlements and slights to Japanese pride at the Versailles conference. Consequently, the military began an attempt to re-imagine
itself as a more Japanese fighting force. One component of this change was the replacement of the saber as an officers sword (called the kyū-guntō 旧軍刀, or “old saber”) with the katana (though it was officially known as the shin-guntō 新軍刀, or “new saber”) starting in 1925.\(^1\) As a part of this change, a series of kata were also incorporated into the style taught at Toyama. These kata eventually became known as Toyama-ryū (Toyama style) iaidō (居合道, a style of swordsmanship built around single-man forms demonstrating rapid drawing and striking with the sword). The kata, however, numbered only seven, and the emphasis remained on keiko.\(^2\) This new system was incorporated with the old, raising the number of kenjutsu styles taught at Toyama to four.

After the Second World War, the fortunes of the style changed drastically. The decision to dissolve the Imperial Japanese Army resulted in the end of the Toyama School, which was converted by the American Army into a military base called Camp Zama. The practice of guntōjutsu died off as a result.\(^3\) After the occupation ban on the martial arts was lifted, guntōjutsu was never revived, most likely because unlike kendō, guntōjutsu was not a native tradition and thus could not successfully justify a leap from combat practice to a more sportive nature. In its place, kendō became a standard part of the curriculum of the newly-formed Jieitai (自衛隊, “Self-Defense Forces”). After all, since swords were no longer of any importance on the battlefield, the only use for such training was to provide a venue for mental and

---

1 Fuller, p. 8.
2 Draeger, p. 65.
3 Ibid., p. 176.
physical training. In this regard, *kendō* could compete far more successfully than any style of “*guntōdō*.”

*Jūkenjutsu*, unlike *guntōjutsu*, never faced any pressure to reform or modernize, most likely because bayonets had far less symbolic (and far more practical) value invested in them than swords. The practice of *jūkenjutsu* continued unabated until the end of the Second World War. The dissolution of Japan’s armed forces as a condition of the surrender agreement suspended the practice of *jūkenjutsu* in much the same manner as *guntōjutsu*. After the occupation, however, a movement to revive the practice of *jūkenjutsu* began. Spearheaded by former Imperial Japanese Army General Imamura Hiroshi, the movement called for the sportification of *jūkenjutsu* along the same lines as *kendō*. Clearly, regardless of whether or not *jūkenjutsu* can be considered a descendent of *yarijutsu*, the style had supporters who believed it had become “Japanese.” This movement culminated with the creation of the All-Japan *Jūkendō* Federation (Zen-Nihon Jūkenjutsu Renmei, 全日本銃剣道連盟) in 1956, with General Imamura (now serving in the Jieitai) as its leader. *Jūkendō*, much like the *kendō* practices it is based on, emphasizes personal development and growth through sportive competition rather than actual combat skills. The ZNJR sponsors several tournaments a year, and has even arranged for the teaching of *jūkendō* in a few national schools. *Kata* have also been incorporated into the practice, though they were not present in the *jūkenjutsu* of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan. Yet despite all this effort the militaristic associations of *jūkendō* continue to haunt it; as of 2006,

---


5 Hurst, pp. 176-177.
the ZNJRI claimed only 200,000 members.\(^6\) Compared to *kendō*, which is officially sponsored by the *Monbushō*, taught in all Japanese schools and claims a governing organization with a membership above the two million mark,\(^7\) these numbers seem paltry indeed.

Finally, we turn to mounted combat, or *jyōbaguntōjutsu*. This style, like the *guntōjutsu* upon which it was based, drew heavily from European influences and as a result retained little Japanese identity. Nineteenth and twentieth century cavalry tactics were drastically different from those employed by the *samurai*. As a result, unlike in the case of *jūkenjutsu* there was no native martial institution from which the modern form could draw inspiration.

Though Japan continued to employ cavalry through the Second World War, the *Jieitai* found no need for such an outdated weapons system. Cavalry forces were scrapped in favor of more modern weaponry, and though some horses are still used today for parades and other non-combat duties, the horse, for all intents and purposes left the arsenal of Japan’s defenders. *Jyōbaguntōjutsu* could no longer call the army home. Much like *guntōjutsu*, without a native tradition to reinforce a transition into a sport, *jyōbaguntōjutsu* could not modernize itself. This is particularly true since it would have been forced to compete with *yabusame* (流鏑馬) a form of horseback archery that is generally considered Japan’s oldest martial art, dating back to the

\(^6\) Ibid., p. 177.
Heian Period (794-1185 CE).\textsuperscript{8} As a result, \textit{yōbaguntōjutsu} faded into obscurity and its tradition was never revived.

**“KENDÔ” IN THE PRE-WAR PERIOD AND BEYOND**

Now we must turn our attention to kendō and its continued history after the publication of the \textit{Kendōka Shashin Meikan}. Six years after the publication of the \textit{Kendōka Shashin Meikan}, the Butokukai won its greatest victory: martial arts, including kendō, were made compulsory for all children in the public education system.\textsuperscript{9} This victory was particularly sweet for instructors of kendō. Since it had been deemed a special martial art with particularly strong ties to Japan’s cultural identity, the mandatory kendō classes included not only practices but mandatory lecture components during which teachers were to instruct students on the philosophy of kendō practice itself.\textsuperscript{10}

On the surface this decision provided a huge boon for the Butokukai and its legions of kendōka. The decision to make kendō compulsory was made by military rulers who held sway over the nation until the surrender of Japan in 1945, not because of any particular regard for the style, but as a part of the movement to develop stronger \textit{tan} in the army’s recruiting pool.\textsuperscript{11} Recall from the second chapter that \textit{tan} is a Japanese word for the gallbladder, an organ whose development is usually associated with mental and physical strength. After the Russo-Japanese War the

\textsuperscript{8} Hurst, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{9} Dan, p. 94.
\textsuperscript{10} Hurst, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{11} Though the military never successfully launched a coup to seize control of the government, by the 1930s it had taken authority over most important functions of state. A full discussion of the involvement of the military in politics is far beyond the scope of this work. Totman, p. 428.
general opinion of the military was that the well-developed tan of its officers had been instrumental to victory, and that the development of that tan was a result of the martial training inherent in their shizoku background. It was their opinion that kendō could provide recruits with strong tan, and for that reason it was made compulsory. Yet paradoxically, the interest of the military in kendō eventually proved the undoing of the Butokukai. In 1940, the organization was militarized, and its entire management was put under the control of then-general Tōjō Hideki. Its training was converted into a form of war preparation, with practical combat-oriented techniques added into the standard curriculum. Martial arts became entirely wrapped up in the spirit of nationalism and wartime patriotism. Thus, after Japan’s defeat, the Allies perceived kendō to be part of the militaristic spirit that had led to war and they banned its practice in Japan. At the same time, the Butokukai was disestablished by the occupation government.

The ban on kendō during the occupation proved devastating to many practitioners. Eventually, a group of these practitioners, led by a famous politician and kendōka named Sasamori Junzō, chose to develop a new system of kendō, one that removed as much of the combat aspect of the practice as possible in order to emphasize the aspect of personal development. This new style became known as shinai kyōgi, or “shinai play” and was, simply put, an attempt to make kendō palatable to the occupation authorities. The rules were simplified to include point scoring with referees rather than the more traditional scoring system whereby the first

---

12 Hurst, p. 162.
13 Dan, p. 96.
14 Ibid., pp. 98.
clean hit resulted in victory. Additionally, in an attempt to make the style more like western fencing *kiai* was banned and the contestants were made to wear white fencing suits.\(^{15}\) Though *shinai kyōgi* included a great many compromises it allowed the practice of *kendō* to continue through the occupation years. Thus in 1954, two years after the end of the occupation, enough support had been gathered for the foundation of the All Japan *Kendō* Federation (*Zen Nihon Kendō Renmei*, 全日本剣道連盟), which then merged with the controlling organization of *shinai kyōgi*, the *Shinai Kyōgi-kai*. In the process, many of the sporting elements of *shinai kyōgi* were incorporated into standard *kendō* (though the fencing suits and the ban on *kiai* were promptly abandoned), creating the modern system that exists today.\(^{16}\)

Despite successfully navigating the transition from imperial to democratic society, however, the new *kendō* system found itself in a difficult position compared to its vaunted status only ten years earlier. Of all the martial arts, *kendō* was hit the hardest by the occupation, having a full ban placed on its practice. In comparison, *jūdō* had done rather well, mainly because two members of the occupation government, Generals Curtis LeMay and Thomas Powers of the United States Air Force, had taken an interest in the style and protected it from occupation restrictions.\(^{17}\) *Aikidō*, a martial art created by Morihei Ueshiba which combined unarmed and armed techniques, had also emerged as a distinct style by the 1930s and, while it too was censored by the occupation, its practitioners were able to organize away from the eyes of the authorities, establishing the *Aikikai* in order to promote

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 101.
\(^{16}\) Hurst, p. 167.
\(^{17}\) Dan, p. 100.
their new style in 1948.\textsuperscript{18} Karate, a martial art from the Japanese-occupied Ryukyu Islands (what is today Okinawa province) also emerged as a competitor around this time. It had first arrived in the home islands in April of 1922, when a Master named Funakoshi Gishin performed a demonstration for an assembled crowd at Tokyo Imperial University. Funakoshi’s demonstration was so successful that by 1926 several universities, including both Keio and Tokyo Imperial University, had school-sponsored karate clubs, and both Funakoshi and many of his colleagues had moved to the mainland to commence teaching. Karate was also able to alter many of its practices to fit the mainland conceptions of martial training. For example, practitioners like Funakoshi adapted both the bowing etiquette and a ranking system of jūdō to the needs of karate, incorporating them into the practice in order to make it more palatable and familiar to the average Japanese.\textsuperscript{19}

Kendō, then, had lost its former commanding position among the Japanese martial arts. It no longer enjoyed its former sponsorship nor its vast numbers of adherents. In addition, the ban during the occupation meant that while many other martial arts gained adherents among the occupation forces (examples being Donn Draeger for karate and LeMay and Powers for jūdō), who in turn brought those martial arts back to their homes and facilitated their international spread, kendō could claim no such boon.

Even with these impediments, however, the ZNKR was able to grow rapidly, assisted in part by the fact that the post-war Monbushō re-incorporated kendō into the athletic curriculum. In addition, the post-war revival of Japan’s economy brought

\textsuperscript{19} Guttmann and Thompson, \textit{Japanese Sports}, pp. 146-147.
over many westerners, some of whom in turn developed an affinity for *kendō*. These people were instrumental in establishing an international practice of *kendō*, as were the vast communities of *Nikkei-jin*, or ethnic Japanese living abroad, whose communities began to resurface in the 1950s after the persecutions of World War II. This internationalization culminated in 1970 with the establishment of the International *Kendō* Federation in 1970, which coordinates between the various national *kendō* federations and organizes the World *Kendō* Championship, held every three years. The most recent world championship was held in August of 2009 in Sao Paolo, Brazil, with 38 countries (totaling 39 regions) sending representative teams, including nations as far-flung as Montenegro and Israel.

After 1970, the overall trend in the development of *kendō* has been towards increased sportification. The current rules call for a best of three point match, with points determined by a committee of three referees. Matches last two minutes, with a possible three-minute overtime period depending on the rules of the tournament, and are fought in a clearly delineated rectangular area on a smooth surface (such as a basketball court). Though there are unusual variants in style that are still practiced today, for the most part the trend has been towards standardization in terms of practices. Of these variants, by far the most noteworthy is *nito-ryu*, or the “two sword style.” Its adherents use two *shinai*, both lighter than normal, in a style that supposedly can be traced back to the legendary Miyamoto Musashi. Its practitioners, however, are few and far between, particularly outside Japan, and there is no central authority to regulate them outside of the national *kendō* organizations and the IKF.

---

20 Ibid., p. 177.
21 Due to differences in regional organization, Hawaii and the rest of the United States currently compete as separate teams.
23 Of these variants, by far the most noteworthy is *nito-ryu*, or the “two sword style.” Its adherents use two *shinai*, both lighter than normal, in a style that supposedly can be traced back to the legendary Miyamoto Musashi. Its practitioners, however, are few and far between, particularly outside Japan, and there is no central authority to regulate them outside of the national *kendō* organizations and the IKF.
from the classical styles. These groups, however, are small, lack influence and in many cases their claims of descent are dubious at best. Those who learn kendō almost invariably are taught the practice from one of three sources: a dōjō, a school club or the Japanese education system. In summary, the ZNKR and the IKF have succeeded where the Butokukai could not; kendō has become a unified practice under one body, and one that has largely abandoned its roots in combat training for a more philosophical approach, oriented towards self-improvement.

CONCLUSIONS

The only task that remains now is to examine the discussions of the previous chapters and draw what conclusions we can from them. In doing so, we will attempt to answer the question posed in the first chapter: why did Japan’s traditions of swordsmanship, for all intents and purposes relics of the samurai era, survive into the modern one? The two texts discussed in this work, Kenjutsu Kyōhan and Kendōka Shashin Meikan, will provide some answers, which together other primary and secondary materials assembled for this work, allows us to reach a more general understanding of the phenomenon that is kendō today.

The reasons for the survival of native swordsmanship into the military tradition emerge fairly clearly from the Kenjutsu Kyōhan. As stated in the second chapter, the officer corps of the army was dominated by shizoku aristocrats. In many cases these men remembered growing up before the fall of the bakufu, and even those who couldn’t, would still have only been a generation or two removed from a time
when swordsmanship was the prerogative of all *samurai* and an essential feature of their identity.

Conscription of peasants and their use as infantry was hardly a new feature in Japanese warfare. The only reason the practice became controversial when introduced by the Meiji government was the fact that Japan had essentially demilitarized itself during the Tokugawa period. In many ways, the new military was a spiritual successor of the armies from the Sengoku period (1477~1615) and earlier, with the peasantry providing the manpower and the *samurai* providing the leadership. It is understandable, then, that to a certain extent the army would continue the traditions of its forbearers, particularly those that also had precedents in European militaries. Among these, chiefly, is swordsmanship. This observation is born out by the fact that swordsmanship classes began at Toyama practically from the date the school was founded, with the official incorporation of swordsmanship into the officer curriculum occurring in 1873.\(^{24}\)

Over time, however, the emphasis of swordsmanship in the military began to change. Originally the practice was combat-oriented, much as the swordsmanship of earlier generations had been. By the time of the publication of the *Kenjutsu Kyōhan*, however, the focus turned more towards the spiritual development provided by swordsmanship rather than to its benefits as a style of close combat. This change occurred as a result of the evaluation by the military of the results of the Russo-Japanese War, and the conclusion, discussed earlier, that victory had been brought about by the superior spiritual strength of Japan’s officer corps. The beginnings of

---

\(^{24}\) Dan, p. 75.
this shift can be seen in the text itself, with constant references not only to combat training but to the improvement in one’s overall performance as an officer brought about by the practice of kenjutsu.

The last point of importance regarding the Kenjutsu Kyōhan is a discussion of the westernization evidenced in the text. Why would Japan’s officer corps, ostensibly home to many of its greatest patriots, allow a practice that was so tied up in their identity to incorporate so many foreign ideas? It is important to remember, however, the gusto with which the samurai class took to the process of westernization. After all, westernization allowed the imperial armies to defeat those of the bakufu in the Boshin War, despite the fact that bakufu and Tokugawa loyalist forces outnumbered those fighting for imperial restoration. Westernization was key to gaining the respect of the Great Powers, which was in turn crucial to the abrogation of the humiliating unequal treaties and the recognition of Japan as a member of the community of nations. The samurai not only knew this, but as a whole tended to embrace it. Perhaps the best example of this preference for westernization can be found in a social affair thrown by then-Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi in the late 1880s. The event was supposed to be a “fancy ball” (fuanshi bōru), essentially a costume party. Nearly everyone in attendance arrived in Western costumes, with the Prime Minister choosing the attire of a Venetian nobleman. Of all the assembled, only Yamagata Aritomo chose to dress in a traditional Japanese outfit, that of a pre-Restoration

Compared to kenjutsu, kendō provides a rather more difficult case of study by virtue of its practice being diffused outside of one specific group such as the military. Nonetheless, if we look broadly at a number of broader cultural and political
developments in Japan, we will be able to discover some of the factors that most likely facilitated the spread and survival of kendō.

The survival of kendō can be generally explained as the result of a convergence of three factors in the early to mid Meiji period. The first, as noted several times earlier, was the revival of interest in native culture and in the accomplishments that accompanied Japan’s victories in the Sino-Japanese War, and in the country’s earliest diplomatic breaches with the Great Powers. Kendō, being a native tradition itself, was as a matter of course in an excellent position to take advantage of this intellectual trend. By virtue of a long history and association with the most prominent area of Japan’s historical culture (its upper class), practitioners of kendō were able to use this opportunity to revive interest in their art. This was not only the case for kendō, but for other native traditions such as nō theater, ikebana (flower arranging) and sadō (the tea ceremony).25 This trend is particularly evident in the Kendōka Shashin Meikan, with its constant references to the antiquity of the practice and its photographs of traditional shrines and symbols.

The second of these trends was a creation of the government itself. As mentioned earlier, the newly-formed government found it extremely difficult to translate certain concepts that were essential to the formation of a nation-state, such as nationalism and patriotism, into something that the average Japanese could understand. Words like aikoku (patriotism), kokutai (body politic) and kokumin (citizenry) had not yet developed an understood meaning; the concepts behind them needed to be explained first. In an attempt to do so, the government turned to the

---

25 Ibid., p. 117.
legacy of the *samurai*, and used the *samurai* ideology of unswerving loyalty to one’s lord and master to explain the proper attitude of the citizen to the government. This moment marked the creation of one of imperial Japan’s most enduring myths: that of being a nation of *samurai*. This concept in itself is fascinating enough to deserve its own study, but for the sake of brevity we will confine ourselves to a brief summary. According to this philosophy, the image of the *samurai* was imbued with certain moral values, such as loyalty and obedience, and then disseminated to the populace as a model of correct behavior in regards to the government. In the words of Nukariya Kaiten, a late Meiji period scholar, “if a person be a person and not a beast, then he must be a *samurai* – brave, generous, faithful, upright and manly.”

Yet again practitioners of *kendō* were provided with an ideological vehicle to which they could attach their teachings. After all, if the values of the *samurai* were the values of the new nation, what better way to inculcate them than through the practices of the *samurai* themselves?

The final source of this revival of *kendō* was the only one to be imported from the West, but it had arguably the greatest influence: sport. The arrival and embrace of sport in Japan marked a striking turning point in the rationale behind the practice of *kendō* and permanently altered its practice to this day. Prior to the arrival of sport,

---

26 Myth should be understood in this context to be an idea that fundamentally underpins the legacy and traditions of the state. It is not necessarily false or “made-up,” though it certainly can be exaggerated. A fine example of such a myth is the oft-repeated statement among Americans that “the Revolution was a war fought in the cause of liberty” rather than one against taxation.

27 Despite what this quote seems to indicate, *samurai* status was not reserved for males. Traditionally the *samurai* were a social class, and thus both women and men could be *samurai*. Fighting, however, was traditionally reserved for men, and this dichotomy was further reinforced by the import of Western ideas regarding gender roles into Japan. Lisa Naroway, “Symbols of State Ideology: The Samurai in Modern Japan” in *New Voices* 2 (2007), p. 63 (See also note 31 in this chapter).
while *kendō/gekken* had been associated with self-improvement and personal betterment, it had been primarily a vehicle for combat training. While tests of skill between *ryūha* may have resembled a modern *kendō* tournament they were not fought to determine athletic prowess, but rather to discover which style was better in a fight. Rather than being athlete, who trained to win competitions, practitioners of *kendō/gekken* in the Tokugawa period were training to defeat their enemies in physical combat. This placed the practice in a rather precarious position in the Meiji Period; after all, outside the military there was no longer a need for the ability to kill a man with a sword, so why should anyone practice *kendō* at all?

Sport provided the answer. Its emphasis on sportive competition as a means of personal betterment proved wildly popular in Japan, as epitomized by the speed with which the Japanese took to baseball.28 Though it had not been the primary emphasis of *kendō* in earlier periods, the practice of *kendō* did contain a philosophy of self-improvement, and many practitioners latched on to this as a means to revive the practice. *Kendō* was to be the native sport, the Japanese answer to the foreign practice of baseball. Indeed, the two were often paired in the sportive discourse of the period, as evidenced by phenomena discussed in the prior chapter, such as the equation of a baseball swing with a sword stroke and the movement to make baseball into a *budō*. The equation of the two practices is best described by the words of Kinoshita Hiroji, principal of Ichikō and a member of the *Butokukai* leadership, as he

---

28 The embracing of baseball by the Japanese is particularly evidenced by the fact that while most foreign sports are referred to with the phoenetic *katakana* script (ex. *sākā* サーカー for soccer and *basuke* バスケット for basketball), baseball received its own *kanji* compound: *yakyū* (野球), literally “field ball.”
described his former school: “From sunup to sundown . . . the crack of bamboo swords and baseball bats filled the air.”

This move to make kendō a sport proved very successful and ensured the successful transition of the practice, since it now could provide something meaningful to a modern society. Inadvertently, however, the decision created one of the great points of controversy in modern kendō. After all, kendō resided, and to a large extent continues to reside, in a nebulous gray area between sport, combat training and martial art, all terms that have meant and continue to mean a wide variety of things to many different people. A practice that incorporates both traditional martial training techniques such as kata and modern style sporting matches cannot help but seem slightly contradictory to the average viewer. In some cases, particularly in the west, this ambiguity has proved an impediment to the spread of kendō; after all, if this is the modern, sportified version of swordsmanship then it is not the “real thing.” It must not be forgotten, however, that the incorporation of sportive ideology saved kendō from the dustbin of history and gave it relevance in the modern world. Indeed, to a large extent many of the “true styles” of swordsmanship that claim to be unpolluted descendents of traditional ryūha have incorporated sportive ideas of self-betterment into their teaching methods, a testament to the success of the idea in kendō and other martial arts.


30 A related anecdote on the subject: once, I asked a kendō instructor if he thought that kendō was a sport, a martial art or a combat system. His answer was “yes.”
Turning finally to the larger issue of the overall survival of swordsmanship in Japan’s modern era, it is clear that many of the conclusions reached about each individual martial art can be applied to the other. Both *kendō* and *kenjutsu* benefited from the revival of cultural nationalism in the late nineteenth century. Both styles received the patronage of the government because of their association with traditional values and their utility to government ideology.

More important than either of these, however, are three factors that contributed to the continuance of both practices. First was the association of the two with traditional culture in Japan, particularly *samurai* culture. The idea of the *samurai* was and is fundamental to the national identity of the Japanese and to the perceptions of Westerners about the Japanese themselves. Regardless of the actual truth of the idea, 80 years of government ideology built to inculcate the idea that all Japanese are *samurai* cannot persist without some effect. Indeed, the continued influence of the *samurai* in the everyday world of the Japanese can be seen easily through the constant appearance of *samurai* in pop culture. This fascination goes far beyond anything comparable in European culture regarding, for example, the medieval period or the age of exploration. Whatever the reason behind this

---

31 This idea of the nation of *samurai* was, of course, very heavily gendered. The ideal *samurai* was presented as male, and while *samurai* values such as loyalty could be applied to women, the all-important position of the warrior was restricted to men. This was true for both military *kenjutsu* (since only men could enlist or be drafted) and in sportive *kendō* (every recorded practitioner in the *Kendōka Shashin Meikan* was male). A strange exception to this rule is *naginata*, or glaive combat, which is a practice usually dominated by women. The style first became associated with women in the Tokugawa period, when the superior reach of a glaive was thought to allow *samurai* women to defend their homes more easily from raids by bandits. It remained the “women’s *budo*” [martial art] in the Meiji Period, when it was thought that *naginata* could instill the same virtues in women as *kendō* did in men. In the post World War II period, this gender division has become less pronounced in *kendō*, and in recent years the number of female *kendōka* has skyrocketed. In contrast, however, *naginata* remains to a large extent dominated by women. Draeger, p. 175.
fascination (in itself worthy of a book),\textsuperscript{32} the legacy of the \textit{samurai} remains powerful today, and in the Meiji society that was only a few years removed from the actual \textit{samurai} its power must have been correspondingly greater. That power provided a basis for the creation of the \textit{kenjutsu} and \textit{kendō} we see in the texts. After all, both practices were connected to the traditions of the \textit{samurai} through the training methods used, the equipment and (particularly in \textit{kendō}) the philosophy.

The second factor was the notion of personal improvement through swordsmanship. Though this idea was emphasized much more in \textit{kendō} than \textit{kenjutsu}, it was present in both, and in \textit{kenjutsu} proved essential to the survival of the tradition past the point in military history when swords became irrelevant on the battlefield. For both traditions the philosophy of personal improvement allowed for the practice to stay relevant to modern society or to modern means of warfare, whether it was via creating stronger officers for the army or creating stronger citizens who could thrive in the new society. The philosophy of self-improvement proved to be both a draw for new practitioners and a good reason to keep two otherwise esoteric practices alive. It enabled both practices to spread beyond the tiny community of \textit{samurai}, and later \textit{shizoku}, and into the wider stream of Japanese society.

The last factor, discussed earlier in this chapter, was the creation of the myth of the “nation of \textit{samurai}.” Its importance to both \textit{kenjutsu} and \textit{kendō} cannot be understated. After all, prior to the Meiji Period swordsmanship was the domain of the \textit{samurai} class. It was an exclusive symbol of the power of that class, and its spread was with few exceptions confined to the small percentage who happened to be

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{32} To the best of my knowledge, no such book has been written. Studies of modern Japanese culture tend to focus more on current social issues than the impact of historical trends and events on said culture.}
born samurai. The creation of the idea that all Japanese were samurai, however, justified spreading those traditions beyond their original home. This provided the impetus for the original spread of sword traditions into other social classes, in many cases a movement aided by samurai and shizoku themselves. It is no understatement to say that without that original impetus for the spread of swordsmanship, Japan’s sword traditions would be at best a dying art.

This, then, is our answer: swordsmanship in Japan survived because it was associated with a social class that was accorded a great deal of respect and that held a strong mystique, because of what it could offer to the modern Japanese male citizen in terms of personal improvement, and because it was able to utilize the idea of the nation of samurai to overcome the limitations of the original class boundaries to which it was confined. It is because of those factors that what is today kendō and what was kenjutsu survived into the modern era. This is not to say, of course, that other factors did not contribute to their spread. As stated in the first chapter, I make no claims to have written a definitive study. The insights discussed above, however, can provide us with a stepping stone with which to probe further the spread of kendō in the civilian sphere and the evolution of kenjutsu into a style of military swordsmanship. It is the beginning of what will become, it is hoped, a rich area of study befitting the important subject matter on which it is based.
APPENDIX A: KENJUTSU KYŌHAN
Published in the 41st Year of Meiji (1909)

Approved by Minister of War Terauchi Masatake

Complete Regulations
General Rules

First Part
The purpose of kenjutsu is to familiarize oneself with the ways of close combat, the physical strength of the sword as well as mental strength in order to vigorously exhibit the spirit of offense.

Second Part
Kenjutsu is divided in to saber and bayonet.

Third Part
In the practice of kenjutsu follow the directions presented below, unless provided with other rules.

1) Saber: Reserved for officers, non-commissioned officers as well as the rank-and-file.
2) Bayonet: Studied by Infantrymen, Fortress gunners and engineers, officers and junior officers and all soldiers.

Fourth Part
Improvement in kenjutsu depends foremost on the skill of the instructor; thus at each level the instructor too must practice with great fervor in order to improve their own skill.

Fifth Part
Kenjutsu should be taught individually. You should be very familiar with the quality of each individual student as well as their physical attributes. Be careful to insure that student is capable of accurate and quick movement and has a full spirit.

If a student is taught incorrect posture at the beginning, bad habits will become ingrained in their style.

1 The characters used here, kiryoku 気力, could also be rendered as “spiritual strength.” Specifically, the connotation is one of the mental strength necessary to win a fight, and thus the characters could also be rendered as “morale.” It is also a contrast with tairyoku 体力, or physical strength, indicating that strength beyond the purely physical is important in kenjutsu.
2 Jūkendō 銃剣道, or “gun kendō” is practiced to this day, though it lags far behind standard forms of kendō in popularity.
3 The term used for teacher is 教官 (kyōkan).
4 The word here is literally “captain,” keeping with the military nature of the text.
5 No pronoun is used in the original Japanese text (a fairly common occurrence in Japanese). For ease of understanding, certain phrases have been adjusted to the English second person.
6 The terms used here, 気勢 (kisei) and 充実 (jūjitsu), are terms used to indicate spiritual strength much like kiryoku.
Sixth Part
Motivation of students is extremely important in the improvement of their kenjutsu. Therefore, each teacher should attempt to patiently affect this attitude in their students.

Seventh Part
The practice of kenjutsu should always be viewed with the same seriousness as actual combat, with emphasis put on unflinching bravery and courage. At the same time, students should observe and reflect on prior exemplars of kenjutsu.\(^7\)

Eighth Part
In the maneuvers of kenjutsu, make use either the shinai or mokusyu and wear protective bōgu.\(^8\) (see diagram number 19)

Ninth Part
Novices should make use of the gunyōjū\(^9\) for practice. They should make use of imaginary opponents for practice. Against these imaginary opponents practice both thrusts and defensive counterattacks. By this practice students will come to understand the use of the gunyōjū.

Tenth Part
A serious practice of the basic movements is performed as follows: start a long distance from a set point, and then move towards that point performing various strikes. Be sure to practice diligently in order to make best use of this exercise. Utilize imaginary opponents to further increase its efficacy.

Eleventh Part
It is useful to have your students practice in difficult situations: at night, on uneven surfaces, practicing against other soldiers or in a variety of other severe circumstances. However, practicing at night can be extremely dangerous, so take care when performing such practices.

Twelfth Part
Just prior to a match one should don the training equipment, taking care to check the fittings.

Thirteenth Part
Before and after either practicing the basics or sparring with an opponent, it is important for both participants to bow to each other with a feeling of gravity. A bow in kenjutsu occurs as follows: the two competitors, after ensuring that their posture is correct, lean the top halves of their bodies forward while taking care to maintain eye contact with the opponent.\(^10\)

---

\(^7\) This idea is expressed in a single verb(kagamu) meaning, essentially, “to reflect on previous examples.” It has since fallen out of common use.

\(^8\) Bōgu is the term for protective gear worn by practitioners of kendō. The original design of bōgu dates back to the mid Edo Period.

\(^9\) The meaning of this term is unclear, but it appears to be a term for a practice saber, much like a shinai is a type of practice-oriented katana.

\(^10\) This emphasis on eye contact is a hold-over from more traditional swordsmanship. A swordsman who did not maintain eye contact with his opponent would leave himself open to a surprise attack.
BASIC EXERCISE REGULATIONS

Fourteenth Part
Basic exercises form the foundation of kenjutsu, and as such should be taught with attention to accuracy.

Fifteenth Part
When teaching basic exercises for the first time, teach in a gentle and quiet manner that emphasizes correct understanding of the point of the exercise. Once the student has grasped the meaning of the exercise, gradually increase the speed with which the exercise is performed.

Sixteenth Part
The basic exercises of kenjutsu (cutting, stabbing, defensive techniques, counter-thrusts, counter-cuts, etc) should be practiced several in a row. The teacher should adjust the exercise to fit the context of the student, by either DIAGRAM the student along a linear path or allowing him freedom to maneuver. In either case the teacher should hide his intentions and retreat from the student by an appropriate amount after each attack.

Seventeenth Part
Even after a student has learned the basic drills it is often still the case that during practice the teacher will notice bad habits that the student has learned and be forced to correct them. Therefore before and after every practice it is important to review the basics to avoid the ingraining of incorrect form.

Eighteenth Part
When you begin a drill, assume the correct stance and start at a distance of four to five steps. This also applies during tournament matches.

Nineteenth Part
Return to the position of crossing the shinai or mokujū after each time performing a basic drill.

Twentieth Part
Orders given by an instructor are to be followed without fail. It is important to always display clear vigor during practice in following those commands. Even so,
when practicing a technique several times in a row, the student should gradually shift their focus from repeating the technique in a regular fashion to internalizing it.\(^\text{17}\)

**TOURNAMENT\(^\text{18}\) REGULATIONS**

**Twenty-first Part**
Tournaments are the primary means of achieving the goals of kenjutsu, particularly when it comes to measuring the level to which students have been passionately studying the art.

**Twenty-second Part**
A tournament match can be separated into one of two types: matches where competitors are at an equal level, and matches where one competitor has more practice than the other. An uneven match\(^\text{19}\) is best performed after practicing basic techniques so as to allow focus on good basics. An even match should occur once the student has had a chance to practice and to make use of his talents.

**Twenty-third Part**
The point of the uneven, or teaching match is to instruct the student. The student must learn to judge the techniques of his opponent and counter his maneuvers through appropriate use of basic techniques. The student must be coached with particular emphasis towards the development of an aggressive style so as to move decisively and catch the opponent unawares.\(^\text{20}\)

**Twenty-fourth Part**
During a teaching match the teacher should attack various weaknesses in the guard of the student (or the student should give the openings to the teacher), and the student should defend himself and perform a counter-attack. In this way, the student will learn the correct application of technique and at the same time develop a spirit of strong offense.

**Twenty-fifth Part**
Even after a student has progressed to the point of participating in even matches they should still engage in teaching matches as a way to measure their progress in sparring ability.

**Twenty-sixth part**
An even match is a form of mutual practice for both students where they may test the various offensive and defensive techniques they have learned. Victory or defeat should be decided by the correct and spirited use of techniques as well as the confidence and spiritual poise of the participants.

\(^{17}\) This injunction is strongly in line with the observations on Japanese military swordsmanship recorded by F.J. Norman. This focus on, to borrow his phrase, “loose play” will be discussed to greater effect in the analysis of this text.

\(^{18}\) “Tournament” here is a translation of 試合 (shiai), which also has the meaning of match. Thus, kendō no shiai could mean both a tournament composed of several matches as well as the individual matches themselves.

\(^{19}\) Literally kyōshū shiai (教習試合) or “match for teaching and learning”).

\(^{20}\) The literal translation of this phrase is “an aggressive posture that catches the opponent off guard through a spirit of decisive action.”
Twenty-seventh Part
In order to have a successful even match the teacher must whenever possible explain to both participants key points about their technique, covering things like missed opportunities, mistakes, bad habits in their form, etc.

Twenty-eighth Part
A key concept of kenjutsu is “the one who acts first wins.” Therefore, it is vital to not lose the chance to infer the intention of the opponent’s movements.  

Twenty-ninth Part
When attacking, act with resolute bravery, as though you were prepared to die. If you perform attacks in this manner they will be successful. Furthermore, even after a successful attack you should maintain the mental poise to attack again. Do not give up the mentality of attacking. If you maintain this spirit, you can respond to changes in your opponent’s style.

Thirtieth Part
Generally when defending from an oncoming blow it is important to immediately counterattack. It is better to throw oneself into an attack than to allow the opponent any leeway. By following this injunction you can create hesitation in your opponent and turn his attack back against him, allowing you to take the offensive.

Thirty-first Part
During an even match the teacher is responsible for deciding the victor. Proper judging has a strong effect on the efficacy of the student’s kenjutsu. Therefore, the teacher is enjoined to pay scrupulous attention to matches in order to ensure the student is able to attain proficiency and understanding of the goals of kenjutsu.

Thirty-second Part
The natural shout that arises with the energetic spirit of performing an attack is quite valuable. However, shouting for no reason should be avoided.

Thirty-third Part
A student who drops his mokujū or shinai is open to attack by his opponent. However, the opponent is limited to one attack only before a halt is called to the match.

Thirty-fourth Part
When a match is decided the contestants should return to the fixed positions they took at the beginning of the match and either sheath their shinai or stand at attention with their mokujū.

---

21 The English translation can seem rather unclear on this point. In essence, by inferring how the opponent will move a student can then attack in such a manner as to prevent the opponent from attacking. In modern kendō this technique remains very popular, and is known as debana-waza (出ばな技).

22 A more literal translation of the original Japanese is to “discard the self,” indicating a heedless attack designed to create fear in the opponent.

23 Shouting is a common accompaniment to an attack in kendō and most other budō. The compound usually used to express the concept is气合 (lit. “expression of the spirit”) which is not used here.

24 With a connotation of “excessively.”

25 The shinai, being bamboo, has no sheath in the manner of a real sword. Instead, the shinai is held just above the hilt-guard with the pommel facing outwards and angled up.
Thirty fifth Part
No strikes outside the permitted group are to be allowed during a match. When an attack lands outside the allowed targets the attacker may apologize with a call of “yogiri.”

Thirty-sixth Part
A teacher begins the tournament with the call of “hajime.” The match may be temporarily suspended by the teacher with the call of “matte.” Either the teacher or student may, in the case of an incident during the match that they feel requires a halt to be called, may request such a halt by calling “shibaraku.”

GUNTŌJUTSU

Basic Movements
Slashing and Thrusting Attacks

Thirty-seventh Part
Acceptable areas for slashing attacks are listed below. (See first diagram)
- Men
- Sayū-dō
- The area from the elbows down to the wrist.
These are the strikes performed in basic practice.

Thirty-eighth Part
Acceptable areas for thrusting attacks are listed below. (See first diagram)
- The throat.

Sheathing the Shinai

Thirty-ninth Part
Take an unmoving posture and hold the shinai in the left hand just below the base of the hilt guard. Turn the cutting edge of the shinai so it faces down, and angle the tip of the shinai down and on a diagonal. (See Diagram 2)

Fortieth Part

---

26 From the verb yogiru(過る), meaning “to pass; to overshoot.”
27 From the verb hajimeru(始める), meaning “to start.”
28 From the verb matsu(待つ), meaning “to wait.”
29 Shibaraku (暫く) means roughly, “one moment; a short moment.”
30 Saber Combat.
31 The top of the head. A legal hit in modern kendō.
32 The left and right sides of the torso. A legal hit in modern kendō.
33 In modern kendō, this target zone has been halved in size, and is referred to as kote(小手). The term used in this text is mae-hiji(前臂).
34 Thrusting attacks to the throat remain a part of modern kendō, where they are referred to simply as tsuki(突き), meaning “a thrust.”
The process of moving from sheathed position into the basic stance. (See Diagram 3) The associated command is: kamae-tō.\(^{35}\)
Keep your head facing forward, and point your right foot forward as well. Turn your torso to the left and grip the handle of the shinai in your right hand as if your hand has frozen to it.\(^{36}\)
Set your right foot forward roughly half a step. Distribute your body weight evenly between your feet, and bend both your knees slightly. At the same time, separate your left hand a distance from your body, and hold the sword forward with your right hand allowing your elbow to bend slightly. Keep your fist roughly in line with your fist\(^{37}\) and, keeping the blade of the sword facing down, point the tip of the sword roughly at the eyes of your opponent. Keep your upper body straight, and keep your torso directly underneath your hips. At all times, keep focus on your opponent’s eyes.\(^{38}\)

Forty-first Part
Relaxing into a sheathed position from a stance (Command: sageto\(^{39}\))
Turn your body forward, bring your left heel into line with your right heel, and sheath your sword.

Forty-second Part
Advancing and Retreating
Advance or retreat is dependent upon how you want to expand or contract the distance between yourself and the opponent. In either case maintain your stance and move using both your legs while keeping them fairly rigid. Keep your feet close together and move quickly, keeping your steps light. When advancing move your right foot directly in the appropriate direction and keep your left foot a fixed distance to the rear. When retreating, use the opposite approach. Depending on the situation, there may be cases in which your left foot will pass your right; in this case keep your right foot to the rear by a fixed distance. As before, when retreating reverse this pattern.

Forty-third Part
Crossing the swords
The point at which swords cross is the distance of roughly one handgrip from the tip. Usually, the enemy’s sword presses against the left side of yours.\(^{40}\) (See Diagram Four)

Striking and Thrusting

Forty-fourth Part

---

\(^{35}\) Literally, “prepare the sword.” The same command is used in modern kendō.
\(^{36}\) Dropping the shinai remains a foul in modern kendō and would be even more of a concern in a one-handed fighting style.
\(^{37}\) As opposed to angling the wrist up, which is essential to the basic stance of kendō.
\(^{38}\) This stance is radically different from the one used in kendō, and more strongly resembles a fencer’s sideways stance than anything traditional to Japanese swordsmanship.
\(^{39}\) Literally, “lower the sword.”
\(^{40}\) As in modern kendō and in Western fencing.
When striking, from the basic guard raise your sword overhead, quickly advance forward one step, and at the same time fully extend your elbow and quickly strike downwards.

After striking, immediately return to guard (follow the same practice for thrusting.)

Forty-fifth Part
When thrusting, from the basic guard quickly advance forward one step, and at the same time fully extend your elbow and quickly push your sword forward at the opponent.

Forty-sixth Part
Strikes to the Men (See Diagram Five)
Command: Men wo utte
To attack the head, keep your sword in front and swing up above your head, cutting down on to the enemy’s face.

Forty-seventh Part
Thrusting (See Diagram Six)
Command: Tsuke
From the left or right side of the enemy’s sword, thrust towards the enemy’s throat.

Forty-eighth Part
Cuts to Sayū Dō (See Diagrams Seven and Eight)
Command: Sayū-dō wo utte
Bring your sword forward to the left or right, raise it over your head, turn the blade to the right or left and strike the left or right torso of your opponent.

Defensive Techniques and Counter Attacks

Forty-ninth Part
To defend against a strike, from the basic stance quickly block the opponent’s blade using the blade of your own sword.

Fiftieth Part
To perform a countercut, sweep the enemy’s attack aside as described above and, taking advantage of the weakness of their guard thus created, use the power from your block to launch in to a strike.

Fifty-first Part
Defensive sweeps and counterattacks for the Men:
Commands:
First: Men wo fusege
Second: Men wo utte

---

41 “Strike the head.”
42 The imperative form of tsuku, meaning “to thrust.”
43 “Strike the left and right torso.”
44 “Protect the head.”
To defend against a cut to the head, bring your first up and to the right, about on line with the top of your head, and keeping the sword roughly level block the attack. The counter—cut should be to the men target.

Fifty-second Part
Defending against a thrust and counter-attacking (See Diagram 10)
Commands:
First: *Tsuki wo fusege*  
Second: *Men wo utte*
Block the thrust using the left or right side of the sword. The counter-attack should be to the men target.

Fifty-third Part
Defending the left and right torso and counter-attacking (See Diagrams 11, 12)
Commands:
First: *Migi/Hidari-dō wo fusege*  
Second: *Men wo utte*
Bring down your left or right fist and, at the appropriate moment, bring the tip of your sword up diagonally to sweep aside the attack. The counter-attack should be to the men target.

Fifty-fourth Part
Always follow the established match regulations for any match.

Fifty-fifth Part
The usual method for using a sword is in the right hand. However, skilled students may, according to the situation use both hands or the left hand.

**JŪKENJUTSU**
Basic Maneuvers
Thrusting

Fifty-sixth Part
The stabbing maneuvers of *juukenjutsu* are described below. (See Diagram 13)
- *Dō*
- *Tsuki* (same as prescribed in the basic movements section)

Attention

Fifty-seventh Part
The stance of attention is described in your drill manual. (See Diagram 14)

Fifty-eighth Part
Moving from attention in to the basic stance (See Diagram 15)
Command: *kamae-tsutsu*  

---

45 “Protect against the thrust.”
46 “Protect the left or right torso.”
47 Bayonet Combat.
48 Though the term here is identical to the one used in the saber section, the target is very different, being a small pad that covers the side of the torso which faces the opponent. This pad appears to be worn over the standard kendō armor. See illustrations for details.
49 “Ready the gun.”
Keep your head facing front. Your left leg should lead and point forward with the right leg behind, forming a rectangle. The right hand should grasp the back of the mokujū and hold the stock, and the left hand should hold the mokujū roughly at the waist line. The right hand should be lower than the left, creating an angled guard. Put your left foot forward roughly one step, and distribute your body weight evenly between both feet. Bend both knees, and at the same time keep your gun in front of you. Keep the body of your rifle pointed up and turned slightly to the left, with your right hand on the stock your left elbow slightly bent. Point the tip of your rifle approximately at the eyes of your opponent, and keep your body straight. Stay relaxed and focus on the eyes of your opponent.

Fifty-ninth Part
Returning to attention from stance
Command: Tatte tsatsu⁵⁰
Grip the gun in your right hand above the sights, turn to face forward, bring your right heel up to your left heel and assume the position of attention.

Advancing and Retreating

Sixtieth Part
The rules for advancing and retreating are the same as in saber combat.

Crossing the Bayonets

Sixty-first Part
The intersection of the swords should usually be about the length of one grip from the tip and on the right side of the rifle. (See Diagram 16)

Thrusting

Sixty-second Part
To thrust correctly, from a proper stance rapidly advance one step and at the same time using both hands stab forward quickly. After thrusting, return directly to your basic stance.

Sixty-third Part
Direct Thrusting
Command: Tsuki
Aim for the area above and to the right of your opponent’s left fist. When engaging the opponent on the opposite side of the mokujū aim for the area above and to the left of his fist.

Sixty-fourth Part
Striking around the opponent (See Diagram 18)
Command: datsu-tsuki⁵¹

⁵⁰ “Raise the gun.”
⁵¹ Literally, “Dodging strike.”
Use both hands to lower your mokujū, and when you pass near the enemy’s rifle thrust for the area above and to the left of his left fist. When engaged from the opposite side, aim up and to the right.

Sixty-fifth Part
Lower thrusts (See diagram 19)
Command: Shita wo tsuki
With both hands drop your mokujū low and thrust at the area below his left fist.

Blocking and Counter-thrusting

Sixty-sixth Part
To block, from the basic stance use your bayonet to quickly bat aside attacks from the opponent.

Sixty-seventh Part
To perform a counter-thrust, parry your opponent’s thrust and immediately take advantage of the opening in their guard to respond with your own thrust.

Sixty-eighth Part
Defending and counter-thrusting on the right side (See Diagram 20)
Command: Migi wo fusege
When you receive a thrust at the area above and to the right of your left fist, use both hands to bring your bayonet forward and to the right, and then block the attack with a sweep to the lower diagonal.
To counterattack, quickly thrust at the target area of the enemy.

Sixty-ninth Part
Defending and counter-thrusting on the left side (See Diagram 21)
Command: Hidari wo fusege
When you receive a thrust to the area above and to the left of your left fist, use both hands to bring your bayonet forward and to the left, and then block the attack with a sweep to the lower diagonal.
To counterattack, quickly thrust at the target area of the enemy.

Seventieth Part
Defending and counter-thrusting against low attacks (See Diagram 22)
When you receive a thrust to the area beneath your left wrist, take both hands and bring your bayonet forward, raising your right hand to approximately the level of your pectorals, carefully turn the barrel of the gun mostly to the right, and sweep away the attack down and to the right.
To counterattack, quickly thrust at the target of the enemy.

52 “Thrust low.”
53 “Defend your right.”
54 “Defend your left.”
Seventy-first Part
During a jūkenjutsu practice, follow all regulations laid out earlier in the text.

End of the main text of the Kenjutsu Kyōhan

Appendix
Jyōbaguntōjutsu
Rules

First Part
The purpose of jyōbaguntōjutsu is to attack your opponent from horseback with cuts and thrusts. The rules for its practice are outlined below.

Second Part
Jyōbaguntōjutsu is learned first while either moving at a walking speed or at rest, and later while moving quickly or moving slowly.

Third Part
Jyōbaguntōjutsu is learned first with the saber. Later, it is possible to study it with the bayonet.

Fourth Part
When there are more than two riders simultaneously stopped and performing a drill for horseback combat, there should be 3 meters distance between the riders as they line up horizontally.
However, when performing in motion inside a paddock, establish the position 2 meters closer than usual.

Fifth Part
After the soldier has learned how to strike and stab, line up representations of riders, foot soldiers, and prostrate soldiers on the ground and practice striking/stabbing these targets. First perform this exercise in a straight line moving forward, and then later include curved paths.

Sixth Part
It is important to practice the exercises of jyōbaguntōjutsu while on foot and remaining relaxed.
However, in this case the stance is different from that of standard guntōjutsu. Take a standard stance, and at the same time hook your sheath to your belt, and move your feet so that your right foot is one step to the right of your left foot. At the same time, grip the sheath in your left hand.

---

55 Horseback combat.
56 Saber combat while on horseback, unlike lance-based combat, does not rely on charges. Instead, the two duelists fight at close to a full stop, since the relatively short reach of a saber would make a lance-style charge ineffective.
57 Most likely because a nervous rider would cause a horse to start very easily, resulting in near certain defeat in a match and possibly in serious injury.
BASIC MOVEMENTS

Seventh Part
Always aim for the head or chest with thrusts and cuts.

Eighth Part
Always aim your cuts and thrusts in the direction of the enemy’s movement, taking care to lead slightly. However, remember that you are seated and move your hands and body so as to avoid losing your balance.

Ninth Part
When practicing cuts and thrusts with an opponent who is on the ground and you are mounted, do not begin before hearing the appropriate command of, “tohosha ni muke.”

Tenth Part
When thrusting for an opponent who is prone on the ground, rely on thrusts and at the same time keep the reigns and your scabbard together in your left hand while keeping the opponent on your right side.

Eleventh Part
Unsheathing your sword
Command: *kamae-tō*
Take the hilt of the sword in your right hand and keep it slightly above your left fist, pointed forward, with your fingers pointing left and your elbow resting against your body. The tip of the sword should be in front and at the same height as your left shoulder, with the blade facing down and to the right.

Twelfth Part
Sheathing your sword
Command: *katae-tō*
Perform the reverse of the movements in Part 11 in order to sheath your sword.

STRIKING AND STABBING TO THE FORWARD-RIGHT

Thirteenth Part
When in stance, use the command: *migi-mae wo utte*
Pay attention to the landmarks you have set to judge spacing, move your right fist slightly further to the right, turn the tip of your sword forward and thrust once. Next, bring your right fist far above your head, turn the blade up, and point the tip to the left and rear, and perform a cut forward and to the right. Draw a circle with your arm, bring it around for another thrust to the forward-right, and return to your original stance.

STRIKING TO THE FORWARD LEFT

Fourteenth Part

58 Approximately rendered in English as “Turn towards the one who is walking.”
When in stance, use the command: *hidari-mae wo utte*

Paying attention to the landmarks you have set to judge spacing, bring your right fist close to your body, turn the point of your toward to the forward and left and perform a stabbing attack. Next, stretch your arm out, and bring your right fist above your right shoulder, turn the point of your sword to the rear-right, and cut once to the forward-left. Draw a circle with your arm and once more point the tip of your sword to the forward left and perform a thrust, and then return to your original stance.

CUTTING AND THRUSTING TO THE FORWARD-LEFT AND –RIGHT (OR FORWARD-RIGHT AND –LEFT)

*Fifteenth Part*
When in stance, use the command: *migi-mae hidari-mae (or hidari-mae migi-mae) wo utte*

Cut or thrust to the left or right, and then return to stance. Continue performing this exercise by thrusting or cutting to the left or right.

VOLUNTARY CUTTING AND STRIKING\(^59\)

*Sixteenth Part*
When in stance, use the command: *Zui-i ni utte* When the drill is complete: *yame*

Using the outlines for various strikes recorded above, freely attack with a mixture of the various techniques you have learned.

When the command “*yame*” is given, return to your starting stance.

MAIN POINTS OF HORSEBACK COMBAT

*Seventeenth Part*
Since during horseback combat the one who gets the drop on his opponent will win, as a general rule aggressively attack your opponent.

*Eighteenth Part*
If it is not possible to attack the top half of the enemy's body, then instead strike the horse’s harness\(^60\), the left fist\(^61\) or the horse's neck.\(^62\)

*Nineteenth Part*
During horseback combat the rear-left is always a weak point, and therefore it is always an advantage to pursue the rear left of your opponent.

*Twenty-first Part*
When fighting your opponent or attempting to put pressure on to him, it is advantageous to turn right.\(^63\) However, when attempting to retreat from your opponent, the way to best avoid danger is to turn to the left.

*Twenty-first Part*
When fighting from horseback take care to avoid damage to your horse or to your equipment.

---

\(59\) This seems to refer to a type of sparring practice whereby partners take turns attacking each other freely. This type of practice is also used in modern *kendō*, where it is referred to as *kakari-geiko*.

\(60\) The kanji used here has long since fallen out of favor and is no longer in common use. As a result, this reading is an educated guess based on readings of kanji with similar radicals.

\(61\) Since saber combat uses one hand (usually the right) the left fist likely holds the reigns.

\(62\) Both of these techniques seem designed to cause the rider to lose control of the horse, thus disrupting their attack and defense.

\(63\) In order to force him to retreat or to maneuver behind him.
END OF APPENDIX OF KENJUTSU KYOUHAN

DIAGRAMS

FIRST DIAGRAM

Striking points for thrusting and cutting
- Men (Head)
- Nodo (Throat)
- Migi-dō (Right torso)
- Hidari-dō (Left torso)
- Zen-hiji (Wrist)

Note: It is forbidden to deviate either a small or great amount from the hits shown above. However, in the case of the men point it is acceptable to strike outside the zone of the forehead.
SECOND PART DIAGRAM

The sheathed position

THIRD PART DIAGRAM

Basic Stance
FOURTH PART DIAGRAM

Crossing Swords During a Match

FIFTH PART DIAGRAM

Strikes to the Men

SIXTH PART DIAGRAM
Thrusts
One Example

SEVENTH PART DIAGRAM

Another Example

A Slashing Attack to the Migi-dō
EIGHTH PART DIAGRAM

A Slashing Attack to the *Hidari-dō*

NINTH PART DIAGRAM

Defending Against an Attack to the *Men*

TENTH PART DIAGRAM
Defending Against a Thrust

One Example

Another Example

ELEVENTH PART DIAGRAM

Defending Against an Attack on the Hidari-dō

TWELFTH PART DIAGRAM

Defending Against an Attack to the Migi-dō

THIRTEENTH PART DIAGRAM

64 The original text describes both Parts 11 and 12 as descriptions of defense of the hidari-dō. However, as the illustrations show attacks on different sides of the torso, this is most likely a typo.
Thrusting targets in Jūkenjutsu
- *Nodo* (Throat)
- *Dō* (Torso)

Note: No deviation is allowed from the outlined targets.
Prepared Stance

SIXTEENTH PART DIAGRAM

Crossing of the Jūken During a Match

SEVENTEENTH PART DIAGRAM

Thrusting Targets

One Example

Another Example

EIGHTEENTH PART DIAGRAM
Striking Around the Opponent’s Guard

One Example

Another Example

NINTEENTH PART DIAGRAM

Low Thrusts

One Example

Another Example

TWENTIETH PART DIAGRAM

Parrying on the Right

TWENTY-FIRST PART DIAGRAM
Parrying on the Left
TWENTY-SECOND PART DIAGRAM

Parrying a Low Attack
APPENDIX B: KENDÔKA SHASHIN MEIKAN
Published in the 5th Month of the 13th Year of Taisho (1925)

Page 2

Preface

This thing called Kendô is the embodiment of the Japanese spirit; it is a method of training the body and mind that is unique to our country, and something that can be proudly shown to the rest of the world. Therefore, since the days of old, those who have studied this art have been many, and since the establishment of the butokukai in the 28th year of the Meiji, it has prospered even more, so much so that now, those who have achieved the Seiren-shô level certificate number several hundred – it can be said that the art is truly thriving.

In order to make further efforts into investigating this art, and to spread goodwill to and to be of assistance to the Kendô practitioners in various parts of Japan, I have organized the committee to publish Kendôka Shashin Meikan.

When the Kendôka Shashin Meikan Publishing Group first organized we were not sure whether our work would be approved or disapproved of, but the various people in question here approved, with about 300 people offering their assistance with our activities, allowing a great number of pictures to be assembled for this volume. Despite the difficulties, the authors were easily able to meet the established day of publication. However, they are concerned as to whether they respected the wishes of those who contributed to the volume, so the deadline for editing was prolonged. At last this great record was concluded, fortunately recording the present conditions of this field of study. The great assistance provided by our comrades was invaluable. And thus we conclude this opening address.

13th Year of Taisho, 5th Month

Kendôka Shashin Meikan Publishing Group

---

1 Seiren-shô is a special designation for talented Kendô practitioners during this time. It will be discussed more thoroughly during the last half of the text.
Heian Shrine

Page 6

The Butokukan
Greater Japan *Butokukai* First Minister
His Royal Highness The Imperial
Prince Komatsunomiya Akihito

Greater Japan *Butokukai* Second
Minister His Royal Highness The Imperial
Prince Fushiminomiya Sadanaru

Distinguished Organizers of the
*Butokukai* (First Set)

First Chairman: Watanabe Chiaki

Chairman: Kitagaki Kunimichi

Chairman: Ōura Kanetaka

First Vice Chairman: Mibu Motonaga

2 Also read “Kanetake”
Vice Chairman: Kinoshita Hiroji

(No Title): Konishi Shin'emon

Page 9

Distinguished Organizers of the Butokukai (Second Set)

Butokukan Construction Committee
Chairman: Naiki Jinzaburō

Organizer: Tanbane Keisuke

Organizer: Toriumi Hirotake

Jujutsu and Kendō Group Organizer: Kusunoki Masazoki

Kyujutsu Group and Kendō Group: Okada Tooru

Jujutsu and Kendō Group: Yamada Yoshio
It is worth mentioning that while we have here recorded influential people who rendered distinguished service, there are also those who were not photographed (but deserve recognition as well?) However, the ones recorded here had particularly strong relationships to the *Kendō* section [of the Butokukai] and because of that they were chosen to be recorded.

Names of the First *Seiren-shō* Recipients from the first *Butokukai Enbu* for Kendō (28th Year of Meiji)

Back Row: The Late Yoshida Katsumi, The Late Takayoshi Ansaburō, The Late Matsuki Namishirō, The Late Kagawa Zenjirō, The Late Abe Kamisube, The Late Genji Fujio

Front Row: The Late Umeki Yaichirō, The Late Konami Ekichi, The Late Sango Kanichirō, The Late Ishiyama Magoroku, The Late Tokutatsu Sekishirō, The Late Okumura Sakonta

---

3 1895
Participants in the First Greater Japan Butokukai Kendō Taikai (28th Meiji)
Branch Offices of the Greater Japan Butokukai

Chiba Branch Office

Saitama Branch Office

Ibaraki Branch Office

Gunma Branch Office

Fukushima Branch Office

Iwate Branch Office

Miyagi Branch Office

Aomori Branch Office

Page 14
Akita Branch Office

Nagano Branch Office

Yamagata Branch Office

Shizuoka Branch Office

Aichi Branch Office

Fukui Branch Office

Gifu Branch Office

Ishikawa Branch Office
Toyama Branch Office

Mie Branch Office

Niigata Branch Office

Shiga Branch Office

Kyoto Branch Office

Nara Branch Office

Osaka Branch Office

Wakayama Branch Office

Page 17

Page 18
Hanshi\textsuperscript{5}

It of course goes without saying that those who receive the honor of being called hanshi are those who have received the title of kyōshi. They must have been practicing for forty years past the age of majority\textsuperscript{6}, and continue to spend over 40 years refining their skills in bujutsu and must be a model person. After being screened, they receive the approval of The Honorable Greater Japan Butokukai President. Some of the small number still receive an amount of lifetime pension\textsuperscript{7}, but recently it was decided to discontinue that practice. As the Taisho-jidai began, in special cases the term was not asked? (unclear on the meaning) These days those receiving the title of Hanshi retain it until death. Since the beginning of the Taisho period, in special cases, it has been decided not to be strict about the number of years (that is, they don’t have to be 40 years past 20 years old), and in recent years, due to deaths among those who have the title of kyōshi, it has become possible to confer the title of jōhanshi\textsuperscript{8} to select practitioners. However, even then, since the 36\textsuperscript{th} year of the Meiji, there have only been fifty hanshi named in the last twenty plus years. The title of the hanshi is truly the authority of Kendō.

\textsuperscript{5} 範士. Rōghly translated, “an exemplar.”
\textsuperscript{6} 20 years of age.
\textsuperscript{7} From secondary sources, we know the value of this pension to be roughly 50 yen of 1920's currency.
\textsuperscript{8} 上範士, a posthumous variant of the title. Since only living hanshi are recorded in this text, no jōhanshi practitioners appear.
Hanshi Group (Presented in *iroha* order)  

*Nen-ryu*  
Araki-ryu  
Honma Saburō  
Born: 6th Year of Ansei, 3rd Month (1860)  
Hometown: Gunma Prefecture  
Current Location: Gunma Prefecture, Sawa-gun, Akabori-mura  
Training: Self-Taught: Sakakibara Kenkichi, Yamaoka Tetsutarō  
Qualification: 10th Year of Taisho  

Hanshi  

Jiki-Shinkage-ryu  
Tomiyama Tsubura  
Born: 4th Year of Kaei, 6th Month (1852)  
Hometown: Unknown  
Current Location: Hyōgo Prefecture, Itami Chuugakkō-mae  
Training: Unknown  
Qualification: Taisho 3rd Year Hanshi  

Muto-ryu  
Kawazaki Zenzaburō  
Born: First Year of Man'en, 4th Month (1860)  
Hometown: Kōchi Prefecture  
Current Location: Kōchi -shi, Hokushin-machi  
Training: Kawazaki Senho, Police Officer  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Hanshi  

Tsushida Ichifu-ryu  
Takahashi Kyutarō  
Born: Ansei 6th Year 7th Month (1860)  
Hometown: Hyōgo Prefecture  
Current Location: Kobe -shi, Heiya Gomiya-machi  
Training: Government Official and Police Officer  
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Hanshi  

Onoha-Ittō-ryu  
Takano Sasaburō  
Born: Bunkyuu 2nd Year 6th Month (1863)  
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture  
Current Location: Tokyo -shi Kōji-machi-ku, Iida-machi?, Nichōme 53  
Training: By his grandfather Mitsumasa  
Qualification: Taisho 2nd Year Hanshi  

Onoha-Ittō-ryu  
Takano Shigeyoshi  
Born: Meiji 10th Year 1st Month 2nd Day (1878)  
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture  
Current Location: Dairen -shi, ??-machi, 2-3  
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan  
Qualification: Taisho 1st Year Hanshi  

---

9 The Pre-Modern Japanese equivalent of alphabetical order. *Iroha* ordering is based off a poem of the same name from the Heian Period (794-1179 CE). The poem uses each of the syllables of the Japanese language once, and the order the syllables appear in the poem was used for the next 1,000 years as a form of “alphabetical” organization. During the Meiji Period the modern *gojūon* (Fifty sounds) became the standard, but *Iroha* ordering retained a traditional appeal.  

10 Japanese addresses are extremely complicated and different in form from the American style. For ease of reference, addresses have been Romanized and remain untranslated.
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture, Kurume
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Tonoyuu Araichō, Araijyuku
Training: Kurume Clan Kendō Dojo of Kyōshi Tsuda Shō
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Hanshi

Hokushin Ittō-ryu
Naitō Takaharu
Born: Bunkyu 2nd Year 10th Month (1863)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto -shi, Niōmon, Shintakakura, Zenkōin
Training: Mito Tōbukan
Qualification: Taisho 2nd Year Hanshi

Jiki-shinkage-ryu
Mizui Toshitan
Born: Ansei 6th Year 12th Month (1860)
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Inside Yotsuyaka -ku, Sanchōme 46
Training: Kagoshima Prefecture (typo?)
Qualification: Hanshi

Shintō Munen-ryu
Nakayama Hakudō
Born: Meiji 6th Year (1874)
Hometown: Ishikawa Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Hongō-ku, Masagochō 37
Training: Negishi Shingorō Hanshi, former director of Yushinkan,
Hasegawa-ryu Iai Hanshi, Training with Shintō Musō-ryuu
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Hanshi

Jiki-shinkage-ryu
Nagasaka Tadayoshi
Born: Kai 5th Year 4th Month 12th Day (1853)
Hometown: Tokyo

Current Location: Tokyo Prefecture, Toyoshima District, ōko machi Ooaza ōko 1047
Training: Naganuma Kashōtō
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Hanshi

Shinkage-ryu
Noda Chōzaburō
Born: 1st Year of Ansei, 10th Month (1854)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Kumamoto Prefecture, Hōzan-machi 661
Training: Koshaku Watanabe Noboru
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Hanshi

Page 25
Toda-ryu
Nōtomi Kazuo
Born: Ansei 5th Year 6th Month (1859)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Saga Prefecture, Ōgi Prefecture, Misato-mura
Training: Gorōjyōbu
Qualification: Hanshi

Shintō Mukyō-ryu
Jiki-shinkage-ryu
Yano Katsujirō
Born: Ansei 4th Year 12th Month 10th Day (1858)
Hometown: Kyoto Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto Prefecture, Muro-mura, Ebisu-kawa-kami
Training: Toda Einosuke, Takayama Minesaburō, Hayashi Ichidō
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Hanshi

Kanshin-ryu
Yamane Masao
Born: Tenpo 11th Year 12th Month (1841)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture

---

11 Final Kanji is illegible
Current Location: Tokushima -shi,
Tomita Ura-chō
Training: Nanishi-gun, Takahara-mura Eimeikan dojo
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Hanshi

No School Given
Kimura Nofuhite
Born: Kaei 6th Year 1st Month 15th Day (1854)
Hometown: Ishikawa Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Hongō-ku, Masago-chō 37
Training: Kanazawa Yuuhikan, Tokyo
Sakakibara
Qualification: Hanshi

Shinkage-ryū
Miyawaki Danji
Born: Kaei 5th Year 12th Month (1853)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Kumamoto-shi, Kyō-machi, Honmachi House Number 70
Training: Kumamoto-han Teacher
Yokota Seima
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Hanshi

No School Given12
Monna Tadashi
Born: Ansei 2nd Year (1856)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Nagoya -shi, Chū-ku, Matsuki-machi, Yonchōme
Training: Tokyo
Qualification: Taisho 2nd Year Hanshi

12 From secondary sources, we know that Monna Tadashi studied for part of his life with Ozawa Torakichi, an instructor of Hokushin-ittō-ryū and head of the Mito Tōbukan. Dan, p. 87.
The title of kyōshi is awarded to a select few from among those who have received the Seiren-shō certificate, and are superior in their skills and personal qualities. The title is granted by The Honorable President of the Greater Japan Butokukai.

Above the rank of kyōshi, there is the pinnacle of honor called the hanshi, but since there is an age requirement for the hanshi, the title of kyōshi is the one that is the highest available for practitioners under the age of sixty.

The title of kyōshi was established together with the title of hanshi in the 36th year of the Meiji; every year, only ten practitioners have been awarded the title of kyōshi to this day.

---

**Page 27**

Kyōshi Group (*Iroha* Order)

*Jiki-shinkage-ryū*

Itō Ryōya

Born: Ansei 4th Year 7th Month 16th Day (1857)

Hometown: Tochigi Prefecture

Current Location: Miyazaki Prefecture, Miyazaki-gun, Muku-mura, *Ooaza* Yoshimura -mura *aza* Oomachi

Training: Sano-han retainer Hiraishi Tamon

Qualification: Meiji 42nd Year Kyōshi

*Kagami-Muneaki-chi-ryū*

Ina Moritaka

Born: Kōka 3rd Year 1st Month (1846)

Hometown: Aichi Prefecture

Current Location: Matsuyama Prefecture, Nibanchō 4-1

Training: Matsuyama-han instructor Hashimoto Dojo, Osaka Momoi Haruzō

Qualification: Meiji 44th Year Kyōshi

*Jiki-shinkage-ryū*

Itō Seiji

Born: Meiji 15th Year 3rd Month 1st Day (1882)

Hometown: Arayu Prefecture

Current Location: 4th Infantry Group Commander

Training: Arayu Middle School, Imai Nobutaka, Umekawa Dojo, Toda School

Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Kyōshi

**Shintō Munen-ryū**

Takamoto Tōyō

Born: Meiji 18th Year 8th Month 1st Day (1885)

Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture

Current Location: Tokyo, Hongō -ku, Masagō-chō 37, Yushinkan Headquarters

Training: Yushinkan Tokyo Headquarters

Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyōshi (No School Given)

Futagawa Isamu Shōhei

Born: Meiji 10th Year 12th Month (1877)

Hometown: Tochigi Prefecture

Current Location: Kyoto -shi, Okazaki Irie-chō 89

Training: *Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō*

Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi
Onoha Ittō Ryu
Horita Tokujirō
Born: Meiji 18th Year 6th Month 9th Day (1883)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Aichi Prefecture, Toyohashi-shi, Ooaza Asahi sanbanchō
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Ittō-ryū
Tomita Chōtarō
Born: Meiji 18th Year 6th Month 9th Day (1883)
Hometown: Gunma-ken
Current Location: Gunma-ken, Gunmagun, Motosōja-mura
Training: Tokyo Kuudanzaka Meishinkan
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Kyōshi

Suifu-ryū
Numata Yasusaburō
Born: Meiji 19th Year 4th Month (1884)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Ibaraki Prefecture, Hanasaki-shi Sanchōme 413
Training: Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyōshi

Page 28

Kagami Shinmei-chi Ryu
Ochi Tomoichirō
Born: Meiji 13th Year 9th Month (1880)
Hometown: Ehime Prefecture
Current Location: Matsuyama-shi, Debuchi-Machi Ichichōme
Training: Kyoto Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō
Qualification: Kyōshi

Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Ogawa Kinosuke
Born: Meiji 17th Year 5th Month (1884)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto-shi, Niōmon, Kawabata, Higashi Kōmyōji, Hiromichikan
Training: Aichi Kaneichi, Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Onoha Ittō ryu
Ozawa Aijirō
Born: Bunkyu 3rd Year 12th Month 2nd Day (1863)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Saitama Prefecture, Kitasaitama-fu, Iwashige-mura
Training: Student of Kyōoshi-han Kendō Instructor Matsuda Juugorō Sadayoshi
Qualification: Kyōshi

Naokiyo-ryū
Watanabe Sakae
Born: Meiji 10th Year 10th Month 13th Day (1877)
Hometown: Kagawa Prefecture
Current Location: Kobe-shi, Futatabisuji-chō 122
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Shinten-ryū
Kadono Hidetada
Born: Ansei 1st Year 4th Month 12th Day (1853)
Hometown: Akita Prefecture
Current Location: Akita-shi, Hodonohacchō, Shinmachi, Shitamachi
Training: Shinten-ryū Home Dojo, Tokyo Sakakibara Kenkichi Dojo
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Kyōshi

Chikanobu-ryū
Kaichō Kurō  
Born: Meiji 8th Year 6th Month 13th Day (1875)  
Hometown: Okayama Prefecture  
Current Location: Shizuoka -shi, Umaba-machi, Fujimi Lane 125  
Training: Ooe Iemitsu, Butokukai Headquarters, Judo Iai Seiren-shō shō  
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Onoha-Ittō-ryū  
Ryūgō-ryū  
Takeuchi Manbē  
Born: Meiji 6th Year 2nd Month 15th Day (1873)  
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture  
Current Location: Sengō-shi, Koshiji 35-2  
Training: Miyagi Kenbusha  
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Kyōshi

Tetsunaka-ryū  
Nakano Sōsuke  
Born: Meiji 18th Year 7th Month (1885)  
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Fukuoka -shi, Nishiyajin-Machi 7-5  
Training: Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō  
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Kyōshi

Shinkage-ryū  
Nakayama Chikakata  
Born: Bunkyu 2nd year 2nd Month 3rd Day (1862)  
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture  
Current Location: Kagoshima Prefecture, Kajiki-machi,  
Training: Hokushin Ittō-ryū, Jikishinkage-ryū, Kagami Shinmei-chi-ryū  
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Kyōshi

Suifu-ryū  
Nakashima Shūichirō  
Born: Meiji 21st Year (1888)  
Hometown: Saga Prefecture  
Current Location: Kyoto -shi  
Training: Member of Sasaki Kyōshi?, Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō  
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Tamiya-ryū  
Murata Chōichi  
Born: Meiji 7th Year 2nd Month 18th Day (1874)  
Hometown: Yamaguchi Prefecture  
Current Location: Yamaguchi Prefecture, Toyora District, Utsui Machi  
Training: Shōkawa Katsumei of Eirinkan, in the same location as his current address  
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year 9th Month Kyōshi

Hokushin Ittō-ryū  
Shintō Munen-ryū  
Umekawa Ryūtarō  
Born: 14th Year 4th Month 8th Day (1881)  
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture  
Current Location: Keishikei Bujutsu Kyōshi-han  
Training: Student of Naitō Takaharu, Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō  
Qualification: Kyōshi

Shintō Munen-ryū  
Umekawa Miyukishirō  
Born: Ansei 2nd Year 5th Month (1855)  
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture  
Current Location: Ibaraki Prefecture, Shinji-gun, Ishioka-chou, Motoshin-chi  
Training: Suzuki Sōhachirō, Sōjutsu:

13 心陰流, instead of the more usual 新陰流

14 Illegible beyond this point.
Ogasawara Tamaki  
Qualification: Taisho 3rd Year Kyōshi

Shintō-ryū  
Ueda Heitarō  
Born: Meiji 10th Year 10th Month (1875)  
Hometown: Kagawa Prefecture  
Current Location: Takamatsu -shi, Uchimachi  
Training: Home dojo Shinbukan as well as the Butokukai  
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Shiten-ryū  
Inoue Tōjuurō  
Born: Kaei 5th Year 12th Month (1852)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture  
Current Location: Kumamoto Prefecture, Kitatsuboi-machi 2-0  
Training: Hisatake Shira, Instructor for the House of Hosogawa  
Qualification: Meiji 44th Year

Kumo-kō-ryū  
Inoue Hirata  
Born: Kaei 1st Year 9th Month 17th Day (1847)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture  
Current Location: Kumamoto Prefecture, Houtaku-gun, Ikegami-mura, Aza Tanigakushi  
Training: Dojo of Tatabe Seiichirō  
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Kyōshi

Page 30

No School Given  
Inoue Daishirō  
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 6th Month 7th Day (1888)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture

Current Location: Hiroshima -shi, Senda-machi, Nichōme, 652 no 8  
Training: Kumamoto Noda Saburō Martial Art Academy  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyōshi

Toda-ryū  
Nōtomi Itsuo  
Born: Meiji 16th Year 12th Month (1883)  
Hometown: Saga Prefecture  
Current Location: Sasebo -shi, Orihashi-men 84  
Training: Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō  
Qualification: Kyōshi

Mutō-ryū  
Jiki-shinkage-ryū  
Ōkouchi Tomozō  
Born: Kaei 1st Year 10th Month (1847)  
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture  
Current Location: Fukushima Prefecture, Heimachi, Otsuchi, Komichi 4  
Training: Home, Yamaoka, Sakakibara  
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year Kyōshi

Shintō Munen-ryū  
Ootsuka Matusjirō  
Born: Unknown  
Hometown: Gifu Prefecture  
Current Location: Gifu Prefecture, Anpachi-machi, Nakakawa-mura  
Training: Shimizu Kan  
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

No School Given  
Ookusu Yūbio?  
Born: Meiji 20th Year (1885)  
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Kumamoto -shi, Kuro??machi, Tsuboi 2-3-6  
Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyōshi

15 This date is preceded by the kanji 月目. The meaning of this usage is unclear.
Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Ōnoha-Ittō-ryū
Ōsawa Tōshirō
Born: Unknown
Hometown: Tochigi Prefecture
Current Location: Hokkaido Territory
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan Dojo
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Butokukai-ryū
Ōshima Jikita
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 10th Month (1887)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo-fuka,
Takinogawa, Aza Nishigahara 989
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai
Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Okamura Torikichi
Born: Meiji 11th Year 2nd Month 10th Day (1878)
Hometown: Okayama Prefecture
Current Location: Kyōto Muromachi,
Above New Imadegawa,
Hatayamamachi
Training: Imperial Police, Butokukai
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Jagyu Shinkage-ryū
Kubo Toshio
Born: Keio 3rd Year 1st Month 5th Day (1867)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture
Current Location: Miyagi Prefecture,
Miyakoshiro-machi
Training: Shikoku, Kyūshū16
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Ittō Shōtoku Muto-ryū

Yagyu Shinkage-ryū
Kubo Toshio
Born: Keio 3rd Year 1st Month 5th Day (1867)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture
Current Location: Miyagi Prefecture,
Miyakoshiro-machi
Training: Shikoku, Kyūshū16
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Fujita Kusōyoku
Born: Ansei 1st Year 7th Month 15th Day (1853)
Hometown: Osaka Area
Current Location: Nara Prefecture,
Takashi-gu, Imai-machi
Training: Former Asada-han house
Qualification: Kyōshi

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Ōnoha-Ittō-ryū
Ōsawa Tōshirō
Born: Unknown
Hometown: Tochigi Prefecture
Current Location: Hokkaido Territory
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan Dojo
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Butokukai-ryū
Ōshima Jikita
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 10th Month (1887)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo-fuka,
Takinogawa, Aza Nishigahara 989
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai
Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Okamura Torikichi
Born: Meiji 11th Year 2nd Month 10th Day (1878)
Hometown: Okayama Prefecture
Current Location: Kyōto Muromachi,
Above New Imadegawa,
Hatayamamachi
Training: Imperial Police, Butokukai
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Jagyu Shinkage-ryū
Kubo Toshio
Born: Keio 3rd Year 1st Month 5th Day (1867)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture
Current Location: Miyagi Prefecture,
Miyakoshiro-machi
Training: Shikoku, Kyūshū16
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Yagyu Shinkage-ryū
Kubo Toshio
Born: Keio 3rd Year 1st Month 5th Day (1867)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture
Current Location: Miyagi Prefecture,
Miyakoshiro-machi
Training: Shikoku, Kyūshū16
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Fujita Kusōyoku
Born: Ansei 1st Year 7th Month 15th Day (1853)
Hometown: Osaka Area
Current Location: Nara Prefecture,
Takashi-gu, Imai-machi
Training: Former Asada-han house
Qualification: Kyōshi

16 This is most likely a typo. Shikoku and Kyūshū are two separate sections of Japan.

17 Synonym of dojo
Shinkage-ryū
Fujita Shinji
Born: Meiji 9th Year 8th Month 7th Day (1876)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Greater Japan
Butokukai Aichi Branch Headquarters
Kendo Building
Training: Shinjō-gun, Shinjō-mura, Okajoukan-shu
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyōshi

Jiki-Shinkage-ryū
Ittō-ryū
Fujisaki Gosaburō
Born: Keio 1st Year 4th Month 19th Day (1864)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Chiba Prefecture, Azuma-machi
Training: Former Matsuo-han Kyōyoukan, Chiba Prefecture Patrol Officer
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyōshi

No School Given
Kondō Tomoyoshi
Born: Meiji 19th Year 11th Month (1886)
Hometown: Okayama Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto Budo Senmon Gakkō
Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Kyōshi

Page 32
No School Given
Aoki Shichirō
Born: Unknown
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Saitama Prefecture, Oozatō-gu, Shinzawa-mura, Ooaza, Atoshinzawa-mura, 76
Training: Ueda Umanosuke of Tokyo (the same?), Henmi Sōsuke
Qualification: Meiji 44th Year Kyōshi

Kanshin-ryū
ōmi Sakurō ?!
Born: Meiji 3rd Year 2nd Month (1870)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture
Current Location: Tokushima Prefecture Teacher’s School Faculty
Training: Tokushima Prefecture, Awagu, Katsumyō-mura, Eimeikan, Yamane Masao
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Kyōshi

Tsuda Ichifu-ryū
Asano Shōta
Born: Koka 4th Year 6th Month 27th Day (1847)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka Area, Nakakawachi-gun, Higashi Mutsuzawa-mura, Ooaza Nakakawa
Training: Kurume Tsuda and Home Dojo
Qualification: Taisho Tsuda and Home Kyōshi

Shinnen-ryū
??Shintō Munen-ryū
Zaitsu Tanezō
Born: Bunkyu 3rd Year 8th Month 15th Day (1863)
Hometown: Nagasaki Prefecture, Current Location: Seoul, Tōdaimon Police
Training: Itsushima-han Oomori Tetsunosuke, Oomura Shibae and Oomura Unhachirou
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Kyōshi

No School Given
Saimura Gorō
Born: Meiji 20th Year 5th Month 4th Day (1887)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Practice
Hall of Nukita Tanikuni
Training: Bujutsu Teaching Faculty, Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyoshi

Shinkage-ryū
Sawa Tomohiko
Born: Meiji 10th Year 6th Month 27th Day (1875)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Kumamoto
Prefecture Hachidai-gu, Hachidai-machi
Training: Kumamoto Prefecture
Tatsuhachidai Middle School
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyoshi

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Satō Yonoyori
Born: Meiji 6th Year 4th Month 16th Day (1873)
Hometown: Yamagata Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo Area, Shimoomori San'ō 2-3-3-5
Training: Imperial Household
Department Hinreikan
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyoshi

Hokushin-Ittō-ryū
Sakai Seitarō
Born: Keio 3rd Year 4th Month 15th Day (1867)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Gohoku-shuu, Gohoku-shi, Minamimono-mae,
Rokuchoume, Ichibanchi
Training: Kasamachō Murakami Dojo
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyoshi

Page 33

Shinkage-ryū
Kitamura Yoshinao
Born: Ansei 6th Year 5th Month (1859)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Uwajima -shi, Nakanomachi
Training: Unknown
Qualification: Meiji 45th Year Kyoshi

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Miyagawa Girei
Born: Bunkyu 2nd Year (1862)
Hometown: Tokyo Area
Current Location: Aomori -shi
Butokukai Branch Office
Training: Koide Seirokumon
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyoshi

Kandō-ryū
Shiga Nori
Born: Meiji 14th Year 6th Month (1881)
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka -shi, ōtside
Sumiyoshi -mura 2-5-8
Training: Kandō-ryū Instructor
Kawakami Shirō, Strategy/Tactics
from Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyoshi

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Musashi-ryū
Shinozaki Ninbei
Born: Genji 1st Year 5th Month 30th Day (1863)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Korea, Sotoku-fu,
Police Training Institute
Training: Police
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Kyoshi

Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Shimatani Yasohachi
Born: Meiji 3rd Year 12th Month (1870)
Hometown: Satsuma-han
Current Location: Nara, Kangoku-machi
Training: Kagoshima Enbukan Bujutsu Teaching Faculty
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Kyōshi

No School Given
Mochida Moriji
Born: Meiji 18th Year 1st Month (1885)
Hometown: Gunma Prefecture
Current Location: Chiba -shi
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai
Headquarters Bujutsu Teaching Faculty
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Kyōshi

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Ishiyama Kumahiko
Born: Meiji 14th Year 7th Month (1881)
Hometown: Kōchi Prefecture
Current Location: Kōchi -shi
Training: Butokukai Headquarters,
Kōchi Butokukai Branch Office
Qualification: Kyōshi

Shintō Munen-ryū
Yoshiura Yasumasa
Born: Meiji 17th Year 4th Month (1884)
Hometown: Miyayama Prefecture
Current Location: Arayu -shi,
Shimoasahi-machi, Nibanmachī
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Kyōshi

Page 34
No School Given
Tsuruta Mitsuo
Born: Meiji 17th Year 1st Month (1884)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Shiba
District, Koro Ginzō Hikarichō 7-1
Training: Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyōshi

18 Marked with 以下追加
Seiren-shō

Certification of Seiren-shō-akashi began in the Fall of the 28th Year of Meiji when, from the mass participants in the Greater Japan Butokukai First Enbu, the first rate masters of this discipline were chosen and received the blessing of the The Honorable President. This pattern continued with each Taikai, using that first Enbu as an example.

In the Kendō Group, 15 people were nominated during the 1st and 2nd Taikai. Up to the 10th Taikai only between 5 and 10 people were selected each time. However, during the 14th Taikai during the 42nd Year of Meiji the number lept to over 60 people, and soon became over 100, with all the members today numbering over 500.

Furthermore, the Seiren-shō was originally not a title nor a qualification, but since kyōshi are chosen from among those who have received the Seiren-shō, today we consider the Seiren-shō to be a type of qualification.

---

19 Seiren-shō was the first award established by the Butokukai, dating back to the 1896 Enbu. Up until the 1930s the three highest ranks of kendō were hanshi, kyōshi and Seiren-shō. However, the Butokukai renamed the rank in 1934 to renshi. This system was preserved by the All Japan Kendō Federation and remains in use today as a system for ranking teachers.

20 演武, “Combat Exercices.” Often refers to older Gendai Budo such as Kendō and judo.

21 As there are only 238 Seiren-shō recorded here, this number must include deceased recipients of the title.
Chikanobu-ryū
Iwada Tsunekichi
Born: Meiji 18th Year 6th Month (1884)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Korea, Zentake Hokudou Zenshuu, Oomachi Masa yonchoume
Training: Daichō Kurō of the Fukuoka Prefecture Greater Japan Butokukai Branch Office
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

No School Given
Itō Kamasaku?
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 10th Month (1891)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Aichi Prefecture Tsushima Middle School
Training: Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Seiren-shō-akashi

Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Ichikawa Aguri
Born: Genji 1st Year 11th Month (1862)
Hometown: Tokyo-shi
Current Location: Yokohama-shi, Nishitobe-chou, Kyounoya 1659
Training: Hanshi Monna Tadashi and Hanshi Shibata Emori
Qualification: Taisho 1st Year Seiren-shō-akashi

Ooishi Kamikage-ryū
Itai Masumi
Born: Ansei 1st Year 11th Month (1853)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Fukuoka Prefecture, Miike-gu, Ginsui-mura, Larger Section of Miyabe
Training: Ooishi Yukie Dojo After the death of the teacher
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

Shintomi-ryū
Inekawa Moriyoshi
Born: Meiji 6th Year 12th Month (1873)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto-shi, Kamichō-ja-machi
Training: Ina Moritaka, Ozawa Senji, Takano Sasaburō
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

No School Given
Imamura Koretore
Born: Meiji 21st Year 12th Month (1888)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Kagoshima Prefecture, Publicdai Shima Middle School
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

Butoku-ryū
Imai Yasutarō
Born: Meiji 18th Year 9th Month (1885)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka-shi, Sōth-ku, Andōji, Across the Bridge, 1st Chōme
Training: Nagasaki Koushoudou Takao, Butokukai Osaka Branch Office
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

Shinkage-ryū
Suifu-ryū
Ikeda Kumakesa
Born: Meiji 5th Year 11th Month (1872)

22 The meaning here is unclear as there is no context regarding the school itself.
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Kagoshima-shi, Arayashiki-chou, 72 Banchi
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

Hokuten Ittō-ryū
Ishizuka Keishirō
Born: Meiji 9th Year 5th Month (1876)
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Kagoshima Prefecture, Hioki-gun, Hioki-mura
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

Page 37

Butoku-ryū
Sakin Ishinosuke
Born: Meiji 20th Year 2nd Month (1885)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Sapporo-shi, Minami Gojō 4-10, Shichōme Hokkai
Chugakkō
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

No School Given
Ishihara Tsurutarō
Born: Meiji 11th Year 10th Month (1879)
Hometown: Okayama Prefecture
Current Location: Dairokukōtou Gakkō, Kichibi Private Commercial High School
Training: Bujutsu Teaching Faculty of Okayama Prefecture Butokukai Branch Office
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō-Akashi

Hokuten Ittō-ryū
Ishida Hidenosuke
Born: Meiji 12th Year 5th Month (1879)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka district
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Seiren-shō-akashi

Butoku-ryū
Iwai Kiyoshi
Born: Bunkyu 3rd Year 2nd Month (1862)
Hometown: Tokyo Area
Current Location: Tokyo Area, Kita Toshima-gun, Fuchinogawa, Nishigahara 758
Training: Yushinkan: Negishi Shingorō, Yamanaki Jinmichi
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

Shintō Munen-ryū
Ijima Kichitarō
Born: Ansei 6th Year 7th Month (1859)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Yokosuka-shi, Kusunoura 52
Training: Tokyo Shimoya Kurumazaka Sakakibara Dojo
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Harada Jinzou
Born: Meiji 20th Year 8th Month (1887)
Hometown: Osaka-shi
Current Location: Osaka-shi, Hanoi-gun, Takaita-mura, Section of Shigita-mura, House #11
Training: Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Seiren-shō

---
23 An older term equivalent to heihou
24 A term equivalent to High School
No School Given
Hara Kogane
Born: Meiji 5th Year 8th Month (1870)
Hometown: Okayama Prefecture
Current Location: Okayama Prefecture, Yuminochō, House Number 78
Training: Okamura Sakonta, Kuwano Takehiko, Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

Hayakawa Kaname
Born: Meiji 20th Year 3rd Month (1887)
Hometown: Nagano Prefecture
Current Location: Yamaguchi High Grade Gakkō
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Bujutsu Teaching Faculty
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

No School Given
Hayasaka Hiromichi
Born: Meiji 18th Year 7th Month (1885)
Hometown: Akita Prefecture
Current Location: Kobe -shi, Heiya Gonomiya Machi 1-5-0
Training: Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

Butokukai
Mori Gōichi
Born: Meiji 10th Year 6th Month (1877)
Hometown: Osaka -shi
Current Location: Kyoto, Kamikyou-ku, Hirokomichi, Toori Deramachi higashi
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai

Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō-akashi

No School Given
Mori Hisashige
Born: Meiji 7th Year 9th Month (1876)
Hometown: Gunma Prefecture
Current Location: Secretariat of Minister Isshin
Training: Gunma Prefecture, Former Nanoka-han Hayashi Hisanaga, Tokyo Yushinkan
Qualification: Taisho 2nd Year Seiren-shō

Hayakawa Kaname
Born: Meiji 20th Year 3rd Month (1887)
Hometown: Nagano Prefecture
Current Location: Yamaguchi High Grade Gakkō
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Bujutsu Teaching Faculty
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

No School Given
Hayakawa Kaname
Born: Meiji 20th Year 3rd Month (1887)
Hometown: Nagano Prefecture
Current Location: Yamaguchi High Grade Gakkō
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Bujutsu Teaching Faculty
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

Musashi-ryū
Yomura Nobukatsu
Born: Keio 2nd Year 9th Month (1866)
Hometown: Osaka -shi
Current Location: Kyoto -shi, Kamikyou-ku, Hirokomichi, Toori Deramachi higashi
Training: Hayamiya ?????? of Kyoto,
Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Honma Ganyuu
Born: Meiji 21st Year 11th Month (1889)
Hometown: Arayu Prefecture
Current Location: Arayu Prefecture, High Grade School
Training: Army School at Toyama, Yushinkan
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Page 39
No School Given
Horikiri Gen'ichi
Born: Meiji 26th Year 11th Month (1894)
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Korea, Zenga Minamido Police
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Togawa Jyōhachi
Born: Ansei 4th Year 12th Month (1858)
Hometown: Gifu Prefecture
Current Location: Aichi Prefecture, Ichinomiya shi, Jyōchuu machi House number 27
Training: Oogaki Itō, Masagorō Kado
Qualification: Seiren-shō

No School Given
Togashi Kozō
Born: Meiji 26th Year 5th Month (1893)
Hometown: Hiroshima Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka-shi, southern -ku, Matsuya-chou, 12
Training: Army School at Toyama
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Toyoda Shinzō
Born: Meiji 9th Year 2nd Month (1876)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Ougura-machi, Higashi-ku, Kyuuchōme
Training: Kyoto Butokukai
Headquarters, taught by Naitō-hanshi
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

No School Given
Tomikawa Moritake
Born: Meiji 28th Year 5th Month (1895)
Hometown: Okinawa Prefecture
Current Location: Shiga Prefecture, Public Imazu Middle School
Training: Kyoto Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Tomita Tsunejirō
Born: Meiji 5th Year 2nd Month (1872)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo-shi, Hongō-ku, Komagome Douzakachou 351
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan
Headquarters, Negishi Shingorō, Nakayama Hakudō
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō

Butoku-ryū
Chiba Toshio
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 2nd Month (1890)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Kobe -shi, Heino Gomiya Machi,
Training: Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō,
Mansion No. 1-4-8
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Page 40
Shin-katachi-tō ryu
Mutō-ryū
Jinnōchi Shikao
Born: Meiji 16th Year 1st Month (1883)
Hometown: Nagasaki Prefecture
Current Location: Korea, Capital District, Kogane-chou, Nichôme,
House Number 109
Training: Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Nakatorī (written in Katakana: Chuuman) Kichinoshin
Born: Ansei 4th Year 8th Month (1857)
hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Koishikawa District, Kakago-chou 33
Training: Kagoshima: Nomura Shinkurō, Sakaki Rokurō
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Kōgō-ryū (仰剛)
Numakura Seihachi
Born: Meiji 21st Year 4th Month (1888)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Butokukai Miyagi Branch Office
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year Seiren-shō

Butoku-ryū
Chiba Toshio
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 2nd Month (1890)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Kobe -shi, Heino Gomiya Machi,
Training: Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō,
Mansion No. 1-4-8
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

No School Given
Okada Shun??
Born: Meiji 25th Year 5th Month (1892)
Hometown: Shiga Prefecture
Current Location: Hiroshima
Prefecture, Onomichi -shi, Kubo machi, below Shikoku-dera
Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Chikanobu-ryū
Okada Ryōhei
Born: Meiji 20th Year 4th Month (1887)
Hometown: Fukuoka? Prefecture
Current Location: Ennatsu -shi, Higashinarukai, House number 92, No. 2
Training: Kyōshi Daichō Kurō,
Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Okada Seibi
Born: Meiji 21st Year 8th Month (1888)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Minami Manshuu,
Sugaguchi, Minami Honmachi
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Toda-ryū
Okamura Sōichi
Born: Meiji 10th Year 2nd Month (1877)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Saga Prefecture Police
Training: Butokukai Saga Prefecture
Branch Office  
Qualification: Taisho 2\textsuperscript{nd} Year Seiren-shō

*Hokushin Ittō-ryū*

Okazaki Tsuyayuki  
Born: Ansei 2\textsuperscript{nd} Year 8\textsuperscript{th} Month (1855)  
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture  
Current Location: Senho-shi, Eastern Ichinomachi, House No. 12  
Training: Sakurada Yosamon  
Qualification: Taisho 4\textsuperscript{th} Year Seiren-shō

Page 41  
No School Given  
Ono Jussei  
Born: Meiji 29\textsuperscript{nd} Year 5\textsuperscript{th} Month (1896)  
Hometown: Saga Prefecture  
Current Location: Butokukai Shiga Prefecture Branch Office  
Training: Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 9\textsuperscript{th} Year Seiren-shō

No School Given  
Ogi Manyore  
Born: Meiji 20\textsuperscript{th} Year 1\textsuperscript{st} Month (1887)  
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Hachiman -shi, Kurakami-hō Machi,  
Training: Kyoto Butokukai Branch Office  
Qualification: Taisho 10\textsuperscript{th} Year Seiren-shō

*Shintō Munen-ryū*  
Waki Jintarō  
Born: Meiji 21\textsuperscript{st} Year 7\textsuperscript{th} Month (1888)  
Hometown: Tokyo -shi  
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Asou-ku, Ichibeichou 1-16  
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan Dojo, Nakayama Hakudō Dojo  
Qualification: Taisho 12\textsuperscript{th} Year Seiren-shō

No School Given  
Kabazawa Takeo  
Born: Meiji 20\textsuperscript{th} Year 10\textsuperscript{th} Month (1888)  
Hometown: Hyōgo Prefecture  
Current Location: Dairen -shi  
Training: Meishinkan  
Qualification: Taisho 6\textsuperscript{th} Year Seiren-shō

No School Given  
Kabazawa Shin  
Born: Meiji 23\textsuperscript{rd} Year 7\textsuperscript{th} Month (1890)  
Hometown: Hyōgo Prefecture  
Current Location: Kobe -shi  
Training: Takahashi Hyōtarō- kyōshi  
Qualification: Taisho 8\textsuperscript{th} Year Seiren-shō

*Hokushin Ittō-ryū*  
Katō Kenkichi

---

26 A type of martial arts higher educational school, similar to the modern International Budo University.
Kōno Daisuke
Born: Meiji 30th Year 2nd Month (1895)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Aichi Prefecture
Training: Kyoto Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Kaneko Tōzaburō
Born: Meiji 13th Year 9th Month (1880)
Hometown: Tochigi Prefecture
Current Location: Aichi Prefecture
Training: Kyoto Budō Senmon Gakkō
Headquarters, Nakayama Hakūdō-hanshi
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Kaneko Toyojirō
Born: Meiji 14th Year 5th Month (1881)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Nagoya 6th Infantry Division
Training: Toyama Army School
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

??Yama28 Ayanosuke
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 5th Month (1889)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Urawa High Grade School
Training: Toyama Army School, Tokyo Biyuukan
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

---

27 Not specified which han

---

28 Like most names, this is a two character compound. However, the first character is illegible.
**Naokiyo-ryū**  
Yokoi Jyunichi  
Born: Meiji 15th Year 1st Month (1882)  
Hometown: Kagawa Prefecture  
Current Location: Kobe-shi, Kumochibashidoori Ichōme, No. 12 Mansion  
Training: Ichihara Yoshio-kyoushi of Marutsuru-shi  
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year Seiren-shō

---

**Tenshin Seiden Shintō Ichinen-ryū**  
Yoshida Kusumi  
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 3rd Month (1890)  
Hometown: Kagawa Prefecture  
Current Location: Osaka-shi, Minami-ku, Korenami Kubo Machi, 1256  
Training: Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

---

**Tenshin Seiden Shintō Ichinen-ryū**  
Yoshida Senji  
Born: Man'en 1st Year 3rd Month (1859)  
Hometown: Kagawa Prefecture  
Current Location: Kagawa Prefecture, Yoshimichidera machi, Jishōno  
Training: Home Dojo  
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

---

Yoshizawa Kazuyoshi  
Born: Meiji 19th Year 4th Month (1886)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture  
Current Location: Kyoto-shi, Hanakawa Street  
Training: Butokukai Headquarters  
Judo Kyōshi  
Qualification: Seiren-shō

---

**Iekawa-nen-ryū**  
Yorehiro Reiharo  
Born: Kaei 2nd Year 4th Month (1849)  
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Public Chuugaku Teacher  
Training: Shimizu Senshin Dojo  
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

---

**Shintō Munen-ryū**  
Hokushin Ittō-ryū  
Yoshimoto Saikichi  
Born: Meiji 2nd Year 2nd Month (1869)  
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture  
Current Location: Tokushima Prefecture, Tomita, Hamagaw  
Training: Yoshida Tetsurō Dojo  
Qualification: Seiren-shō

---

Tanida Koosu?  
Born: Meiji 28th Year 12th Month (1896)  
Hometown: Wakayama Prefecture  
Current Location: Nara Middle School  
Training: Tokyo High Class Shihan School  
Qualification: Seiren-shō

---

Taniguchi Shinzō  
Born: Meiji 6th Year 1st Month (1873)  
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture  
Current Location: Fukuoka Ken, Tatsuzō Ike Middle School  
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

---

Tagawa Juujirō  
Born: Meiji 12th Year 1st Month (1879)  
Hometown: Nagasaki Prefecture  
Current Location: Nagasaki-shi, Haoya Machi, House No. 11  
Training: Kyoto Butokukai
Hokushin Ittō Ryu
Takahashi Kichitarō
Born: Meiji 14th Year 1st Month (1881)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Yokosu Police Department
Training: Mitō Tōbukan, Takano Sasaburō of Tokyo
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Onoha Ittō Ryu
Takahashi Kichisaburō
Born: Meiji 19th Year 9th Month (1886)
Hometown: Akita Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Koujimachi-ku, Yamamoto Machi Ichōme, House number 9
Training: Imperial Household Department, Takano Sasaburō-kyōshi
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Takahashi Gisaburō
Born: Meiji 24th Year 9th Month (1891)
Hometown: Akita Prefecture
Current Location: Arayu Prefecture, Public Middle School
Training: Tokyo -shi Umekawa Yōshinkan, Toyama Army School
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Takahashi Shuusaku
Born: Meiji 17th Year 6th Month (1884)
Hometown: Gunma Prefecture
Current Location: Arayu Prefecture

Murajō Middle School
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Takahashi Zensaburō
Born: Meiji 14th Year 7th Month (1881)
Hometown: Hokkaido
Current Location: Sapporo -shi, Minami-gojou-nishi jūichōme
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Takaoka Ariyasu
Born: Kaei 3rd Year 10th Month (1851)
Hometown: Hyōgo Prefecture
Current Location: Hyōgo Prefecture, Kobe -shi, Nishi Suma Ichinotani 16
Training: Hosono Rokurō in Hiroshima
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Takada Naoto
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 4th Month (1890)
Hometown: Hyōgo Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka -shi, Tōsei-gun, Kakichi-mura
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō

Takada Regekichi
Born: Meiji 31st Year 6th Month (1898)
Hometown: Fukushima Prefecture
Current Location: Yamagata Prefecture, Shinjō Middle School
Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō
Butoku-ryū
Takatsuka Masanori
Born: Meiji 2nd Year 3rd Month (1869)
Hometown: Nara Prefecture
Current Location: Nara Prefecture
Nantsutashiro-gun, Kōjo-machi
Training: Imamura Yuuzō, Butokukai
Nara Branch Office
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Takashima Mizuyoshi
Born: Meiji 24th Year 12th Month (1892)
Hometown: Fukuyama Prefecture
Current Location: Tokushima-shi, Miyataura Machi, Jikamitō 756
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Toda-ryū
Tatsuno Ryu?kichi
Born: Meiji 10th Year 2nd Month (1877)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Saga Prefecture, Tōmatsuryuu-gun, Tōtsu Mura, Jiasahi Machi
Training: Nōtomi-hanshi
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Tanaka Tomokazu
Born: Meiji 31st Year 7th Month (1898)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto-shi, Jōdōji, Gunba Machi
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Takemura Kenkichi
Born: Ansei 4th Year 3rd Month (1857)
Hometown: Shiga Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka-shi
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Tamaki Kinji
Born: Meiji 15th Year 12th Month (1883)
Hometown: Arayu Prefecture
Current Location: Iwate Prefecture, Morioka-shinai, Maru-butokuden
Training: Katsumi Kadoge of Sapporo, Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

Tasaka Sunomu
Born: Meiji 7th Year 9th Month (1874)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: You-Nanshuu, Kiyoshi-gun, Kiyoshi-machi
Training: Kumamoto Branch Office
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Negishi Naojirō

Advanced Middle School
Training: Hikone-han Instructor, and Kojima Koratarō
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō

Tamai ??o
Born: Meiji 19th Year 1st Month (1886)
Hometown: Nagano Prefecture
Current Location: Arayu Prefecture, Nagaoka Police Department
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Page 46

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Negishī Naojīrō

---

30 There appears to be some text damage here, so the characters are somewhat illegible
31 The first kanji in the personal name is too blurred to read
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 6th Month (1889)  
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture  
Current Location: Shizuoka Prefecture  
Numazu Business School  
Training: Takano Sasaburō of Tokyo  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seirenshō

Nakamura Tōkichi  
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 8th Month (1889)  
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Korea, Ryuuzan  
Butokuden  
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seirenshō

Yamaguchi Ryu  
Musashi-ryū  
Nakamura Yorekata  
Born: Keio 3rd Year 12th Month (1867)  
Hometown: Toyama Prefecture  
Current Location: Nara Prefecture  
Public Osamisu Middle School  
Training: Toyama -shi Mitō Rinori, Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seirenshō

Nakamura Shigeo  
Born: Meiji 18th Year 9th Month (1885)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture  
Current Location: Toyama Army School of Tokyo  
Training: Noda Chōsaburō-hanshi, Toyama Army School  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seirenshō

Mizui Kere  
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 9th Month (1889)  
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture  
Current Location: Greater Japan Butokukai Fukushima Branch Office  
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seirenshō

Nakano Kōkichi  
Born: Meiji 28th Year 6th Month (1895)  
Hometown: Wakayama Prefecture  
Current Location: Osaka -shi, Public Tennōji Middle School  
Training: Bu-sen (Budō Senmon Gakkō)  
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seirenshō

Hokushin Ittō-ryū  
Kanshin-ryū  
Nagano Mitsutaka  
Born: Meiji 14th Year 2nd Month (1881)  
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture  
Current Location: Himeji -shi, Shitadera Machi  
Training: Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijō  
Qualification: Taisho 14th Year Seirenshō

Onoha Ittō Ryu  
Nakayama Kumagorō  
Born: Meiji 2nd Year 2nd Month (1869)  
Hometown: Gunma Prefecture  
Current Location: Gunma Prefecture, Head of Tano Meishinkan  
Training: Tokyo -shi, Kyuudanzaka Meishinkan, Takano Sasaburō  
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seirenshō

Page 47  
(Apppears to be a mistake- same page comes up)
Mizumi Arajirō
Born: Meiji 14th Year 3rd Month (1881)
Hometown: Fukushima Prefecture
Current Location: Kagoshima Prefecture Public Kawabe Middle School
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Nakashima Hidehiro
Born: Meiji 14th Year 3rd Month (1881)
Hometown: Gunma Prefecture
Current Location: Gunma Prefecture, Gunma-gun, Nagano-mura
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Mukai Seitogi
Born: Meiji 14th Year 3rd Month (1881)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Senho-shi, Mukaida Koshiji 32
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Shinkage-ryū
Muranaka Yoshiyuki
Born: Meiji 19th Year 4th Month (1886)
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka Area, Asahibashi Police Department
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Kingen Seiei
Born: Meiji 21st Year 2nd Month (1888)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Shimiya Army School
Training: Toyama Army School
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Uchiyama Sentarō
Born: Meiji 9th Year 10th Month (1876)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Police Budo Instructor
Training: Meishinkan
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year Seiren-shō

Ushijima Seishirō
Born: Meiji 11th Year 1st Month (1876)
Hometown: Fukushima Prefecture
Current Location: Fukushima Prefecture, Hachijō-gun, Kōyuu-mura, Azayama Peninsula
Training: Hachijō Chapter
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Inoue Kōzaburō
Born: Meiji 11th Year 1st Month (1878)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Fukuoka Prefecture
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Page 49

Ittō-ryū
Nomura Shōjirō
Born: Bunkyu 3rd Year 8th Month (1863)
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Kagoshima Prefecture, Kajiki-mura
Training: Keimitsu Kumaki and Wada Tsutō of Kochi and Ishiyama, Yoshida Katsumi of Fukushima
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō
Shintō Munen-ryū
Onoha Ittō-ryū
Oota Kichinosuke
Born: Meiji 17th Year 6th Month (1884)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Saitama Prefecture, Kitaadachi-gun, Hatogaya-chō 1130
Training: Tokyo Youshinkan, Shuudou Gakuen
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Ono Kumao
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 11th Month (1890)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Vice President of Toua-Doubunshoin in Shanghai, China
Training: Noda Saburōhachi of Kumamoto, Kyoto Imperial University Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Zokukawa-Ittou-ryū
Ōkubo Hikonosuke
Born: Man'en 1st Year 6th Month (1859)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Chiba Prefecture, Omikawa-machi
Training: Saruta Genpachi of Zokukawa-Ittou-ryū, Okumura Sakota
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Ittō-ryū
Ōsawa Ryōichi
Born: Meiji 24th Year 10th Month (1891)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Butokukai Chiba Branch Office
Training: Takano Sasaburō
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
ōsawa Tatsusaburō
Born: Meiji 13th Year 2nd Month (1880)
Hometown: Tokyo-shi
Current Location: Yokohama-shi, Honmoku Machi, Jiya House Number 2500
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Mutō-ryū
Oogi Ittoku
Born: Meiji 6th Year 6th Month (1873)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Arazoku Junyoshino-chō, Ichibanchi Kansha
Training Fuji Shin-ryū Oogi Sanai, Muto-ryū Yamaoka Tetsutarō
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Oogi Kenjirō
Born: Meiji 15th Year 8th Month (1882)
Hometown: Fukushima Prefecture
Current Location: Nara-shi, Nakaokada-chō, House No. 16
Training: Tokyo Yuushinkan
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Page 50
Shin-katachi-tō-ryū
Taihō Miyuki
Born: Meiji 17th Year 3rd Month (1884)
Hometown: Miyazaki Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka-shi, Tenma Police Department
Training: Butokukai Osaka Branch Office
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō
Onoha (ryū)
Ōhira Katsuhei
Born: Man’en 1st Year 2nd Month (1859)
Hometown: Tochigi Prefecture
Current Location: Dairen-shi, Hinode Machi
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Oomori Koshirō
Born: Meiji 25th year 2nd month (1892)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto-shi, Yoshidakonoe 1-5
Training: Yano Katsujirō, Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō

Butokukai Kendō
Okuda Zentarō
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 7th Month (1890)
Hometown: Kyoto-shi
Current Location: Kyoto-shi, Shimogyōku, Kawaga Tōrigawa Chō
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

Kuroka Tatsushirō
Born: Meiji 32nd Year 3rd Month (1899)
Hometown: Fukuyama Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto Budō Senmon Gakkō
Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū

Kuroka Gorō
Born: Kaei 1st Year 10th Month (1847)
Hometown: Unknown
Current Location: Okayama Prefecture, Otsu-gun, Ichimiya-mura
Training: Kenbukan
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Yawahara Tokoei
Onoha Ittō-ryū
Born: Meiji 6th Year 12th Month (1873)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Hokkaido, Hakodate-shi, Asou-machi 53
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Kunii Yatarō
Born: Koka 3rd Year 4th Month (1847)
Hometown: Yamaguchi Prefecture
Current Location: Yamaguchi Prefecture, Kyuukawa-gun, Aza Ryuui Kishinoshita
Training: Unknown
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Page 51
Onoha Ittō-ryū
Kuribayashi Hatsutarō
Born: Meiji 18th Year 3rd Month (1885)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Fushun-shi Police in Manchuria
Training: Sugiyama Yasujirō-Kyōshi
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Dengeki Battō-ryū
Shintō Fusou-ryū
Urashitsu Satsue
Born: Kaei 6th Year 5th Month (1853)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Fukuoka Prefecture, Sanmizutamari-gun, Ōnoshima-mura
Training: Unknown  
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

_Ittō-ryū_
Kuramochi Toyotarō  
Born: Meiji 13th Year 10th Month (1880)  
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture  
Current Location: Chiba Prefecture, Oofuke Tsumachi,  
Training: Tokyo Shuuden Kamida Fine Arts School  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Kushida Kotarō  
Born: Meiji 16th Year 9th Month (1884)  
Hometown: Fukuyama Prefecture  
Current Location: Osaka -shi, Tōsei -gun, Enokinami-machi, Uchindai  
House No. 7  
Training: Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year Seiren-shō

_Jiki-shinkage-ryū_
_Onoha Ittō-ryū_
Yamagata Kōshirō  
Born: Meiji 5th Year 12th Month (1872)  
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture  
Current Location: Hirosaki -shi, Zaifuchō 4  
Training: Miyagawa Girei-kyōshi, Shitomi Yamamaru-hanshi (Not listed)  
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō

Yamada Takeshi  
Born: Meiji 24th Year 3rd Month (1891)  
Hometown: Fukuyama Prefecture  
Current Location: Fukuyama Prefecture, Tsuyama-machi, Ta-machi  
Training: Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

_Shintō Munen-ryū_
Yamada Masahiko  
Born: Meiji 5th Year 11th Month (1872)  
Hometown: Daibu Prefecture  
Current Location: Daibu -shi, Nakashima  
Training: Butokukai Daibu Branch  
Office, Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

_Onoha Ittō-ryū_
Yamada Keikura  
Born: Meiji 8th Year 11th Month (1875)  
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture  
Current Location: Saitama Prefecture, Kodama -gun, Gabi-mura  
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan, Takano Sasaburō  
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Yamada Masahiko  
Born: Meiji 5th Year 11th Month (1872)  
Hometown: Daibu Prefecture  
Current Location: Daibu -shi, Nakashima  
Training: Butokukai Daibu Branch  
Office, Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

_Onoha Ittō-ryū_
Sannai Shigekazu  
Born: Meiji 16th Year 2nd Month (1883)  
Hometown: Nagano Prefecture  
Current Location: Nagano Prefecture, Komuro Shōbi School  
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan Headquarters, Shuu -do Gakuin  
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

_Onoha Ittō-ryū_
Yamauchi Shizuo  
Born: Taisho 22nd Year 11th Month (1889)  
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture  
Current Location: Nara -shi, Kōchi Machi, Haseki 6-6-6  
Training: Butokukai Nara Branch
Office, Shoukou Sen
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

_Tamiya-ryū_
Yamaguchi Heitarō
Born: Meiji 1st Year 9th Month (1867)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Miyagi Police Office
Training: Hinchoukan, Shuudou Gakuen
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

_Shintō Munen-ryū_
Yagi Santarō
Born: Meiji 26th Year 4th Month (1893)
Hometown: Yamagata Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Shōishikawa District, Edogawamachi, 1-7 Akaboshihō
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan Headquarters, Nakayama Hakudō
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō

_Shinkage-ryū_
Yasuda Gishin
Born: Ansei 5th Year 5th Month (1858)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Kumamoto-shi, Shinyashiki-chou, Kasa Juurokubanchou
Training: Yokota Seima, Miya'atsu Teiji
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Matsumura Yōzō
Born: Meiji 24th Year 8th Month (1891)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture
Current Location: Hiroshima-shi, Shinkawaba-chou, Kanyuu 7-8
Training: _Budō Senmon Gakkō_
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

_Hokushin Ittō-ryū_
Matsuno Tonarino
Born: Meiji 22nd Year (1889)
Hometown: Nagano Prefecture
Current Location: Nagano -shi, Nangen-machi
Training: Takano-hanshi, Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Matsushima Rikinosuke
Born: Meiji 11th Year 6th Month (1878)
Hometown: Hokkaido
Current Location: Dairen Police Department
Training: Meishinkan
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

_Matsuhiro Yasohachi_
Born: Meiji 8th Year 5th Month (1875)
Hometown: Wakayama Prefecture
Current Location: Wakayama -shi, Shinbori Hachichōme
Branch Office, Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

_Shintō Munen Ryu_
Maki Shōji
Born: Meiji 5th Year 9th Month (1872)
Hometown: Toyama Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Nihonbashi District, Hakozaki-chō, 4-1
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō
Mutō-ryū
Matsugi Yonekura
Born: Meiji 5th Year 4th Month (1872)
Hometown: Osaka-fu
Current Location: Osaka-fu Honorary Budo Instructor
Training: Takahashi Chiyōtarō-hanshi, Butokukai
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Mutō-ryū
Manabe Masaya
Born: Keio 2nd Year 4th Month (1866)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture
Current Location: Hokkaido, Gauchi-shi, Shūdōkan
Training: Takefuji? Genpachi of Fukuoka, Negishi Shingorō of Tokyo
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

Tamiya-ryū
Fujiwara Norizou
Born: Meiji 17th Year 2nd Month (1884)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Aichi Prefecture
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Fujiwara Sadaharu
Born: Meiji 21st Year 2nd Month (1888)
Hometown: Kyoto-fu
Current Location: Kyoto-fu,
Miyatsuchō
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Kyōshi

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Fujisaki Zenjirō
Born: Meiji 23rd Year 4th Month (1890)
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Korea, (Illegible)
Training: Tojoukenbukan, Kyoto Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Furusawa Shigeco
Born: Meiji 30th Year 1st Month (1897)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Fukuoka Prefecture, Public Tōchiku Middle School
Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Page 54
Futagawa Isamu
Born: Meiji 29th Year 11th Month (1896)
Hometown: Kagawa Prefecture
Current Location: Hyōgo Prefecture,
Tatsuno-chō
Training: Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Ooishi Kamikage-ryū
Born: Bunkyū 3rd Year 8th Month (1863)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Kurume -shi, Harakogamachi, House No. 25
Training: Ooishi Kamikage-ryū Itai Masumi
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Fukushima Koichi
Born: Meiji 19th Year 4th Month (1886)
Hometown: Torishima Prefecture
Current Location: Kure (in China)
Police Department
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-
Shintō Munen-ryū
Koichi Tamotsu
Born: Meiji 16th Year 8th Month (1883)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Koubimachi-ku, Hirakawa chō, Yonchôme 10
Training: Negishi Shingorō, Nakayama Hakudō
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Koizumi Kichūji
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 7th Month (1889)
Hometown: Nagano Prefecture
Current Location: Nagano Prefecture Police Training Academy
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Gotō Shikazō
Born: Bunkyu 3rd Year 7th Month (1863)
Hometown: Kyoto-fu
Current Location: Kyoto -shi, Shimokyo District
Training: Tsuruoka-han Kendo Dojo, Shotoukyoudou
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

Yamaguchi-ryū
Koga Matsujirō
Born: Taisho 16th Year 12th Month (1883)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Korea, Pyongyang Middle School
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai

Tsuda Ichifu-ryū
Koyanagi Kanshi
Born: Meiji 24th Year 1st Month (1891)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto -shi, Tanakasatonaemachi 1-1
Training: Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Page 55
Kokubo Katao
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 5th Month (1889)
Hometown: Kagoshima Prefecture
Current Location: Kagoshima Prefecture
Training: Toyama Army School
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Chuuwa Shinden-ryū
Onoha Ittō-ryū
Komiya Genkura
Born: Meiji 18th Year 10th Year (1885)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Chiba -shi, Nobuto
Training: Chiba -shi Biyuukan, Chiba Meishinkan
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Kojima Gijuurō
Born: Taisho 21st Year 5th Month (1888)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Asakusa District, Matsubachō, House No. 42
Training: Police Department, Yushinkan Dojo
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō
Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Kondō Sōji
Born: Meiji 17th Year 6th Month (1884)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Kyoto-fu,
Shimofuku Chizanchō
Training: Katō Kan’ichi, Butokukai
Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Kondō Harujirō
Born: Taisho 12th Year 9th Month
(1879)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo Police
Department
Training: Negishi Shingorō, Nakayama
Hakudō
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Etō Shorou
Born: Meiji 25th Year 5th Month (1892)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Fukuoka Prefecture,
Shiga-gun, Togemuri 36
Training: Bujutsu Semmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Shinkage-ryū
Eguchi Ukichi
Born: Meiji 17th Year 3rd Month (1884)
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture
Current Location: Toyama Army
School
Training: Noda Chōzaburō, Gawa
Konoshirō, Toyama School
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year Seiren-shō

Tega Junzō
Born: Meiji 17th Year 9th Month (1884)
Hometown: Akita Prefecture
Current Location: Akita Prefecture,
Senhoku-fu, Takanashi-mura
Training: In the house of the Ikeda
family, Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseijo
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Page 56
Tejima Masatsuge
Born: Meiji 10th Year 1st Month (1877)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Tochigi Prefecture,
Utsunomiya -shi, Ichijō-chō Kansha
Training: Utsunomiya Prison
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Adachi Iji
Born: Meiji 24th Year 6th Month (1891)
Hometown: Arayu Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo-shi High
Grade School
Training: Toyama Army School,
Bishinkan
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Araki Ushitarō
Born: Kaei 1st Year 10th Month (1864)
Hometown: Arayu Prefecture
Current Location: Takada -shi, Mondō-chō
Training: Since the age of 14
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Shinkage-ryū
Aibara Tsutakichi
Born: Ansei 1st Year 2nd Month (1853)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture

32 The character prior to “gawa” is illegible.
| Current Location: Ibaraki Prefecture, Shinji -gun, Ishioka-machi, Greater Ishioka 7 | Public Akita Middle School |
| Training: Ishioka-han Kendō Dojo Qualification: Seiren-shō | Training: Tokyo High Grade (Kendō) Instructor School Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō |
| Abe Sōgorō Born: Meiji 26th Year 11th Month (1893) Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture Current Location: Tokushima Prefecture, Natō -gun, Shimohachiman-mura, Okitsue 5-3-9 Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō | Page 57 |
| Hokushin Ittō-ryū Imagawa-ryū Satō Mikura Born: Meiji 10th Year 12th Month (1877) Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture, | |
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Honjo District, Taihei-chō, Ichōme, House No. 6
Training:Nisshukan, Daiyuukan, Police Department
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Satō Toshiki
Born: Meiji 27th Year 5th Month (1894)
Hometown: Iwade Prefecture
Current Location: 31st Army Infantry
Training: Toyama Army School
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Meiken-ryū
Sakata Yoshidaio
Born: Kaei 5th Year 11th Month (1852)
Hometown: Shimane-ken
Current Location: Shimane-ken, Yabugawa-gun, Chouhara-mura, Ooaza Chouhara 3001
Training: Former Matsue-han
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Sakurada Fujitou
Born: Meiji 4th Year 5th Month (1871)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Senho-shi, North Yonbanchō
Training: His Deceased Father
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Sakurai Tsuchikura
Born: Meiji 18th Year 2nd Month(1885)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo Army

Children's School
Training: Toyama Army School
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Page 58 Butokukai-ryū
Sakiyama Itaru
Born: Meiji 26th Year 4th Month (1893)
Hometown: Nagasaki Prefecture
Current Location: Kagoshima -shi, Upper Tatsuo-chō, 106
Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Toda-ryū
Kihara Shigeichi
Born: Meiji 18th Year 2nd Month (1885)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Saga Prefecture, Yonmatsuura -gun, Imari-mura, Butokukai Branch Office
Training: Nōtomi Kazuo-hanshi, Tsujima Taira-hanshi
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Kichise Zengorō
Born: Ansei 2nd Year 3rd Month (1855)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Fukuoka Prefecture, Tanushimaru-chō
Training: Kurume Senoo Keihachi
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Kimura Mitare
Born: Meiji 11th Year 9th Month (1878)

34 A sort of junior officers school that could be applied to in place of a Middle School. Graduates were guaranteed placement in to officer academies.
35 Nōtomi Kazuo-hanshi also has a record in this text, but Tsujima Taira-hanshi does not, meaning most likely that he was dead as of the publication.
Hometown: Daibu Prefecture
Current Location: Daibu Prefecture, Sendō-chō
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Kimura Takamori
Born: Meiji 19th Year 10th Month (1886)
Hometown: Kyoto-fu
Current Location: Shiga Prefecture, Kiguchi Middle School
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Iwakawa Tatsuji
Born: Meiji 25th Year 2nd Month (1892)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo-fu, Aihara-gun, Daimori-chō
Training: Nōtomi-hanshi, Kitajima-hanshi, Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Genkan shin-ryū
Miwa Kiyoshi (Formerly Kyūsei Kiyoshi)
Born: Meiji 29th Year 10th Month (1896)
Hometown: Tokushima Prefecture
Current Location: Gifu Prefecture, Hita Middle School
Training: Budō Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Sekiguchi-ryū
Onoha Ittō-ryū
Ueda Zensaburō
Born: Meiji 9th Year 12th Month (1877)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture

Current Location: Butokukai Chiba Branch Office
Training: Itō Keiatsu, Takano Sasaburō
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Page 59
Onoha Ittō-ryū
Mineda Kōjiichi
Born: Meiji 9th Year 9th Month (1876)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Aichi Prefecture, Minamishitara-gun
Training: Horita Tokujirō
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Iwayama-ryū
Midamori Shōnosuke
Born: Meiji 20th Year 2nd Month (1887)
Hometown: Mie Prefecture
Current Location: Toyama Army School
Training: Toyama Army School, Machii Yoshizumi, Nakata Kō
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Minamikawa Seiichi
Born: Meiji 25th Year 10th Month (1892)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Saga-shi, Akamatsu-chō
Training: Army School at Toyama
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Kijinryū
Minōra Harusaburō
Born: Ansei 1st Year 3rd Month (1853)
Hometown: Hyōgo Prefecture
Current Location: Hyōgo Prefecture, Shinoyama-chō, Minami Shinmach 6
Training: ??yama-han, Yoda
Shinpachirō
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

Miki Gorō
Born: Meiji 19th Year 12th Month (1886)
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture
Current Location: Toyama Army School
Training: Toyama Army School
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Miyauchi Jun
Born: Meiji 13th Year 4th Month (1881)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture, southern Saitama -gun, Eomo-mura
Training: Unknown
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Shirosaki Kanji
Born: Koka 3rd Year 8th Month (1846)
Hometown: Shiga Prefecture
Current Location: Shiga Prefecture, Ootsu -shi, Shiyama-chō
Training: Unknown
Qualification: Meiji 43rd Year Seiren-shō

Gyokutō-ryū
Shibasaki Shigetada
Born: Kaei 5th Year 11th Month (1852)
Hometown: Osaka-fu
Current Location: Sakai -shi, Kitahatagōchō, 4-3-chō, House No. 22
Training: Taught by his father
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Page 60
Shiozaki Ichijirō
Born: Bunkyu 2nd Year 11th Month (1862)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Aichi Prefecture, Jiwajima -shi
Training: Butokukai Aichi Branch Office
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Shitō Yoshichi
Born: Meiji 16th Year 8th Month (1883)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Gunma Prefecture, Public Maebashi Middle School
Training: Tokyo Yushinkan
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Shintō Munen-ryū
Kano Tanekichi
Born: Meiji 7th Year 1st Month (1874)
Shiroto Tomehiko
Hometown: Gifu Prefecture
Current Location: Gifu Prefecture, Oogaki Middle School
Training: Eimeikan
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seiren-shō

Shiroishi Motogazu
Born: Meiji 25th Year 11th Month (1892)
Hometown: Not Listed
Current Location: Hiroshima? -shi, Minamitakeyachō, House No. 334
Training: Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Onō-ryū
Ittō-ryū
Shiroto Tomehiko
Born: Meiji 21st Year 4th Month (1888)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo Area, (Illegible), Chu 2777
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan, Shūdōin, Takano Sasaburō-hanshi
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō

Magami-kage-ryū
Shinotsuka Fuuju
Born: Keio 3rd Year 9th Month (1867)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Shanghai, China
(Same as Ono Kumao)
Training: Tokyo, Akasaka Kawada Kyō-oku
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seiren-shō

Butokukai
Yōji Shikichi
Born: Meiji 29th Year 3rd Month (1896)
Hometown: Nara Prefecture
Police Academy
Training: Gunyama Middle School, Shimaya Tomoaki, Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Jiki-shinkage-ryū
Jyōshima Motō
Born: Meiji 16th Year 12th Month (1883)
Hometown: Saga Prefecture
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Ushigome District, Tani Sadoharamachi, Sanchōme, 8
Training: Saga, Tokyo
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Page 61
Hokushin Ittō-ryū
Shimada Hyōki

Butokukai Fukuoka Branch Office
Training: Miyagi Prefecture, Kinyamachō Nishuukan
Qualification: Meiji 45th Year Seiren-shō

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Shimamura Komakichi
Born: Meiji 7th Year 4th Month (1874)
Hometown: Köchi Prefecture
Current Location: Miyazaki Prefecture, Higashinichikine-gun Office
Training: The late Hanshi Ishiyama Maburoku, Kawazaki Zensaburō-hanshi
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

Munen-ryū
Shimamoto Sentarō
Born: Kaei 5th Year 5th Month (1852)
Hometown: Ishikawa Prefecture
Current Location: Ishikawa Prefecture, Rokuseidera-chō
Training: Sakakibara Monnaka, Shimatetsu Saburō
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seiren-shō

Shingatachi-tō-ryū
Shimizu Yōsaburō
Born: Meiji 19th Year 4th Month (1886)
Hometown: Daibu Prefecture
Current Location: Osaka -shi, Nishi-ku, Nishikyuu Nakajō Doori, Icchōme, 111
Training: Greater Japan Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō

Tōgō-gyokushin-ryū

Born: Meiji 1st Year 12th Month (1868)
Hometown: Miyagi Prefecture
Current Location: Greater Japan
Butokukai Fukuoka Branch Office
Training: Miyagi Prefecture, Kinyamachō Nishuukan
Qualification: Meiji 45th Year Seiren-shō
Shimizu Tetsuji
Born: Meiji 17th Year 3rd Month (1884)
Hometown: Okayama Prefecture
Current Location: (Illegible) Butokukai
Training: (Dojo Name)
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Musashimaru Nittō-ryū
Shimokōbe Yukitaka
Born: Meiji 1st Year 12th Month (1867)
Hometown: Unknown
Current Location: Hokkaido Police Department
Training: Hinoyama Yōbukan
Qualification: Meiji 43rd Year Seiren-shō

Shitashima Yuukokae
Born: Meiji 24th Year 2nd Month (1891)
Hometown: Nagano Prefecture
Current Location: Gunma Prefecture Teacher's School
Training: Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Seiren-shō

Shingu Tokujiro
Born: Meiji 18th Year 3rd Month (1885)
Hometown: Kyoto Area
Current Location: Kyoto -shi, Bōjo Doori, Above Gojō
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 9th Year Seiren-shō

Onoha Itō-ryū
Hirogawa Kōtarō
Born: Meiji 21st Year 7th Month (1888)

Page 62

36 The characters written here are 揚武館 (yōukan), most likely a typo of 武揚館 (buyōkan), a type of training school maintained by the various han prior to the Restoration.

Hirata Akira
Born: Meiji 1st Year 9th Month (1867)
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Not Listed
Training: Aichi Prefecture, The Dojo of the late Nishiyama Shuken
Qualification: Taisho 13th Year Seiren-shō

Hirano Yasuo
Born: Meiji 9th Year 1st Month (1876)
Hometown: Tokyo Area
Current Location: Yamanashi Prefecture, Kita -gun, Tokuro District,
Yokosatō Mura  
Training: Imperial Household Department *Sainenkan*[^37]  
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year *Seiren-shō*

Morimizu Rifuki  
Born: Meiji 16th Year 4th Month (1883)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture  
Current Location: Kagoshima Prefecture, Shussui -gun, Komenotsu -mura  
Training: Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year *Seiren-shō*

Onoha Ittō-ryū  
Mori Tsukeguni  
Born: Bunkyu 2nd Year 11th Month (1862)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture  
Current Location: Kitadai -shi, Mihirochō, Nichōme House No. 4  
Training: Takano Sasaburō-Hanshi  
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year *Seiren-shō*

Jiki-shinkage-ryū  
Moriki Takekatsu  
Born: Bunkyu 1st Year 12th Month (1861)  
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Osaka -shi, Northern -ku, Kamifukushima Northern Nichōme 9-7-no-1  
Training: Abe Kokugenji of Fukuoka, Fukuoka-han dōjō Buyōkan  
Qualification: *Seiren-shō*

Page 63

[^37]: *Sainenkan* was the name of the dōjō of the Imperial Household Department, responsible for training policemen to protect the imperial family and its associated properties.

Shigemi Toshitada  
Born: Meiji 5th Year 4th Month (1869)  
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Fukuuyama -shi, Rokuban-chō 26  
Training: Kenbukan  
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year *Seiren-shō*

Jiki-shinkage-ryū  
Sueyama Genshirō  
Born: Meiji 9th Year 7th Month (1876)  
Hometown: Arayu Prefecture  
Current Location: Maizuru Navy Base  
Training: Kizuchi Masahisa, Butokukai Headquarters  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year *Seiren-shō*

Miji Tomezō  
Born: Meiji 26th Year 2nd Month (1893)  
Hometown: Fukuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Tokyo Military Children's School  
Training: *Shūdōgakuin* and Toyama Military School  
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year *Seiren-shō*

Suzuki Torahiko  
Born: Meiji 7th Year 5th Month (1874)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture  
Current Location: Saga Prefecture  
Takeo Police Department  
Training: Kumamoto Yokota Dojo, Osamiya-hanshi, Tsuji-hanshi  
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year *Seiren-shō*

Onoha Ittō-ryū  
Suzuki Fusakichi  
Born: Taisho 23rd Year 10th Month (1890)  
Hometown: Aichi Prefecture
Current Location: Toyohashi -shi, Asahi Machi
Training: Initial Stage – Hotta Tokujirō, Final Stage – Takano Sasaburō
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seirensō

Shingatachi-tō-ryū
Suzuki Kisuke
Born: Meiji 24th Year 7th Month (1891)  
Hometown: Shizuoka Prefecture  
Current Location: Shizuoka Prefecture, Kakegawa Police Department
Training: Butokukai Shizuoka Branch Office
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seirensō

Lower Part Appended

Ichihashi Shōtarō
Born: Meiji 26th Year 3rd Month (1893)  
Hometown: Gunma Prefecture  
Current Location: Himeji -shi, Ichchōme
Training: Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō
Qualification: Taisho 10th Year Seirensō

Chikami Naoyuki
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 5th Month (1889)  
Hometown: Kōchi Prefecture  
Current Location: Number Six School in Okayama Prefecture
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 7th Year Seirensō

Page 64
Shinriku-ryū
Ogata Takeshi

Shinriku-ryū
Ogata Takeshi
Born: Meiji 6th Year 1st Month (1873)  
Hometown: Kumamoto Prefecture  
Current Location: Tabijunshin-shi-gai, yoshino-machi, 12
Training: , Naitō Takaharu
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seirensō

Yokomatsu Katsusaburō
Born: Meiji 17th Year 7th Month (1884)  
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture  
Current Location: Yokohama-shi, Aoki-chō, Hiroshitsu chō, 1057
Training: Mito Tōbukan
Qualification: Taisho 5th Year Seirensō

Yoshii Chuujirō
Born: Meiji 21st Year (1888)  
Hometown: Akita Prefecture  
Current Location: Akita Prefecture Teacher’s School
Training: Akita Prefecture Teacher’s School
Qualification: Taisho 11th Year Seirensō

Taguchi Konokichi
Born: Meiji 2nd Year 6th Month (1869)  
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture  
Current Location: Yokohama -shi, Neowa-chō, Shimayama 3754
Training: Mito Tōbukan
Qualification: Taisho 1st Year Seirensō

Tajima Jirō
Born: Meiji 29th Year 1st Month (1896)  
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture  
Current Location: Saitama Prefecture, Northern Saitama -gun, Oota -mura
Training: Saitama Prefecture, Shōbukan
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seirensō
Munen-ryū
Musashi-ryū
Oowada Kinmei
Born: Meiji 17th Year 5th Month (1884)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Yokohama -shi, Southern Oota-chō, 1009
Training: Mito Tōbukan, Monna Tadashi-hanshi
Qualification: Taisho 1st Year Seiren-shō

Ono-ryū
Ittō-ryū
Okuda Yoshitarō
Born: Meiji 16th Year 12th Month (1884)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Saitama Prefecture, Kitaadachi-gun
Training: Saitama Prefecture, Urawa Meishinkan
Qualification: Taisho 4th Year Seiren-shō

Page 65
Shintō Munen-ryū
Yamamoto Chuujirō
Born: Meiji 22nd Year 7th Month (1889)
Hometown: Not Listed
Current Location: Tokyo -shi, Fukagawa -ku, Sarue -chō
Training: Yushinkan Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Manaka Shikatarō
Born: Meiji 18th Year 7th Month (1887)
Hometown: Saitama Prefecture
Current Location: Saitama Prefecture, Kawagoe -shi, Kuruwamachi

Training: Kawagoe Meishinkan
Qualification: Taisho 8th Year Seiren-shō

Kodera Shikatarō
Born: Meiji 16th Year 3rd Month (1883)
Hometown: Fukuyama Prefecture
Current Location: Fukuyama -shi, Ootechō, Ichibantei
Training: Butokukai Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō

Mitani Tamatarō
Born: Meiji 11th Year 12th Month (1878)
Hometown: Tokyo -shi
Current Location: Hiroshima Prefecture, Etachō Naval Academy
Training: Yushinkan, Chōshindō
Qualification: Taisho 2nd Year Seiren-shō

Onoha Ittō-ryū
Seki Minoru
Born: Meiji 12th Year 8th Month (1879)
Hometown: Chiba Prefecture
Current Location: Kōtō Engei Gakkō
Training: Shūdō Gakuin
Qualification: Taisho 12th Year Seiren-shō

Suzuki Yuushike
Born: Meiji 25th Year 7th Month (1892)
Hometown: Ibaraki Prefecture
Current Location: Saitama Prefecture, Urawachō
Training: Tokyo Meishinkan Headquarters
Qualification: Taisho 6th Year Seiren-shō

38 Beyond this point, the text is too faded to read

39 A horticultural school.
APPENDIX C: A GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE TERMS

*Bakufu* (幕府) – Literally “tent government.” A *bakufu* is the governmental apparatus by which a *shōgun* governs.

*Bōgu* (防具) – Protective armor worn for sparring in *kendō*.

*Boshin War* (戊辰の乱) – The war between the Tokugawa *bakufu* and the rebellious *han* of Satsuma, Tosa and Chōshū. It resulted in the destruction of the *bakufu* and the restoration of power to the *tennō*.

*Dai Nippon (Nihon) Butokukai* (大日本武徳会) – “The Greater Japan Martial Virtue Association.” It was established in 1895 with the goal of promoting the *Gendai Budō*, and was instrumental in promoting the modernization and standardization of their curricula. It was disbanded by SCAP during the occupation.

*Edo Period* (江戸時代) – Also called the Tokugawa Period or Pax Tokugawa. The period encompassed by the reign of the Tokugawa *shōguns*, from 1615 to 1868.

*Gekken* (撃剣) – Literally “clashing swords,” *gekken* was the term used to refer to non-lethal traditions of sword sparring during the Edo and early Meiji periods. The term was often used interchangeably with *kendō* and *kenjutsu*.

*Gendai Budō* (現代武道) – Literally “the modern ways of war.” *Gendai Budō* is a collective term used to refer to modern martial arts such as *kyūdō*, *kendō* and *jūdō*. As a general rule, a *gendai budō* is a martial art that places emphasis on mental growth and spiritual attainment rather than pure lethality.
Guntō (軍刀) – A European saber.

Guntōjutsu (軍刀術) – Saber combat. Guntōjutsu is a blend of Japanese and European styles of swordsmanship.

Han (藩) – A semi-independent fiefdom during Japan’s feudal period. The han were dissolved by imperial edict during the early 1870s.

Hanshi (範士) – The highest rank of kendō practitioner. It remains in use to this date.

Heihō (兵法) – Literally “rules of strategy.” Heihō are a compilation of various forms of combat (for example, sword, spear and unarmed) that are combined into a single style. Each of these arts is then taught in tandem with the others. The heihō style of instruction was very popular during the Sengoku and early Edo Period because of its ability to familiarize a warrior with multiple types of weapon, but rapidly fell off in popularity during the modern period since such a breadth of combat experience was not necessary.

Jūken (銃剣) – A bayonet.

Jūkenjutsu (銃剣術)– A style of bayonet combat derived from sōjutsu.

Jūkendō (銃剣道) – A sportive style of Jūkenjutsu created after World War II. It exists to this day, but is far less popular than standard kendō.

Jyōbaguntōjutsu (乗馬軍刀術) – Saber combat performed from horseback.
~ka (家) — A suffix meaning “practitioner.” Thus, a kendōka is one who practices kendō, a kenjutsuka is one who practices kenjutsu, etc.

Katana (刀) — The sword utilized by the samurai during the Edo Period. It was considered a symbol of samurai authority, and as such members of other classes were banned from carrying one. The techniques of kendō are based off of styles of combat using the katana.

Kendō (剣道) — One of the gendai budō, derived from traditional styles of swordsmanship. It first appeared in its earliest incarnations during the Edo Period. The practice then gathered mass popularity in the pre-war period, and has today spread to several other countries under the auspices of the International Kendō Federation.

Kenjutsu (剣術) — A term meaning “the art of the sword.” It is usually used to refer to Japanese swordsmanship as it existed prior to the “sportification” that resulted in modern kendō. For most of the nineteenth century, however, the two terms were used interchangeably, resulting in some confusion regarding the meaning of the two words.

Kiai (気合) — A style of shouting to intimidate ones opponent.

Kokumin (国民) — A term meaning “people” in a national sense (ex. The Japanese people, the American people, etc).

Kyōshi (教士) — The second highest rank of kendō practitioner. It remains in use to this day.
Meiji Period (明治時代) – The period during which the Meiji Emperor (birth name Mutsuhito) ruled Japan. It spanned the period from 1868 to 1912, during which Japan rapidly transformed from a feudal society to a modern nation-state. The name literally means “enlightened rule.”

Monbushō (文部省) – The Japanese Ministry of Education.

Minzoku (民族) – A term meaning “people” in the ethnic sense.

Seiren-shō (精錬証) – The third highest rank of kendō practitioner. It was replaced during the 1930s by the title of renshi.

Sengoku Period (戦国時代) – Literally “The Warring States Period.” The period began with the Ōnin War in 1467, which marked the dissolution of the Ashikaga bakufu and the inauguration of a century and a half of civil war. The civil wars did not end until 1615, with the final triumph of the Tokugawa and their establishment as the new shōgunal family.

Shinai (竹刀) – A bamboo sword used for nonlethal sparring. The earliest shinai appeared towards the beginning of the Tokugawa Period.

Shinai Uchikomi Keiko (竹刀打ち込み稽古) – The first form of non-lethal swordplay in Japan’s history. It first appeared during the Tokugawa Period and eventually evolved into gekken, and ultimately modern kendō.

Shōgun (将軍) – The military ruler of Japan. The title was originally bestowed by the tennō to a general he had selected for a campaign against the Ainu natives of northern
Japan. It was later adapted by the *samurai* as a term for one with supreme authority over the nation. The original title is *Sei-tai-shōgun*, or “Supreme General for the Subduing of Barbarians.”

Shōwa Period (昭和時代) – The period during which the Shōwa Emperor (birth name Hirohito) ruled Japan. It is often subdivided into Early Shōwa, encompassing the pre-war and World War II periods (1926-1945), and Late Shōwa, stretching from the Occupation to the death of the *tennō* (1945-1989). The name literally means “enlightened peace.”

*Sōjutsu* (槍術) – A traditional form of spear combat that traces its roots to the Sengoku Wars.

Taishō Period (大正時代) – The period during which the Taishō Emperor (birth name Yoshihito) ruled Japan. The name literally means “great righteousness.”

*Tennō* (天皇) – The term for the monarch of Japan, most often translated as “Emperor.”

*Yabusame* (流鏑馬) – A form of horseback archery dating back to the Heian Period (795-1185 CE).

*Zen Nihon Kendō Renmei* (全日本剣道連盟) – The All Japan Kendō Federation. It was established after the Occupation to promote *kendō* in much the same manner as the *Butokukai*, but with a shift in emphasis towards personal improvement as a way of avoiding the stigma of pre-war militarism.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES


SECONDARY SOURCES


Roden, Donald. “Baseball and the Quest for National Dignity in Meiji Japan.”


