

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY AND SPIRIT OF KENDO

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Introduction

There are many reasons for studying the historical processes surrounding *kendô's* development. For instance:

- 1. To learn about the past by studying the deeds of our predecessors.
- 2. To learn about the present by maintaining an awareness of the various issues that we face today.
- 3. To contemplate the future by nurturing people who understand how to keep tradition alive.

Through the great efforts of pioneer swordsmen, *kendō* evolved from "techniques" (*jutsu*) of killing into educative "Ways" (*michi*) which still thrive in the present day. There have been numerous changes in technical form, rules, equipment, social significance and positioning over the course of this evolution.

The historian investigates the various conditions and factors that cause or result in change. In the case of *kendō*, important historical events include such occurrences as the emergence of various traditional schools known as *ryūha*; the *kata* training method and the augmentation of full-contact sparring (*shinai-uchikomi*); the popularity of *gekken-kōgyō* martial arts shows in the Meiji period; the creation of *shinai-kyōgi* in the resurrection process of *kendō* in the post-war period; the formation and history of the *Nippon Kendō Kata*, *dan* grades and honorary *shōgō* titles; the transition of competition rules; the introduction of *kendō* into the school curriculum; and the international dissemination of *kendō*. All of these historical developments have contributed in no small way to the current state of modern *kendō* as a popular international sport, and as a means for character development.

Of great importance to the sustained growth of $kend\bar{o}$ in the future is having an understanding of the conditions surrounding the various occurrences in its development until now. Taking these factors into consideration makes it possible for us to plot the course of $kend\bar{o}$ for the next fifty, or even one-hundred years, and foster people with the necessary knowledge to keep the traditions alive for generations to come. In this sense, the study of $kend\bar{o}$'s history is indeed a vital link in ensuring that $kend\bar{o}$ remains a "way for self-cultivation" ($ningen\ keisei\ no\ michi$).

Old axioms such as "onko-chishin" (studying classics to obtain new knowledge), "keiko-shōkon" (considering antiquity to shed light on the present), and "fueki-ryūkō" (constancy and change) are frequently heard in kendō circles. Such terms have little meaning without an actual appreciation of the historical, traditional and cultural elements that feature in the course of one's everyday training.

Modern *kendō* is currently facing a number of problems related to competition, the promotion system, and shrinking population, to name a few. Taking time to reconsider the historical experience of *kendō* is one way of finding answers to some of these issues. In short, it is of supreme importance that *kendō* enthusiasts study the history of their chosen art to ensure that the transmission of its correct form into the future is seamless.

I THE TRADITION OF KENDO

1. Kendō Origins

1a. The Japanese Sword and Kendō

It has been noted that the history of mankind is essentially the history of warfare. From the earliest times until the present day, humans have been preoccupied with conflict. The history

of mankind is also the history of tools. We invent implements to assist us in our everyday lives, and have continued to create progressively more destructive weaponry to prevail in conflicts. Even though *kendō* links man and warfare, its culture does not extend back to the time humans first inhabited the Japanese archipelago thirty to fifty-thousand years ago, or even from the Old Stone Age approximately ten-thousand years ago. Swords first came to Japan from the continent after the Yayoi period (ca 300 BC–ca 300 AD). Bronze blades, spearheads, and daggers, as well as metal axes and single or double-edged swords were imported from China and Korea. It was not until after this initial period of importation that swords were produced in Japan.

The earliest swords were curved, but straight blades became more prominent from around 100 AD, and were designed to stab and thrust rather than slash and cut. Judging by the length of the typical tang and blade, they were most likely wielded with one hand, although it is difficult to ascertain exactly how they were used. In the Nihon Shoki (720) the term "tachikaki"(撃刀) is used to denote the use of swords, and a similar word "tachiuchi" (撃剣) is mentioned in the Kaifūsō (751). Despite these references, there are few clues offered as to what kind of techniques were utilized. It seems that sword usage in this period was greatly influenced by continental styles, but this does not constitute the roots for Japan's indigenous kenjutsu which developed much later.

It is generally accepted that the technical principles seen in modern *kendō* arose after the emergence of the unique style of Japanese sword commonly referred to now as *Nihon-tō*. The *Nihon-tō* with its characteristic curvature (*sori*) and ridged blade (*shinogi*) appeared towards the end of the tenth century. The change from straight blades to those with curvature indicates a shift in usage from thrusting with one hand, to primarily cutting with both hands gripping the handle. The *modus operandi* that subsequently developed for the Japanese sword was very different to the way in which Chinese broadswords and Western sabres were utilized.

Usage was refined from the end of the Heian period through the Kamakura period in epochal wars such as the Gempei Disturbance (1180–1185), and had reached an astounding level of sophistication by the Sengoku period (1467–1568). Warriors around this time engaged in a practice known as *musha-shugyō* in which they travelled the countryside challenging opponents in duels to test their skills. In actuality, the reasons for *musha-shugyō* varied. For some, it was merely a test of their own strength; for others, it provided an opportunity to demonstrate their superb combat ability in search of employment in a warlord's army; and some warriors used it as a pretext to spy on enemy activities. Whatever the case, this interaction through swordsmanship enabled warriors to hone their skills, and provided the impetus for creating specialized schools.²

1b. The Formation of Ryūha

Generally speaking, the order of battle in medieval Japan involved an initial shoot-off between archers to weaken the enemy's defences, followed by flanking by mounted warriors, and front-on assaults by foot-soldiers wielding spears. Swords were used in close-quarter engagement, but were not considered to be the predominant battle weapon. The so-called bugei-jūhappan or "eighteen military arts" which warriors were expected to know included: kyūjutsu (archery), bajutsu (horsemanship), kenjutsu (swordsmanship), tantō-jutsu (dagger), iaijutsu (sword drawing), sōjutsu (spearmanship), naginata-jutsu (glaive), bōjutsu (staff), jōjutsu (quarter-staff), jūjutsu (grappling), hojō-jutsu (rope-tying), mitsu-dōgu (three pole arts), shuriken-jutsu (hand-thrown projectiles), jutte-jutsu (baton), kusarigama-jutsu (sickle and chain), ninjutsu (espionage), suiei-jutsu (swimming), and hōjutsu (gunnery). Thus, it is clear that kenjutsu was not the most predominant combat art until the Tokugawa period (1600–1868).³

The biggest change to medieval Japanese warfare was brought about by the introduction of firearms in 1543. At the Battle of Nagashino (1575), Oda Nobunaga's army pioneered the use

of muskets to defeat the Takeda army. From this time onwards, tactics evolved so that battles commenced with volleys of musket fire followed by charges of lightly armed warriors who fought at close-quarters with cold steel. This transformation of battle tactics helped to elevate *kenjutsu* to a more prominent role.

Over seven centuries of warrior rule, extending from the inception of the first warrior government in Kamakura to the end of the feudal system in the Meiji period (1868–1912), the first four-hundred years were characterized by incessant warfare. Especially after the Ōnin War (1467–77) and the ensuing Sengoku period, society was plagued by chaos and endemic disloyalty, with family members even killing each other to gain an upper hand in the struggle for power. It was a time when social order was precarious to say the least, and characterized by "gekokujō" where social inferiors overthrew those who traditionally stood above them.

Most warriors who lived in this tumultuous period valued gallantry over everything else. Those with strength would prevail, so research of military science and excellence in the martial arts was particularly important. In the midst of mortal combat, a warrior's survival was determined by the ability to utilize all of his skills so he studied an array of different weapons and fighting methodologies in composite martial art systems. However, new arts started to evolve independently as usage of each weapon became increasingly refined. *Kyūjutsu* experts (especially mounted-archery) formed their own schools in the beginning of the fourteenth century. By the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, schools of *bajutsu* (horsemanship) appeared; and in the latter part of the fifteenth century, *kenjutsu*, *sōjutsu* and *jūjutsu* ryūha also materialized as seperate fields of expertise.

The three most important prototypical schools of *kenjutsu* included Iizasa Chōisai's Tenshinshō-den Katori Shintō-ryū (Shimōsa-no-Kuni Katori), Aisu Ikō's Kage-ryū (Ise-no-Kuni Iinan-gun), and Chūjō Hyōgonosuke's Chūjō-ryū (Hyōgonosuke reputedly studied the

Buddhist priest Jion's Nen-ryū which was based in Kamakura's Jūfukuji Temple.) These three *ryūha* became the original source for a multitude of offshoot schools started by famous swordsmen in the sixteenth century. From the Shintō-ryū line, Matsumoto Bizen-no-Kami (Kashima Shin-ryū) and Tsukahara Bokuden (Shintō-ryū) were renowned for their martial prowess, as were Kamiizumi Ise-no-Kami Nobutsuna (Shinkage-ryū) and Yagyū Tajima-no-Kami Muneyoshi (Yagyū Shinkage-ryū) from the Kage-ryū line, and Kanemaki Jizai (Kanemaki-ryū) and Itō Ittōsai (Ittō-ryū) from the Chūjō-ryū line.



Protective gauntlets (oni-gote) from the Ittō-ryū

2. Kenjutsu in the Early-Modern Period

2a. The Expansion of Theoretical Principles

Tokugawa Ieyasu emerged victorious at the Battle of Sekigahara (1600), thereby paving the way for the creation of the Tokugawa Bakufu. This was the beginning of a relatively stable regime that lasted for 270 years. The transition to peace was not immediate, however, and the Bakufu issued a number of decrees to stymie the power of regional *daimyō* warlords, such as restricting each domain to one castle, and also promulgating the *Buke Shohattō* as a legal guide for ideal behaviour in warrior society. The Bakufu initially had difficulty implementing the feudal political system, and still needed to deal with potential rivals to completely subjugate the realm. The main confrontations of the Tokugawa period were the Winter Siege of Osaka Castle in 1614, the Summer

Siege of 1615, and the Shimabara Rebellion of 1637. Thus, the early years of the Tokugawa period were still tense and politically volatile.

Ieyasu was known for his fondness of the martial arts, and he patronised two *kenjutsu* schools: the Yagyū Shinkage-ryū and the Ono-ha Ittō-ryū. The third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu, was also passionate about the martial arts. He summoned notable warriors from around the country to engage in matches in his presence, and was also an enthusiastic practitioner. Other *daimyō* were influenced by



Yagyū Tajima-no-Kami Munenori's Heihō Kadensho (1632) (Nihon Budō Taikei, Dōbōsha)

his zeal for the martial arts, and many promoted them in their own domains by inviting famous martial artists to teach their warriors. Lords were intensely satisfied when their vassals were able to demonstrate their prowess in duels by defeating warriors from other clans.

Many of the techniques seen in this period were battle-tested, but were later refined, systemized, and instilled with rational theories as the schools became more complex. The overall philosophical and technical syllabi of the various kenjutsu schools evolved significantly as peace became established in Tokugawa society. They created elaborate kata with highly sophisticated curriculums, and wrote books (densho) outlining the secret teachings of the ryūha. Some representative densho include Yagyū Tajima-no-Kami Munenori's Heihō Kadensho (1632), and Miyamoto Musashi's Gorin-no-Sho (1645).

2b. "Kahō-kempō" and the Emergence of Full-contact Training

The middle of the Tokugawa period marked a decline in *kenjutsu*. Until the tenure of Iemitsu, martial arts were practiced enthusiastically as the violent Sengoku period was still fresh in the memory of warriors. However, by the time of the fourth shogun, Ietsuna, society had been settled, and so too had the martial spirit of the warrior class. By the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi's tenure, overtly pacifistic policies were advocated to the extent that he even issued "Edicts on Compassion for Living Things" (1687). This signified an era of lavishness and attraction to books and learning in warrior society, but less passion for the culture of war.

Moreover, the Bakufu prohibited *taryū-jiai*, or duels with warriors from other schools because "Matches with live blades and wooden swords, and the possibility of killing others will result in enmity." With this edict to curb violent tendencies, *musha-shugyō* and interaction between schools all but disappeared, and training in the martial arts was restricted to the *kata* of one's own *ryūha*. This was still functional as *kata* had been developed through actual combat experience. However, with the onset of peace, warriors lost sight of the original motivations for mastering the martial arts, and *kenjustu* became increasingly aesthetic in form. Countless new *kata* were developed that were outwardly grandiose, giving rise to a style of *kenjutsu* that was referred to rather contemptuously as *kahō-kempō* (flowery swordsmanship). This marked a downward spiral of enthusiasm for *kenjutsu*. A momentous development that enabled its revival was the emergence of the full-contact sparring method known as "*shinai uchikomi keiko*" (full-contact training with bamboo swords).

The shinai itself has a long history. The prototypical shinai were not made of four bamboo

staves strapped together as they are today. The oldest *shinai* were made from numerous thin slats of bamboo inserted into a leather sleeve. These first appeared towards the end of the Sengoku period when Kamiizumi Ise-no-Kami Nobutsuna developed them as a safe way to engage in *kata* training. Equipment such as head protectors made from thick padded cotton and protective gauntlets were also used early on in various *ryūha* for *kata* training. In 1710, Naganuma Shirōzaemon Kunisato of the Jikishin Kage-ryū improved early pieces of equipment for utilization in full-contact sparring rather than predetermined *kata* sequences, thereby setting the scene for a boom in *shinai-keiko*, or *gekken* as it was known. Furthermore, in 1750, Nakanishi Chūzō of the Ittō-ryū created a style of armour that closely resembled that used in *kendō* today. *Kenjutsu* centred on sparring with bamboo swords became increasingly widespread from this time.

The way in which this training method was employed differed from school to school. Some *ryūha* retained their traditional *kata* forms, while others trained only with *shinai* and protective equipment. Before long, *shinai* training became predominant, and by the end of the Tokugawa period a plethora of new schools had arisen based on full-contact sparring had arisen.

2c. The Promotion of Martial Arts Education in Hankō and the Kōbusho

The fighting spirit of warriors waned a century after the establishment of the Tokugawa Bakufu. Warrior customs were in disarray, and townsmen had become comparatively wealthy. Various independent domains (han) took the initiative to instil traditional values in their bushi by enacting domain reforms, and by establishing schools known as hankō. Each domain school taught a different curriculum, but most included lessons in classical Japanese, Chinese and Western studies, and military arts such as heigaku (military science), kenjutsu, sōjutsu, bajutsu, kyūjutsu, jūjutsu, and hōjutsu. According to records left by these schools, kenjutsu tended to occupy a significant portion of the curriculum, but interestingly, hōjutsu was also treated as an important subject of study.

The Bakufu's influence gradually weakened, and by the Bakumatsu era in the early decades of the nineteenth century, Japan was once again thrust into a period of social turmoil. In the nineteenth century, Western powers increased their demands for Japan to engage in trade and to open the country, and individual *han* prepared their own naval defences to counter the foreign pressure. As the Bakufu's power dwindled, Commodore Matthew Perry led his flotilla of American ships to Japan which acted as a catalyst for a sudden rise in complicated and conflicting sentiments. Some warriors advocated a restoration of imperial power; others chose to support the Bakufu;

another prominent group promoted opening the country; while others sought to "expel the barbarians" at all costs. Hostility and disorder intensified as the winds of change blew through Japan.⁴

In an attempt to rectify their perceived military unpreparedness, and to bolster Japan's national defence against possible foreign aggression, the Bakufu created the Kōbusho (military academy) in 1856. Although hōjutsu was taught at the academy, the traditional combat arts of kenjutsu, sōjutsu and even swimming were given priority.

With regards to kenjutsu, top instructors of the day were employed

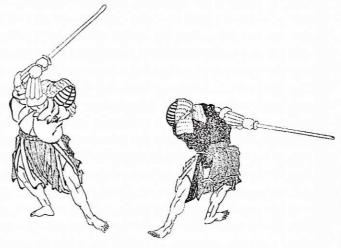


Illustration of fencing from the Bakumatsu era (Hokusai Manga II, Iwasaki Bijutsusha)

regardless of their *ryūha* of affiliation, and the training was notoriously rigorous. However, along with the demise of the Bakufu the Kōbusho was closed down a little over a decade after opening. A point worthy of mention is the varied lengths of *shinai* used by warriors at this time. For example, Ōishi Susumu of the Chikugo Yanagawa domain used a *shinai* nearly 6-*shaku* (approx. 181cm) in length. *Shinai* length was regulated to 3-*shaku* 8-*sun* (approx. 115cm) by the Kōbusho, a policy that greatly affected the technical corpus and teaching methodology of *kendō* thereafter.

Hankō and the Kōbusho were public institutions designed for educating members of the bushi class. In addition to these schools, however, the many private academies and martial art salons in existence that catered to the general public were also of significance in the development of kendō. Private martial art schools flourished in the city of Edo. Of these, Chiba Shūsaku's Gembukan (Hokushin Ittō-ryū) in Kanda, Saitō Yakurō's Rempeikan (Shindō Munen-ryū) in Kudanzaka, and Momoi Shunzō's Shigakukan (Kyōshin Meichi-ryū) in Tsukiji were referred to as the "three great dōjō of Edo". The Iba Dōjō (Shingyōtō-ryū) is also sometimes added to make four.

The government lifted the ban placed on inter-school matches in the Bakumatsu period. This not only led to a massive upsurge in *shinai kenjutsu*'s popularity, but also started an obsession with " $d\bar{o}j\bar{o}$ -yaburi" where would-be challengers visited a $d\bar{o}j\bar{o}$ with the intention of defeating the best students and master in a game of prowess.

II THE MODERNIZATION OF KENDO

1. Kendō in the Modern Age

1a. The Meiji Restoration and Kendō

Japanese society underwent massive changes in the decade following the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Bushi had ruled the country for nearly seven centuries since the first warrior government was established in Kamakura, but now their hegemony ended for the sake of rapid modernization and reform. Japan had fallen behind the rest of the world in many respects due to the national isolationist policies of the Tokugawa government. In accordance with the slogan of "bunmei-kaika" (civilization and enlightenment), the new Meiji government sought to close the gap with Western nations by adopting many of their systems. Kenjutsu, and other aspects of warrior culture thought to symbolize the feudal past were discarded, as was the bushi class itself.

After the abolishment of the Kōbusho in 1866, *hankō* were closed down following the transformation of domains into a new national prefectural system. This essentially spelled the end of martial arts education in public and private institutions of learning for a few decades. Moreover, with government issuance of the *dattō-rei* edict (1871), topknots, traditional apparel, and the wearing of swords was no longer regulated by class affiliation excepting in formal occasions, and the ensuing *haitō-rei* (1876) forbade anybody from wearing swords in public, apart from military personnel and policemen. Violators were punished by having their swords confiscated.

In this way, the special rights and privileges of warriors were gradually abolished, and even the so-called "soul of the samurai", his sword, was no longer able to be worn with pride. *Kenjutsu* experts were plunged into a life of destitution as they lacked any other tangible means to make a living. A number of uprisings such as the Satsuma Rebellion led by disgruntled former warriors broke out throughout the country, and it was this disorder that was to guide the development of $kend\bar{o}$ in a new direction.

1b. Gekken-Kōgyō (Public Fencing Shows)

Kenjutsu instructors, dōjō proprietors, and swordsmen who had thrived in the kenjutsu boom were unable to adapt to the colossal changes that Japan was undergoing in the Meiji period. Sakakibara Kenkichi attempted to rectify this situation. His life is depicted in the Denki Shūhō, and the situation surrounding his efforts to establish the popular gekken-kōgyō shows is fascinating.

Everybody knew only too well of Kenkichi's insurmountable vivacity. After the Meiji Restoration, former vassals of the Bakufu and warriors from the furthest domains gathered to receive Kenkichi's sympathetic guidance... Before the Meiji era, Kenkichi occupied the status of *hatamoto* (direct vassal of the Bakufu), receiving a stipend of 300-hyō. Such stipends were terminated after the Restoration, and Kenkichi's dreadfully impoverished students congregated aimlessly in the dōjō with nothing else to do.

This desperate situation provided the impetus for creating the *gekken-kōgyō* demonstrations. Kenkichi applied for permission to hold public *gekken* (*kendō*) matches and was granted authorization for the duration of ten days near the riverside in Asakusa from April 11, 1873. The event was an enormous success, and the regulations for the demonstration matches were as follows:

- 1. The cost for admission is 1-shukin, which is the same for one hour or one whole day.
- 2. Those who wish to participate in the matches must register their intention one day in advance
- 3. Examinations will be conducted on the tenth day of the month to decide rankings. The length for *shinai* shall be 3-*shaku* 8-*sun*.
- 4. Match practice time shall be from 6:00am until 10:00am.
- 5. Fencing equipment will be let for a price of 300-mon.

Throughout the Tokugawa period, *kenjutsu* was the representative martial art for the *bushi* class, but most other members of society had little connection with it. Few had ever seen warriors training or competing in matches. Even though the admission fees were not inexpensive, the opportunity to see the country's top fencers in action proved too much of an opportunity to overlook for members of the public, who gathered with great anticipation to see the spectacle.

Such was the success of the Kenkichi's *gekken* company, that former warriors throughout the country sought to take advantage of the temporary boom. The *gekken* events conducted in various regions were a resounding success in terms of providing income for needy martial artists. However, they also proved to be important in other ways. As we have seen, *kenjutsu* had mostly been neglected as something of "little use" to a modernizing society following the Meiji Restoration. The *gekken* shows kept it in the public eye, preventing it from falling into total obscurity. Thus, the *gekken-kōgyō* first instigated by Sakakibara Kenkichi served as an important bridge for the transmission of *kenjutsu* from the Tokugawa period to the Meiji period, and beyond.

On the other hand, the act of commercializing the symbol of *bushi* culture into a form of entertainment, and the creation of bizarre techniques, vocalization and movements for the purpose of spicing the matches up for public appeal evoked an outpouring of criticism. To some observers, the matches were an affront to the essence of true *kenjutsu*, and it was blamed for the "woeful" trend in which protagonists applied rapid but light techniques in the quest to score points, as if it were no more than a competitive sport.

Thus, *gekken* shows were seen as both positive and negative. Regardless of the criticisms, it is a fact that *gekken-kōgyō* constituted an important chapter in the history, and ultimately, the development of modern *kendō*. Just as was the case with the hybrid form of *kendō* known as *shinai*-



A scene from Sakakibara Kenkichi's gekken kōgyō (Shiryō Meiji Budō-shi, Shinjinbutsu Ōraisha)

kyōgi that emerged in the post-war period, gekken shows were a necessary response to the rapidly changing times, and should be lauded as a vital juncture in the evolution and survival of kendō.

1c. Keishichō Kendō

With many high-level practitioners and instructors, the Japanese police department is one of the most influential groups in modern *kendō*. Their prominence can be traced back to the exploits of the Battōtai, a special government police unit that operated to great effect during the Satsuma Rebellion of the Meiji period. Kawaji Toshiyoshi, superintendant of the newly formed Keishichō (Police Bureau), wrote a thesis entitled "*Kendō saikō-ron*" (On the revival of *kendō*) for officials to consider. He urges the introduction of *kenjutsu* into the training of police officers based on the widely reported heroic acts of the Battōtai who engaged rebel forces armed only with swords.⁶

This formed the rationale for introducing traditional martial arts into the police. Nevertheless, around the same time, the governor of Kyoto prefecture, Makimura Masanao, published "Kenjutsu yūgai-ron" (The harmful effects of kenjutsu) in which he argued the futility of practicing traditional swordsmanship. Makimura's arguments about the demerits and "pointlessness" of kenjutsu were centred on rational Western ideals that were being introduced with considerable zeal by the Meiji government. Despite the growing trend to reassess the value of kenjutsu in modern society, this opposition represented the dubious reputation bujutsu had in some quarters at the time. A growing debate regarding the introduction of kendō into schools ensued, and the Ministry of Education initially took a negative stance similar to Makimura's.

1d. Dai-Nippon Butokukai

The first half of the Meiji period was a time of decline in which traditional swordsmanship struggled for survival. The latter half of the Meiji period, however, was one in which *kendo*'s perceived social significance became firmly established.

The Dai-Nippon Butokukai (Greater Japan Society of Martial Virtue) was created in 1895, and was to exert significant influence on the acceptance of martial arts in Japanese society. Nearly three decades had passed since the Meiji Restoration, but there were many questions remaining about domestic and international politics as Japan became a constitutional state. This period also marks the point from whence sentiments of state nationalism began to rise. In particular, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 served to arouse nationalistic tendencies, and interest

in the traditional martial arts was piqued as a result. With celebrations surrounding the 1100th anniversary of the transferral of the capital to Kyoto, the Butokukai was established with Prince Komatsu-no-Miya Akihito appointed as superintendant, Kyoto Governor Watanabe Chiaki as chairman, and Heian Shrine's head priest Mibu Motoosa as vice-chairman.

In the Butokukai's prospectus, it states how Emperor Kammu transferred the capital and built the Butokuden (Hall of Martial Virtue) to encourage the martial arts, and governed the land in accordance with the "spirit of martial virtue". The Butokukai's goal was to revive and promote Japan's martial arts which had waned in the immediate post Restoration period, and instil "martial spirit" in the Japanese people.

It set about encouraging, disseminating, and instructing various forms of *budō*, and awarded individuals who had made significant contributions to this objective. An important activity of the Butokukai was the nurturing of instructors who could teach the martial arts to the wider community. The first specialist teacher's training school established by the Butokukai in 1905 was called the Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseisho (Martial Arts Instructor Development Centre). Although it underwent a number of name changes in later years finishing with Budō Senmon Gakkō (Budō Specialist School), it and the Tokyo Higher Normal School were to produce many of Japan's leading *kendō* instructors.

1d. The Creation of the Kendō Kata

To promote *kendō* effectively, the Butokukai realized the importance of formulating a unified set of *kata* that transcended *ryūha* affiliation. The first committee was chaired by Watanabe Noboru, and in 1906 they established the "*Dai-Nippon Butokukai Kenjutsu Kata*" consisting of three techniques: *jōdan* (*ten*), *chūdan* (*chī*), and *gedan* (*jin*). However, there was considerable opposition to the *kata* for various reasons, and it did not achieve the nationwide dissemination it was designed for.

A few years later, it was decided by the Ministry of Education (MOE) that *kendō* could be introduced into the education system as a regular physical education subject, creating new urgency to prepare common *kendō kata* forms. The Butokukai convened another committee with Negishi Shingorō, Tsuji Shinpei, Naitō Takaharu, Monna Tadashi, and Takano Sasaburō. They formally launched the "*Dai-Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata*" made up of seven techniques with the *tachi* and three with the *kodachi* in 1912. Amendments and additions were made in subsequent years, but the *kata* is still studied today as the "*Nippon Kendō Kata*".

1e. School Education and Kendō

As Japan embarked on its path of modernization, traditional martial arts such as *kenjutsu* saw a marked decline, followed by a gradual recovery after the *gekken-kōgyō* success and the Battōtai's exploits in the Satsuma Rebellion. This upturn in fortune was probably aided by an adverse reaction to the unbridled adoption of Western ideals in almost every aspect of society. In 1879, the Gakushūin (Peers School) constructed a *dōjō* for the study of *kenjutsu*. In the same year, Fukuyama Seishikan Middle School included *kenjutsu* classes for students, and other middle and normal schools around the country also began including *kenjutsu* in their curriculums. This trend was further stimulated by Kanō Jigorō when he created the Kōdōkan in 1882, and the subsequent rapid popularization of *jūdō*.

1f. The Introduction of Kendō as a Regular School Subject

With this revitalization of *bujutsu*, the MOE was pressed to take tangible measures regarding the inclusion of the martial arts in the education system. George Adams Leland was invited from the United States to establish the National Gymnastics Institute (Taisō Denshūsho) in 1878.

The Institute was tasked with creating a basis for physical education in Japanese schools, and the MOE commissioned it to investigate the potential of martial arts education. The Institute's conclusions were published in a report in 1883 titled "The educational advantages, disadvantages and appropriateness of *gekken* and *jūjutsu*".

Advantages:

- 1. An effective means of enhancing physical development.
- 2. Develops stamina.
- 3. Rouses the spirit, and boosts morale.
- 4. Expurgates spineless deportment and replaces it with vigour.
- 5. Arms the exponent with techniques for self-defence in times of danger.

Disadvantages:

- 1. May cause unbalanced physical development.
- 2. Always an imminent danger present in training.
- 3. Difficult to determine the appropriate degree of exercise, especially as physically strong students must train together with weaker individuals.
- 4. Could encourage violent behaviour due to the rousing of the spirit.
- 5. Exhilarates the will to fight which could manifest into an attitude of winning at all costs.
- 6. Danger of encouraging a warped sense of competitiveness to the extent that the child could even resort to dishonest tactics.
- 7. Difficult to sustain unified instructional methodology for large numbers of students.
- 8. Requires a large area to conduct training.
- 9. Even though *jūjutsu* only requires a *keiko-gi* (training wear) *kenjutsu* requires the use of armour and other special equipment which would be expensive and difficult to keep hygienic.

The Institute advised against the introduction of *bujutsu* in schools as it was deemed "unsuitable as a regular subject", and 2. "To simply refute the use of Western gymnastics on the basis that martial arts have always been a custom in our country would result in an unbalanced approach centring on spiritual education, and the true merits of physical education will not be achievable." (MOE notification issued in 1890).

The refusal to admit *bujutsu* into the education system was based on contemporary medical and physiological viewpoints which advocated the notion that physical education was meant to "strengthen the physical body". It was judged that *gekken* and *jūjutsu* were not conducive to the development of a balanced physique, were potentially dangerous, and could encourage violent tendencies. Furthermore, the question of hygiene with regards to equipment was also raised as a concern. Another sticking point was the difficulty of instructing a large group of students simultaneously. The martial arts had traditionally been taught on an individual basis from teacher to student. Modern physical education was principally taught to groups, and it was believed that *bujutsu* would not fit easily into this pattern of instruction. The problem was later challenged by educators who endeavoured to formulate a teaching methodology that fitted the established ideals of physical education.

A good example is provided by the "gymnastification" (taisōka) of bujutsu. Among the many books in the "bujutsu-taisō" genre produced by martial artists and educators, notable examples include Hashimoto Shintarō's Shin-an Gekken Taisō-hō (New fencing calisthenics) (1896), and Ozawa Unosuke's Shin-shiki Bujutsu Taisō-hō (New-style bujutsu calisthenics) (1897). Bujutsu calisthenics sought to uphold the essence of the martial arts, and demonstrates the lengths some educators were prepared to go to transform traditional bujutsu into something acceptable and

beneficial to the physical development of children.

As I already mentioned, nationalistic sentiments and the appeal of the traditional "martial spirit" (shōbu no kifū) began to rise following the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894–95, and the Tripartite Intervention of 1895. With the establishment of the Butokukai in 1895, fencing and jūjutsu tournaments became widespread, and the number of middle and normal schools that decided to introduce the martial arts as optional activities increased. With newfound enthusiasm and favourable public opinion, the School Hygiene Advisory Board was assigned to make another investigation of the potential for martial arts in the school system. Their conclusion was similar to that of the National Gymnastics Institute, but stated that, "All boys sixteen years of age and above who were of good health should be permitted to participate as an extra-curricular activity, but it is not advisable to make the martial arts optional subjects of study [in the curriculum]."

At the 10th Imperial Diet Session in 1896, a petition to include *bujutsu* in schools was presented for the first time. At the forefront of this growing movement were individuals like Shibata Kokki (Nagano prefecture) and Kozawa Ichirō (Ibaraki prefecture and second head of the Mito Tōbukan *dōjō*). Hoshino Kyūzō and Ozawa Aijirō, both from Saitama prefecture and members of the House of Representatives also became involved.

The various petitions finally culminated in a proposition that was passed at the 24th Imperial Diet Session in 1908 to make amendments to regulations governing normal and middle schools, taking effect from 1911. In Article 24 of the "Normal School Regulations", it was declared that "gekken and jūjutsu may be added to the physical education curriculum for boys". In Article 13 of the "Middle School Regulations", it was also decided that "Gekken and jūjutsu be added to the physical education classes."

In both cases, it was stipulated that the subjects "may be added", which meant in essence that the martial arts were regarded as optional rather than regular subjects. Nevertheless, this was a momentous achievement in the pursuit to include martial arts in the education system – a movement that started back in the 1880s. The martial arts continued to be treated as optional subjects for a couple of decades until changes were made to the "Middle School Regulations" following the Manchurian Incident of 1931. From then, martial arts were eventually made compulsory subjects of study in schools for the first time.

As Japan prepared for war, the martial arts were "recognized as a vehicle for nurturing an austere and sturdy national spirit by forging the mind and body." When war broke out with China in 1937, Japanese policy became progressively militaristic and the government created "Physical Discipline Budō" (tairen-ka budō) classes in schools. In 1942, "Physical Discipline" was divided into "Calisthenics" and "Budō", and all boys in the fifth year of elementary school were required to study a martial art. The terminology used in kendō was also changed to reflect new combative motivations. For example, the term "datotsu" (strike) was changed to "zantotsu" (cut).

2. Kendō in the Post-war Period

2a. Prohibition and Revival

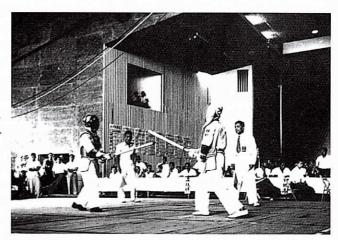
Under the command of General D. MacArthur, Japan surrendered unconditionally in August 1945, bringing the Second World War to an end. General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ) set about dismantling any organizations that were involved in the dissemination of militaristic or nationalistic ideals. The move to eliminate "feudal Japanese concepts from schools" resulted in a strict stance against *budō*, and *kendō* was treated with particular severity. The Ministry of Education issued a number of decrees and

notifications in the immediate post-war period in an attempt to purge Japanese education of any remnants of militarism. Following negotiations with the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE), the MOE proposed that *budō* had to be removed as a regular course in middle schools and higher, but be permissible as an extra-curricular activity. This proposal was declined, and a notification was made by the MOE (No. 80, dated November 6, 1945) announcing an across-the-board ban on *kendō* in schools. It was also prohibited in the wider community along with the other martial arts.

As a new "democratic society" was being shaped, enthusiasts (mainly from jūdō, kendō, and kyūdō) continued petitioning the MOE and CIE to reinstate budō. However, in 1947, the Far East Commission issued "Instructions on Japanese Educational Reform" in which it was stated that "All ancient forms of exercise which advocate spiritual education, such as kendō, must be eradicated." This proclamation closed any avenue for the revival of kendō in the immediate future.

2b. Shinai-kyōgi

Although *kendō* was officially discontinued after the war, the sound of shinai clashing did not disappear completely. Amidst the post-war confusion when it was difficult even to obtain food supplies, enthusiasts continued to participate in kendō training sessions out of sight of the authorities. This underground continuation of kendo was to provide the basis for its eventual revival. For example, a fencing and kendo goodwill tournament was held at the Kantō Haiden company dōjō on May 23, 1948. In September 1949,



A scene from a shinai-kyōgi match in the early post-war period

alumni of the Student Kendō Federation in Tokyo formed the "Tokyo Kendō Club", and used this organization to investigate a new form of *kendō*. Their initiatives resulted in the creation of a hybrid form of *kendō* called "*shinai-kyōgi*". Based on standard *kendō* movements, this new style of *kendō* emphasized competition. The main characteristics were as follows:

- 1. The *shinai* used was different to the customary four slats of bamboo. The top third consisted of 32 thin slats, the middle of 16, and the bottom third of 8 slats of bamboo, encased in a sheathing of leather or material from the *tsuba* upwards.
- 2. The protective equipment was light and "sporty", and was designed with cost efficiency in mind.
- 3. Keiko-gi and hakama were not used. Practitioners played the sport in shirts and trousers.
- 4. Matches were conducted in marked court areas.
- 5. Winners were decided by the number of points scored within the designated time.
- 6. Players were penalized for rule infractions.
- 7. Foot tripping, body clashing and vocalization of the attacks (other than natural grunts) were forbidden.
- 8. To rationalize the adjudication of matches, a system of three referees was introduced

and points were counted as valid if the majority agreed.

The All Japan Shinai-Kyōgi Federation was formed in 1950, and the sport was researched and popularized to the extent that it was permitted as a regular subject in junior and senior high schools in 1952. *Kendō* was reinstated in high schools and above from 1953, and "gakkō kendō" (school kendō) was created in 1957. Consequently, shinai-kyōgi disappeared, but the important function it played in the revival of kendō in the post war period cannot be overstated.

2c. The Development of Modern Kendo and Issues it Faces

The All Japan Kendo Federation was founded in 1952. From 1953, various tournaments such as the Kyoto Taikai (currently the All Japan Kendō Embu Taikai), All Japan Prefectural (Todōfuken) Tournament, and the All Japan Championships were initiated as *kendō*'s popularity gained momentum. The Tokyo Olympics were held in 1964, and *jūdō* was featured as an official event for the first time. *Kendō*, *kyūdō*, and *sumō* were showcased at the Nippon Budokan venue as demonstration sports for the whole world to see. The International Kendo Federation (FIK) was established in 1970 as *kendō* began to gain a considerable international following.⁷

Kendō enjoyed a boom in popularity from the late 1960s, and the number of practitioners grew steadily. As of March, 2007, there were approximately 1.47 million registered dan holders in Japan. Numerous tournaments helped kendō grow, but the problems of overt competitiveness and winning at all costs, commercialism, and issues related to the international dissemination of kendō necessitated a re-evaluation of its fundamental "essence".

In 1975, the All Japan Kendo Federation formulated the "Concept of Kendo" which states that "The concept of *kendō* is to discipline the human character through the application of the principles of the *katana* (sword)." The idea of character building in *kendō* guides the desired track for *kendō*'s future development, and an its emphasis on traditional values.

The extent to which character development can be achieved is dependent on how each individual practitioner approaches his or her daily training. In this age of diversification, *kendō* is still recognized as a means for personal growth, and all practitioners must engage in the study of *kendō* in accordance with their own set of values to suit their individual needs. It is important for all *kendō* enthusiasts to learn and pass on the "principles of the sword" correctly, and to continue cultivating the self in accordance with these principles.



in accordance with these principles. Two competitors face off at the World Kendo Championships held in Brazil, 2009
(Photograph provided by Kendo World Journal)

Conclusion

Modern *kendō* evolved from the combat techniques of *kenjutsu*, and saw a transition in its objective of killing to self-cultivation. The historical process seen in the formation of *kendō*'s technical and ideological content shows that it is clearly a valuable form of traditional culture.

However, given the considerably "sportified" current state of *kendō*, is it really functioning as a "Way" for "personal development" and as a valued form of "traditional culture"? As we have seen, there were times throughout the long history of *kendō* when it was not taken seriously, and veered away from its proper course. It is our responsibility to ensure that it remains as a vehicle for self-perfection, and it retains its value in the traditional and cultural sense. Is it acceptable for *kendō* practitioners to be obsessed with winning matches or passing promotion examinations? Competitions and gradings are a part of *kendō* study, but it behooves all *kendō* enthusiasts to seek and travel the "Way of the sword" conceived by our predecessors to ensure the survival of this unique cultural heritage.

Year	Events in Kendō's Historical Development
Latter 10th Century	Japanese swords (Nihon-tō) with shinogi and sori (curvature) are created.
1159	Minamoto-no-Yoshitsune allegedly learns swordsmanship from the Kurama monk Kiichi Hōgan.
1384	Chūjō Hyōgonosuke Nagahide is invited by shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu to instruct swordsmanship.
1408	The monk Jion builds the Chōfukuji Temple and calls himself Nendai Ōshō.
1466	Aisu Ikō establishes the Kage-ryū.
1522	Tsukahara Bokuden establishes the Shintō-ryū.
1529	Kamiizumi Ise-no-Kami learns the Kage-ryū from Aisu Ikō.
1565	Yagyū Munetoshi receives sole permission from Kamiizumi to teach, and establishes the Yagyū-ryū.
1576	Itō Ittōsai establishes the Ittō-ryū.
1594	Tokugawa Ieyasu sends an invitation to Yagyū Munetoshi and his son Munenori to teach him kenjutsu.
1632	Yagyū Tajima-no-Kami Munenori writes the Heihō Kadensho.
1645	Miyamoto Musashi writes the Gorin-no-Sho.
1682	Iba Jōsuiken Hideaki establishes the Shingyōtō-ryū.
1710–	Naganuma Shirōzaemon Kunisato of the Jikishin Kage-ryū develops and improves protective armour and commences full-contact training with <i>men</i> (mask) and <i>kote</i> (gauntlets). This method of training becomes increasingly popular.
1750-	Nakanishi Chūzō of the Ittō-ryū improves protective equipment and forms the prototype for $b\bar{o}gu$ used today in modern $kend\bar{o}$. The style of $kenjutsu$ using $b\bar{o}gu$ and $shinai$ is completed.
1792	The Bakufu issues an edict encouraging the practice of martial arts.
1822	Chiba Shūsaku of the Hokushin Ittō-ryū opens the Gembukan dōjō in Edo. Urban fencing salons become popular from this time.
1856	The Bakufu opens the Kōbusho (military academy) in Tsukiji. Odani Seiichirō Nobutomo is appointed head-teacher of <i>kenjutsu</i> .
1871	Feudal domains are dismantled and an edict forbidding the wearing of swords in public, and having the traditional top-knot hairstyle is issued by the government.
1873	Sakakibara Kenkichi starts the gekken-kōgyō martial arts demonstrations in Asakusa.
1874	The Keishichō (Police Bureau) is established. The Saga Rebellion breaks out.
1876	The <i>haitō-rei</i> edict is issued by the Meiji government. Widespread rebellions by <i>shizoku</i> break out – Shimpū Rebellion (Kumamoto), Akizuki Rebellion (Fukuoka), Hagi Rebellion (Yamaguchi).
1877	Satsuma Rebellion. The Battōtai police division performs great exploits in battle using only swords. The usefulness of <i>kenjutsu</i> is reassessed.
1879	Police Superintendent General Kawaji Toshiyoshi writes an article stressing his enthusiasm for the revival of traditional <i>kenjutsu</i> . The Keishichō subsequently employs martial arts experts as instructors to the police. A <i>kendō dōjō</i> is established at the Gakushūin, and Sakakibara Kenkichi is appointed as the instructor. <i>Kenjutsu</i> is also introduced into the curriculum at Fukuyama Seishikan Middle School.

Year	Events in Kendō's Historical Development
1880	Governor of Kyoto Makimura Masanao publishes his thoughts negating the usefulness of <i>kenjutsu</i> in the modern era.
1883	The Ministry of Education commissions the National Gymnastics Institute (Taisō Denshūsho) to investigate the educational value of <i>gekken</i> and <i>jūjutsu</i> .
1884	The National Gymnastics Institute announces the results of its survey disapproving the inclusion of martial arts in the education system.
1895	The Dai-Nippon Butokukai is established in Kyoto. Spurred on by the Sino-Japanese War and a rekindling of interest in the warrior spirit, martial arts contests become increasingly prevalent nationwide.
1896	The Ministry of Education commissions the School Hygiene Advisory Board to conduct an investigation into the validity of <i>kenjutsu</i> and <i>jūjutsu</i> education. Their findings suggest that these martial arts could be engaged in by physically sound boys over the age of fifteen as an extra-curricular activity. Kozawa Ichirō, Shibata Katsumi and others submit a petition at the 10th Imperial Diet Session regarding the inclusion of <i>gekken</i> as a regular subject in schools. This petition is resubmitted continually at future sessions.
1902	The Dai-Nippon Butokukai establishes an honours system and creates the titles of Kyōshi and Hanshi.
1905	The Dai-Nippon Butokukai creates a specialist training school for <i>bujutsu</i> instructors (Bujutsu Kyōin Yōseisho). Its name was later changed to Butoku Gakkō, Bujutsu Senmon Gakkō, and finally Budō Senmon Gakkō.
1906	The Dai-Nippon Butokukai Kenjutsu Kata is formulated.
1911	In accordance with changes in the "National Middle School Instruction Guidelines", <i>gekken</i> and <i>jūjutsu</i> were allowed to be added to the physical education curriculum as "regular subjects".
1912	The Dai-Nippon Teikoku Kendō Kata are formulated.
1913	The 1st National Kösen Kendō Tournament for students is held at the Kyoto Imperial University. From this time, university tournaments are conducted frequently.
1918	A name change is made to the Butokukai's honours system.
1924	A kendō competition is held at the 1st Meiji Jingū Sports Tournament.
1925	At the 50th Imperial Diet Session it is decided that <i>budō</i> would be made a compulsory subject in middle schools.
1931	The "National Middle School Curriculum Guidelines" are reviewed and <i>jūdō</i> and <i>kendō</i> are included for the first time. The "Normal School Regulations" were also modified and the value of <i>budō</i> education is emphasized.
1934	The title of <i>Renshi</i> was added to the Butokukai's honours system. A <i>budō</i> tournament is held in front of the emperor (<i>Tenran-jiai</i>) at the Saineikan in commemoration of the birth of the crown prince.
1937	The "Military Drill Curriculum" is modified. The "National Mobilization Law" is passed by the government.
1938	A goodwill student <i>budō</i> delegation (six <i>kendō</i> and six <i>jūdō</i>) was sent to Germany and Italy.
1939	The "Elementary School Budō Instruction Guidelines" are established, and boys in their fifth year and above at elementary schools are to learn <i>budō</i> as a compulsory subject.
1940	The "National Law on Physical Strength" is promulgated.
1941	Issuance of the "National School Ordinance" (kokumin gakkō).
1945	Budō participation is completely banned in any form at schools.
1946	The Dai-Nippon Butokukai is not allowed from dissolving of its own volition, and receives an ultimatum to do so from the Ministry of Education instead.
1948	A goodwill fencing and <i>kendō</i> tournament is conducted at the Tokyo Electric Company's head office <i>dōjō</i> .
1950	The All Japan Shinai-Kyōgi Federation is founded. <i>Shinai-kyōgi</i> is developed as a new sporting version of <i>kendō</i> .
1952	The All Japan Kendo Federation is established.
1953	The 1st All Japan Kendo Championship is held at the Kuramae Kokugikan.
1957	The All Japan Corporate (Jitsugyōdan) Kendo Federation is formed.
1961	The All Japan Students Kendo Federation is established.

Year	Events in Kendo's Historical Development
1964	The Nippon Budokan is officially opened. <i>Kendō</i> , <i>kyūdō</i> , and <i>sumō</i> feature as Olympic demonstration sports. <i>Jūdō</i> is competed as an official Olympic event for the first time at the Tokyo Olympics.
1970	The International Kendo Federation (FIK) is formed, and the 1st World Kendo Championships are held.

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Endnotes

- In the entry concerning Emperor Sujin in the Nihon Shoki (Chronicles of Japan), Toyoki-no-Mikoto, the son of Emperor Sujin, dreamt he climbed Mt. Mimuro and wielded a spear and sword eight times towards the east.
- 2. In the Köyö-gunkan there is a section that states, "Tsukahara Bokuden was travelling throughout the land to perfect his swordsmanship, he was accompanied by no less than three falcons, three horses for his own use, and a retinue of eighty students of high and low rank-on foot. This display earned him the respect of the military houses he passed on his travels and was a ploy fitting for a master of strategy." (English translation by John Rogers). This account is probably an exaggeration, but the anecdote gives us an indication of the importance placed on mushashugyō in that period.
- 3. There are eighteen main martial arts, although the emphasis placed on each differs from period to period. The so-called "three pole-weapons" included the tsukubō, sasumata, and the sodegarami.
- 4. The confusion experienced by the Bakufu and people of Edo is evident as one observer notes "the peaceful slumber of the country was unsettled by merely four [steam] ships."
- 5. Kawaji Toshiyoshi "Kendō Saikō-ron"
 - "After the Restoration, it seemed that swordsmanship was useless. However, the Japanese sword proved its worth in close-quarter battles, and I would very much like to revive its use once again. Although *gekken* is practiced in other civilized countries, ours chose to ban it. I believe that it must be re-instated. When the time comes, I am ready to give up everything, and will devote myself to its restoration with no regrets."

 "Police officers must not participate and give orders in government affairs. That is not the attitude we should
 - "Police officers must not participate and give orders in government affairs. That is not the attitude we should maintain. As police, we should always give our utmost in our service, and we will advance as a matter of course by being faithful to the nation. There is no other way other than this; and so, even if we adopt swordsmanship, it will not be a hindrance to the opening and enlightenment of the country."
 - "All police officers should be strong to execute their duties, and we need men who temper their bodies as swordsmen do."
- 6. Makimura Masanao "Kenjutsu Yūgai-ron"
 - "Recently gekken is seen everywhere as our country navigates a cultural swing. But it is highly unlikely that gekken will be successful as it makes people aggressive and it may lead to hurting others as sword practitioners mislead themselves. As the old saying goes, 'A little learning is a dangerous thing.' Moreover, it damages health, rattles the brain; dangerous thrusts to the chest, throat or face can affect respiratory function, and randomly jumping around causing painful palpations, yelling and the like are all excessive actions detrimental to one's wellbeing. Rather than spending valuable time on such harmful activities and making the mind and body suffer, if we are committed to other jobs and work hard, we can help our country and families prosper far more effectively. Please understand what this means, and by no means let yourself be misled."
- 7. When the International Kendo Federation was first formed in 1970, it was referred to as the 'IKF', but this was changed to 'FIK' in May, 2006 after becoming a member of GAISF (now SportAccord).