

# *Kangeiko* mid-winter Martial Arts Training in Modern Japan

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## Zusammenfassung

Diese Studie behandelt das japanische Kampfkunsttraining, das in der Mitte des Winters (Januar) stattfindet (*kangeiko*). Bei diesem Training versammeln sich die Schüler vor Sonnenaufgang, dem kältesten Teil des Tages, im Dojo (Trainingshalle) und trainieren. Das Training umfasst alle Arten von Kampfkünsten und folgt einer typischen Kampfkunst-Übungsmethode. Das Training in der Mitte des Winters wurde im 18. Jahrhundert eingeführt und wird auch heute noch praktiziert.

In dieser Studie wird zunächst untersucht, was das Mittwintertraining vor und nach der Modernisierung bedeutete. Anschließend wird der Zweck des Mittwintertrainings in der modernen Gesellschaft untersucht.

## Summary

This study focuses on Japanese mid-winter martial arts training (*kangeiko*) held in January. In this training, students gather and train at the dojo (training hall) before sunrise, which is the coldest part of the day. The training includes all kinds of martial arts and follows a typical martial arts practice method. The mid-winter training was established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and continues to be practiced today.

This study first examines what mid-winter training meant before and after modernization. Next, we would like to investigate the purpose of mid-winter training in modern society.

## I. INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on mid-winter martial arts training held in January. In this training, students gather and train at the dojo (training hall) before sunrise (roughly from 5 to 6 am), which is the coldest part of the day. The training period is usually two to four weeks. However, the duration depends on the dojo and it may even be as short as three days. The training includes all kinds of martial arts such as kendo (Japanese fencing), judo and follows a typical martial arts practice method. Midwinter training is largely a modern invention, but it did have antecedents/forms (albeit short-lived ones) during the Edo period, inspired by TOKUGAWA Yoshimune's efforts to reinvigorate martial art training in the face of perceived decline resulting from more than a century without warfare.

This study first examines what mid-winter training meant for some people before and after modernization. Therefore, we present positions of people like SHIBUKAWA Tokihide (1720-1797) as one position in the Edo period, or KANO Jigoro's (1860-1938) view on the mid-winter training as one example in the wages on the modernization, whereby we also address the *Mantetsu* Martial Arts Club's mid-winter training in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Afterwards, we investigate the purpose of mid-winter training in modern society by focusing on the companies in which it was conducted.

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## II. MID-WINTER TRAINING IN THE EDO PERIOD

There are very few documents describing cold training in the Edo period. Among them, "Kunpu Zatsuwa (published in 1759)" by SHIBUKAWA Tokihide (1720-1797), heir to the Shibukawa-ryu jujutsu school, is a valuable resource for a coherent description of mid-winter practice and its significance. In this chapter, we will examine the state of cold training in the Edo period according to this historical document.

Although mid-winter training was practiced in the early Edo period, it is said that it became common from 1716 to 1736 as a consequence of political reforms introduced by TOKUGAWA Yoshimune, the eighth shogun, who promoted training in the military arts in order to revive/establish a warrior spirit and morale in the samurai, which had been weakened by the absence of war. Shibukawa states:

Currently, those who learn military arts, from the *hatamoto* (direct retainers) of the shogunate to the *baishin* (rear vassals), are devoted to their training as usual. In winter, it is customary to wake up before dawn and work hard for 30 days. This is called the mid-winter training. It is said that mid-winter training has been practiced for a long time, but it became popular especially due to the indoctrination of Yoshimune Tokugawa. It is wonderful thing.<sup>1</sup>

However, apparently, Shibukawa considered mid-winter training meaningless. He says, "It is the honor of a samurai to die in battle, but to die in a situation where you must not die is for nothing."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Shibukawa states that the practice of military arts is done because people do not want to die senselessly, and it is better not to be subjected to unnecessary physical burden as in the mid-winter training.

Training should be done in a proper way, and practices such as casually displaying futile *kijo* and wearing thin clothes or dieting on cold days are often based on shallow thoughts. Such superficial practices are feasible for some time, perhaps when one is 19 or 20 years old, but not for a lifetime. There is no benefit from such *kijo*. Please keep this *kijo* hidden and summon it when you feel that you can't train any more[...] If you do a lot of hard training, anyway, do it in order to get results.<sup>3</sup>

Possibly, the word *kijo* as used by Shibukawa refers to vigor or guts. Although Shibukawa did not consider energetic physical activity to be a waste, he insisted that one must have a sound judgement of the situations in which energy should be spent. Although Shibukawa's position is rational, it is based on the premise that death in battle is the honor of the samurai. The idea of death in battle being honorable for the samurai prevailed even in the Edo period when there were few chances of dying in battle.<sup>4</sup> However, the status of samurai was dismantled after the rise of the modern era of Japan; that is, from the Meiji Restoration in 1868. At that point, the premise of Shibukawa's assertion collapsed. So, what did mid-winter training mean in modern Japan? Let us focus on the theory of KANO Jigoro who created judo.

## III. KANO JIGORO'S VIEW OF MID-WINTER TRAINING

After the Meiji Restoration, critics of mid-winter training gradually disappeared. This can be attributed to the Kodokan's (The Judo Institute) adoption of mid-winter training. It was KANO Jigoro who adopted mid-winter training at the Kodokan. In the founding of Judo, Kano stated that he, "scientifically reviewed previous jujutsu and assembled it to best suit today's society."<sup>5</sup> In other words, Kano found rational significance in mid-winter training and deemed the practice necessary for modern society. Let's take a closer look:

Kano wrote an article entitled "Mid-winter training" in the Meika Kowa Shu (a collection of prestigious family lectures) published by the Imperial Military Society in 1912. This article sheds

light on Kano's thoughts on mid-winter training, which is a major focus of this study. The excerpt below presents the background to Kano's commencement of mid-winter training.

After the Meiji Restoration, all the old culture and systems were eradicated. For a while, military arts were completely forgotten; there seemed to be no one who preserved them. Consequently, I suppose, there was hardly anyone who practiced mid-winter training in either the city or the countryside. However, after I founded Kodokan in 1882 and started teaching judo, I realized that mid-winter training was indispensable to discipline the youth and started practicing it around 1883 or 1884.<sup>6</sup>

According to Kano, the custom of mid-winter training had fallen into disuse in the period following the Meiji Restoration, and Kano himself did not practice mid-winter training when he founded the Kodokan. According to the official history of the Kodokan, mid-winter training began in 1884, that is, two years after the founding.<sup>7</sup> It is said that Kano realized that mid-winter training could be an effective way of instilling discipline in the youth and therefore decided to introduce it in his training.

But, in Kano's eyes, what could and would be disciplined in the youth by mid-winter training? First of all, it is said that "an unyielding spirit that adheres to the original intention" is cultivated through mid-winter training.<sup>8</sup> The simple act of going to the dojo in extremely cold weather "is impossible for a weak person."<sup>9</sup> By setting the purpose of participating in mid-winter training and trying to accomplish it, one "unknowingly cultivates a habit of overcoming difficulties and enduring suffering[...] this naturally turns a weak person into a courageous person."<sup>10</sup> Next, because waking up early in the morning and practicing in the cold season is an unusual activity, there are concerns about illness and injury, but by paying attention to this, they also learn the habit of *sessei* (taking care of one's health).<sup>11</sup>

For Kano, the virtues of mid-winter training could be utilized in nation-building.

If the Japanese youth cultivated the weather of their boldness through this mid-winter training, the future of our empire is really promising[...] Without mid-winter training, their energy might have gradually disappeared. I am pleased with the fact that mid-winter training can inspire people's spirits[...] Those who can tolerate neither cold nor hot training in the climate of Tokyo have weak bodies or are affected by some unusual conditions, which is a shame for the youth. Therefore, it is an honor for the young man to be able to attend training in both the hot and cold weather. Ultimately, we will develop the ability of our youth to withstand the many grave undertakings that lie ahead for our nation. [...]<sup>12</sup>

Kano clearly positioned mid-winter training as a means to develop human resources that would be useful to the Japanese nation. Incidentally, summer training, as opposed to mid-winter training, is the practice of enduring the hottest month of the year (July) and began in 1897. In any case, Kano argues that "the shame of the youth" is not being able to withstand the climate of Tokyo, and by acquiring the mental strength to tolerate it they can prepare themselves to endure national level undertakings. The mental power to overcome physiological difficulties in the severe natural environment and the mental power to overcome challenges in the social environment of the nation are in agreement in Kano's mind, because he talks about mid-winter training in the context of Japanese thought since the Tokugawa shogunate.

In the background of Kano's insistence on "inspiring energy" through mid-winter training was the image of the modern Japanese man. During the so-called "long nineteenth century" from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, masculinity restructuring took place in Japan as well. Originally, the Tokugawa Shogunate was created by the samurai after the civil war in the early 17th century. The samurai at the beginning of the establishment of the Shogunate were fierce. However, peace continued for about 200 years afterwards. The samurai did not have the opportunity to use their military arts training skills, and they became more and more weak

and indulged themselves in entertainment. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, Russian and British ships approached Japan, and coastal defense became a problem. Under such circumstances, a theory called "shinki (morale)" emerged, centered on the ideas of the Confucian scholar KOGA Tōan (1788-1847) who had tried to inspire the spirits and morale of the samurai.<sup>13</sup> During Koga's time, martial arts were considered a method of cultivating *shinki*. Even after the Meiji Restoration, *shinki* was emphasized by politicians, bureaucrats, and the warrior class (*shizoku* [family or person with samurai ancestors]), and it became a theory that underlay the bold behavior of men who promoted the revolution. *Shinki* was a theory that emerged during the Tokugawa Shogunate period, but as a result, it also shaped how modern Japan viewed the male gender.<sup>14</sup>

The significance of this kind of mid-winter training in modern Japan is similar to athleticism, which attracted attention of public schools in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, when sports emerged in England. Athleticism is the attitude that fosters the elite ethos that leads to imperialism through sports.<sup>15</sup> The youth that Kano had in mind was not a commoner, but a male elite, who would shoulder the responsibility of the Japanese state. Mid-winter training was conducted to give the youth the strength and energy to overcome difficulties.

So how was mid-winter training conducted in modern Japan? One example which we will give a closer look, are the various martial arts divisions of *South Manchuria Railway Co., Ltd.* (hereafter "Mantetsu"). *Mantetsu* was established in 1906 to manage the South Manchuria Branch Line of the Tosei Railway in northeastern China, which was transferred from Russia under the Treaty of Portsmouth after the Russo-Japanese War. *Mantetsu* was one of the first Japanese companies to set up an athletic club within the company. Furthermore, since *Mantetsu* published a newspaper called the Manchuria daily news (hereafter "Mannichi") from 1906 to 1945, it is possible to grasp the trends of the athletic club in detail. So how did mid-winter training start at *Mantetsu* and how was its significance found?

### III. MANTETSU AND MID-WINTER TRAINING

#### 1. – THE ORIGIN OF THE MANTETSU MARTIAL ARTS CLUB

*Mantetsu* set up an athletic club for the "comfort and health"<sup>16</sup> of its employees. Because *Mantetsu* employees came from Japan, they often got homesick. *Mantetsu* states that "We set up an athletic club as a measure to prevent employees from suffering from homesickness[...] it was practically a compulsory exercise."<sup>17</sup>

The kendo club and the judo club of *Mantetsu* were both part of this initiative. It is believed that it was traffic pioneer KAISEI Kingo who laid the foundation for *Mantetsu*'s kendo and judo clubs. In September 1906, Kaisei established the "Field Railway Judo Association" with other employees.<sup>18</sup> He sought the guidance of YUASA Matsunosuke of the Proposal Department. Yuasa had trained at Kodokan before coming to *Mantetsu* and also served as the manager of the Second Highschool Judo Club. During the same time, URA Taro, the chief of the police department of the Kanto Metropolitan Government's Civil Affairs Department, summoned OKI Kazunori, a master of judo and *muto-ryu* swordsmanship, to lead the judo training in the Lushun Police Department. In December of the same year, *Mantetsu*'s martial arts hall opened in Nogi-cho, and its activities began on a full-scale. Yuasa mainly instructed the judo association in the railway department and Oki began to teach at the judo hall in the police department, and sometimes at the training hall in the railway department.

HIRANO Masatomo of the *Mantetsu* Research Division tried to organize kendo training in 1907. However, enough members did not gather. It was only in 1909 that IWASAKI Yagoro of the accounting division became interested in Hirano's proposal. They purchased some tools from

an inland trader and started the training at the garden site of the accommodation. This was the beginning of the Mantetsu Kendo Association. However, reportedly, by the time Hirano tried to form the Kendo association, a small Kendo hall had already been established in the police department of the Dalian Civil Affairs Office.

As stated earlier, the Field Railway Judo Association was among the earliest martial art clubs of Mantetsu. Immediately after its launch, it sent out letters of solicitation to acquire members. The letter stated the purpose of the establishment of the Judo Association as follows.

It is our most urgent task to train and protect the minds and bodies of those who live in newly occupied territories and are in competition with people from other countries. Today, for the young and prominent people with jobs in Manchuria, there are only two sources of comfort to refresh the mind and body at the end of a full day of public work: billiards and tennis. [Life here] is so lonely that when the day ends, their morale naturally sinks. Therefore, we have decided to recruit members and start practicing judo for spiritual exhilaration and self-defense along with physical development. Wouldn't it be fun?<sup>19</sup>

The letter was written in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese war and the purposes of self-defense and physical education are in this vein, whereby it is beyond the scope of this paper what is understood and meant by "practicing judo for spiritual exhilaration" and what kind of cultivation Kano emphasized with regard to judo. In other words, although the letter mentions physical and mental training, the purpose was to refresh the mind, and judo was regarded as one way to provide "recreation". Moreover, it also stated that engaging in judo might be "fun". On May 27<sup>th</sup> in 1910, the *Mannichi* published an article about the completion of Mantetsu dojo, stating that "the martial arts dojo should be able to provide entertainment, so at least once a month there will be rakugo, storytelling, or theater events as leisure activities for families."<sup>20</sup> Although martial arts themselves are not considered entertainment, the Mantetsu martial arts dojo was considered as a multipurpose facility that could be used for entertainment events.

NAKAMURA Yoshikoto, who became president of the *Mantetsu* Railway Company in June 1910, decided to encourage employees to regularly engage in martial arts to "reform the company's morals". He had been discussing this idea for a long time with Mantetsu Railway vice president KUNISAWA Shinbei. *Mantetsu* requested Kano to help recruit *Mantetsu* Martial Arts Advisors in June 1909, and Kano recommended YAMASHITA Yoshitsugu for judo and TAKANO Saburo for kendo.<sup>21</sup> Yamashita and Takano went to Mantetsu Railway in August 1910 and made proposals about "how to expand martial arts, build dojos, and recommend teachers."<sup>22</sup> In response to this, Mantetsu invited SATO Hoken as a senior teacher of judo and SAKABE Juro of the Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Martial arts Association) as a senior teacher of kendo.<sup>23</sup> In early September of the same year, the first Manchurian Judo Kendo Tournament was held by *Mantetsu* to welcome Yamashita and Takano, whereby 50 people from all over Manchuria participated in kendo and 100 people entered for judo.<sup>24</sup> On September 22, Mantetsu officially organized the Mantetsu Athletic Meet, and the judo, kendo, and archery divisions were founded as martial arts events.<sup>25</sup> In addition, during the Meiji period, the judo, kendo, and archery clubs of Mantetsu in Liaoyang were also popular, and on June 24<sup>th</sup>, 1911, the archery club went into full swing, and was said to be "the first along the railway line".<sup>26</sup>

## 2. – MANTETSU'S MID-WINTER TRAINING

According to Oki's recollection in *The Twenty Years of Dalian*, at the beginning of the judo club, "there was no equipment to protect against the cold like today, and at the same time, I never took rest from my training even in the severe cold weather[...] Even at that time, it was difficult for young people to bear it, and after a while, they groaned when it got cold, but those who were close to age

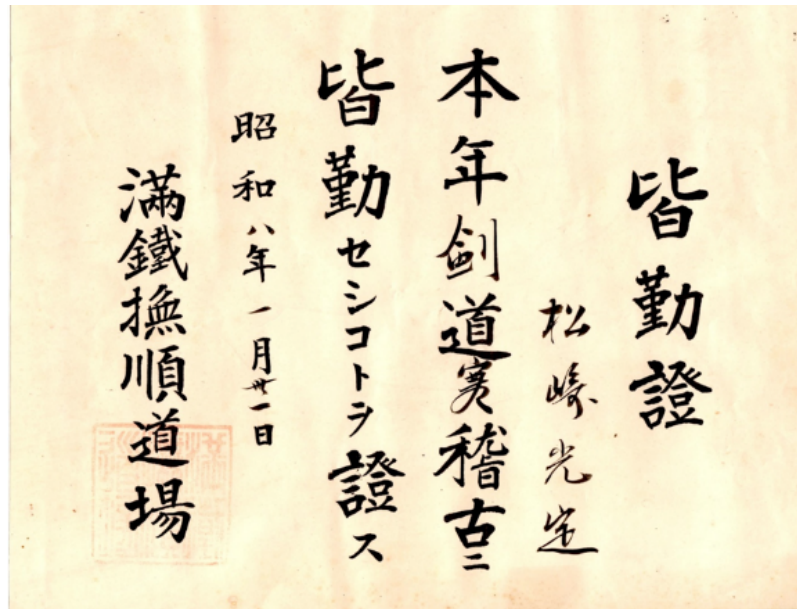


Photo 1. Perfect attendance award in mid-winter training (owned by the author)

forty and those who were over forty strongly surpassed these youth[...] The training was also very serious, and they did not give any praise or applause for losing or winning the game, as they do today.”<sup>27</sup> If we follow these lines, the *Mantetsu* Judo Club’s training was probably not something that could be considered comfortable.

The term “severe cold weather” used by Oki refers to January, but it is not clear whether he was describing mid-winter training. As Kano puts it, maintaining commitment to a goal was considered honorable, it was customary for the Kodokan to award perfect attendance recognition to those who did not take a day off. Similarly, later on, when mid-winter training was carried out in Mantetsu, perfect attendance certificates were given (Photo 1). Hence, it is conceivable that Oki’s remark, “I have never taken a break from training even in severe cold weather,” refers to mid-winter training.

However, it seems that the Field Railway Judo Association did not practice mid-winter training. For example, in the January 25<sup>th</sup> issue of *Mannichi* in 1908, an article titled “The Activities of Mantetsu Judo Association” was published. According to the article, “340 people attend every day from around 5 p.m. under the guidance of Yuasa’s instruction”<sup>28</sup> but mid-winter training begins before dawn in the early morning, and therefore training from 5 p.m. cannot be considered as mid-winter training. In addition, the term mid-winter training was not used in the article.

In Manchuria, the use of the term mid-winter training can be first confirmed with issue(s) from January 1911 of *Mannichi*: With the initiative of the *Mantetsu* Athletic Society to reform the corporate culture, mid-winter training was started in various martial arts divisions. An excerpt from an article published in *Mannichi* on January 8, entitled “Mid-winter training begins on the first 9 days of martial arts training” is given below. First of all, as far as we can confirm, of all the articles related to the Mantetsu Martial Arts Clubs, this is the first one where the word “mid-winter training” appears. The excerpt gives a peek into how mid-winter training in Mantetsu carried out.

The first training of the Mantetsu Martial Arts Club was held on the 8<sup>th</sup>. The kendo club started at the temporary dojo in Kodama-cho from 9 a.m. and the judo club started at the dojo in Gobanchi, Nogi-cho from 11 a.m.... From the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 31<sup>st</sup> the plan was

to practice judo and kendo at each dojo every day from 8 p.m., and there are many areas where mid-winter training is more beneficial for physical and mental training than summer training, and the techniques also show the most remarkable progress during this period. Therefore, the martial arts community, which has been on the rise recently, should become even more vibrant in the future.<sup>29</sup>

The excerpt above shows that mid-winter training in Mantetsu in 1911 began at 8 in the evening. It is notable that it was held not in the early morning but at night. The article then states that mid-winter training is more effective for physical and mental development than summer training. However, it is reported that due to the plague epidemic in Manchuria during that year, the kendo training that was to begin on January 15 at the Lushun Police training center could not be carried out as planned because "more than a dozen swordsmen who should have come from Mantetsu postponed their attendance because of the 'prevalence' of the plague".<sup>30</sup>

The following year's mid-winter training began at dawn. The *Mannichi* issue of January 24<sup>th</sup> in 1912 states: "From the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 28<sup>th</sup> of this month, the 3-week mid-winter training consists of 2-hour matches, one each for Judo and Kendo, every day at 5:30 am, and surprisingly, the highest number of participants were 180 to 190, with lowest number of participants being 150. Perhaps such a grand scale of mid-winter training cannot be seen too often even in the home country."<sup>31</sup> It can be said that the same kind of cold training as in Japan started in Mantetsu in 1912. The scale of the training probably expanded because the children of the employees also participated in Mantetsu's mid-winter training (Photos 2 and 3). Oki's recollection may be from those days. It can be said that the same kind of cold training as in Japan started in *Mantetsu* in 1912. The scale of the training probably expanded because the children of the employees also participated in Mantetsu's mid-winter training (Photos 2 and 3). Oki's recollection may be from those days.



Photo 2: Mid-winter training in Manchuria Manchuria Daily News, January 13, 1918)



Photo 3: Mid-winter training at Mantetsu Elementary School (Manchuria Daily News, January 28, 1919)

However, some employees could not participate in mid-winter training due to their work location. It was not because it was too cold outside or because the will of the employees was weak. They could not go due to their working hours. Though Mantetsu operated the Fushun Coal Mine, there was also a dojo called Shubukan for the coal mine employees (Photo 4). The company newsletter "Fushun", published in March 1914, describes the state of mid-winter training as follows:

The morning practice is the first of its kind this year; after all, until last year, it was held in the evening. Although it is difficult to train in the morning in a workplace such as a coal mine, in terms of mid-winter training, any timing other than the morning would be a bad idea. I think it is quite appropriate to have tried it this morning. However, it seems that people who cannot participate due to night shifts or other official reasons may be allowed to participate at their own convenience.<sup>32</sup>

At Fushun coal mine, mid-winter training began in the early morning from 1914. In other words, the discipline of waking up early in the cold early morning was required for mid-winter training. In the previous lecture by Kano, he stated that one should be able to withstand the cold weather of Tokyo, but the lowest temperature in Tokyo in the Meiji period did not reach  $-10^{\circ}\text{C}$ . On the other hand, Manchurian temperature reached  $-10^{\circ}\text{C}$  or lower. Therefore, if cold temperature alone was required for mid-winter training, it might not have been necessary to be particular about holding it early in the morning. In fact, mid-winter training at Fushun coal mine was practiced depending on the form of work and was not limited to dawn. However, it is said that many of the employees at the Fushun coal mine were "enthusiastic about coming to the dojo the night before and staying in the dojo and going back in the morning",<sup>33</sup> and many children of the employees also came to the dojo around 2 o'clock in the middle of the night. What motivated Mantetsu employees to participate in mid-winter training? Why was mid-winter training important to them? I would like to explore these questions next.



Photo 4. A postcard with a photo of Shubukan Dojo (owned by the author)

### 3. – SIGNIFICANCE OF MID-WINTER TRAINING

The previous Fushun article compares employees who participated in mid-winter training with those who did not. For example, it says that employees who participated in mid-winter training "always feel the weight of responsibility and develop moderate and fruitful habits both at work and in life," while for those who live disorderly lives, "saying that they will do their job is nothing more than a good excuse." Or, as stated in the same article, living a disorderly life "will be useless when the time comes," while martial artists who "practice things regularly will render what little service they can to the nation when needed."<sup>34</sup> In this article, it was considered that fostering a body that could move vigorously in the cold early morning would cultivate an attitude to deal with national crises. In Mantetsu, along with the spread of mid-winter training, martial arts transformed from a recreational activity into a rigorous training with nationalistic aspirations.

Because of its severity, mid-winter training can easily be associated with an attitude that looks down on an easy and laidback life. For example, in the *Kodokan* magazine "Yuko No Katsudo (Efficient Activities)" published in March 1919, there was an article entitled "Mid-winter training at the Mantetsu Dalian Dojo," possibly contributed by a *Mantetsu* employee. The article states that:

This year, it was colder than usual, and the temperature has fallen from -17 to -18°C during mid-winter training. While the Chinese people lie on the floor heater, smoking opium vigorously and not even working, Mantetsu employees, who are under the major mission of Manchuria-Mongolia development, and their children – from red-faced boys of around ten years old, up to elders who don't even know their own age – they all gather at the dojo at 5.30 every morning wearing white judo robes to obtain a spirit of unyielding flexibility and a body firmer than gold and iron.<sup>35</sup>

### IV. MODERN MID-WINTER TRAINING

**I**N modern Japan, mid-winter training had some significance. One motive was to train the mind and body to withstand the cold. Acquiring the habit of getting up early in the morning would

also function as one of the disciplinary exercises. However, neither Mantetsu nor Fushun coal mine initially held mid-winter training in the early morning. That is because it was difficult to participate in the training for those working night shifts. In other words, employees were already following a structured daily routine due to their fixed working hours, so they probably did not need the help of early morning training to develop that type of discipline. However, gradually, mid-winter training began to be practiced in the early morning, to become tough and responsible enough to serve and strengthen Imperial Japan.

The perfect attendance certificate embodies the sense of responsibility necessary for nationalism. Participants were given a perfect attendance certificate as proof that they had not taken a break from mid-winter training. This would have increased the nationalistic self-esteem of the participants. The importance of achieving a perfect attendance in mid-winter training was widely recognized across school club activities and martial arts organizations such as *Dai Nippon Butoku Kai* and *Kodokan*. It can be said that mid-winter training was much more popular and gained deeper importance in modern times than (its antecedents) in the Edo period.

But you could ask: "Wasn't rejuvenation of mind and body rather than nationalism also a motivation behind mid-winter training?" Maybe or it probably was. The reason why Fushun coal mine employees asked for mid-winter training in the early morning is that their passion for martial arts – practiced for what end? – was greater than the discomfort caused by the severe weather.

Moreover, since women now participate in mid-winter training, the connection between the masculinity and mid-winter training is not strong. When and how did women come to participate in mid-winter training? Since I was unable to investigate these issues this time, I would like to clarify them in the future.

## ENDNOTES/REFERENCES

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid 1, p.77

<sup>3</sup>Ibid 1, p.77

<sup>4</sup> Ikegami, Eiko. 1995. *The taming of the Samurai: Honorific individualism and the making of modern Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

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<sup>6</sup> Jigoro Kano, (1912) Kangeiko (mid-winter training), *Meika Kowa-syu (Lecture collection of experts)*, Teikoku Gunji Kyokai Syuppan-bu (Publications Department of the Imperial Military Association), p.193

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid 6, p.194.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid 6, p.194.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid 6,p.194.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid 6,p.195.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid 6,pp.195-196.

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<sup>16</sup> reporter, "Physical education facilities of large company stores nationwide," "Business of Japan," Vol. 22, No. 19, Dainippon Business Association, 1919, pp. 41.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid 16, p.44

<sup>18</sup> Takeuchi, Mokuan, (1923) "Twenty Years of Hachimenkan Dalian," *Mokugyoan*, p. 168.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid 18,p.169.

<sup>20</sup> Author unknown, Mantetsu Bujutsu Dojo, Manchuria daily news, No. 947, Manchuria Daily News Company, May 27, 1910, p.3.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid 18,p.179.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid 18,p.179.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid 18,p.179.

<sup>24</sup> Author unknown, Mantetsu Bujutsu Taikai, Manchuria daily news, No. 1037, Manchuria Daily News Company, September 4, 1910, p.5.

<sup>25</sup> Author unknown, *Mantetsu Sports Fest*, Manchuria daily news, No. 1515, Manchuria Daily News Company, September 22, 1910, p.5.

<sup>26</sup> Author unknown, *Liaoyang's martial arts world: Why is it developing in this way?* Manchuria daily news, No. 1330, Manchuria Daily News Company, June 24, 1911, p.5.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid 15, pp.171 – 173.

<sup>28</sup> Author unknown, *Activity of Mantetsu Judo Association, Manchuria daily news*, No. 84, Manchuria Daily News Company, January 25, 1908, p.5.

<sup>29</sup> Author unknown, *First martial arts training: Mid-winter training begins on the 9<sup>th</sup>*, *Manchuria daily news*, No. 1163, Manchuria Daily News Company, January 8, 1911, p.5.

<sup>30</sup> Author unknown, *Beginning of Kendo Training at Lushun Police Training Center, Manchuria daily news*, No. 1172, Manchuria Daily News Company, January 17, 1911, p.5.

<sup>31</sup> Author unknown, *Thriving mid-winter training, an increasingly magnificent old swordsman, Manchuria daily news*, No. 1544, Manchuria Daily News Company, January 24, 1912, p.5.

<sup>32</sup> Roshi-Okina *Mid-winter training tour*, Fushun, No. 17, Fushun Coal Mine, 1914, p. 133.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid 30, p.133.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid 30, p.134

<sup>35</sup> Author unknown, *Mid-winter training at the Mantetsu Dalian Dojo, Effective Activities*, Volume 5, No. 3, Judo Association Headquarters, 1919, p. 76.