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‘Cultivating Character’: The Association of British Athleticism with the Educational Value of Japanese Football in *Shūkyū* Monthly Magazine (1931–41)

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Abstract

A unique aspect of Japanese football culture is that educational institutions have remained its primary exponents since its introduction in the late-nineteenth century. This paper analyses why educational institutions became so influential in Japanese football, utilizing articles published in the inaugural nationwide football magazine, *Shūkyū*, between 1931 and 41. Through a comprehensive analysis of various articles, selected essays provide evidence of (1) the eligibility of organized games to ‘cultivate character’; (2) Japanese football’s embrace and re-interpretation of the tenets of amateurism inherent in public school games; (3) the association of football participation in schools with the educational ideology of individualism; (4) the perception of sports by the educated elite as a fundamental element of Japanese education, rallying against the public perception that sports and schoolwork could be adequately balanced. Additionally, articles highlight the prominent role played by the Japanese ‘educated elite’ in promoting and disseminating the values of English association football as components of Japanese football culture, influenced by their ability to translate overseas sports media. This paper concludes that Japanese football literature was influential in disseminating the role of sport and education, which came to personify the institutionalization of the sport throughout the country.

Keywords

Japanese football; education; athleticism; individualism; character

Japanese Media and the Consolidation of Football Culture

Prominent studies of Japanese sports history underline that modern Japanese sports are a consolidation of indigenous and imported western culture.¹ However, the historiography of Japanese football has primarily omitted how this fusion was formed and incorporated the necessary ideologies during the sport’s development during the earlier period. In particular, the role of the media in supporting the integration of the concept through football culture was dropped. In this context, the Japanese football magazine, *Shūkyū*, is suggestive. Utilizing five articles published in the earliest Japanese nationwide football

¹ Allen Guttman and Lee Thompson, *Japanese Sports: A History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 1.

magazine, *Shūkyū* (Football), published between October 1931 and April 1974, this paper analyses how Japanese footballing media diffused Western values and its influence on the institutionalization of football throughout the country, focusing on football's capability to facilitate 'character' development, its influence on the embracement of British amateurism, the promotion of individualism, and how participation was justified alongside conventional education.

Shūkyū (Football): The Earliest Football Media in Japan

Shūkyū, a monthly magazine published by the Japan Football Association (JFA), was the only national Japanese periodical with a football-specific focus before the Second World War. JFA president Jikichi Imamura indicated that the magazine's purpose was to disseminate information relating to domestic and overseas football with the outcome of developing players able to compete in the emerging international football arena.² The publication functioned as a 'strategy guide', diffusing specialized information for developing domestic football players instead of general reading material for fans. This position is corroborated by a response to a reader's comment from the magazine's editorial staff identifying that the publication was intended to inform the 'training of players in secondary education institutions and higher'.³ This demographic is consistent with the list of 152 distinct teams who, following a sponsorship campaign in *Shūkyū*, provided donations that enabled the Japan national football team to travel to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games.⁴ Given that only three years prior, the JFA listed the number of football teams nationwide at 335,⁵ it can be conjectured that the magazine's readership comprised at least half of all football institutions in the country. The magazine accomplished nationwide circulation through distribution to regional football associations and direct subscriptions to the JFA.⁶ Released during the period of football's development domestically and internationally across Japan,⁷ it is a crucial source of written discourse clarifying how the media influenced the foundations of football culture in the country. Increasing American influence on the sport during the occupation period of Japan post-1945,⁸ resulted in a change in the publication's title to *Soccer*. This analysis is

² Jikichi Imamura, 'Honshi no shimei' [Mission of this magazine], *Shūkyū* [Football], October 1931, 1.

³ Gen Iwasaki, 'Dokusha no koe ichi dokusha ni kota fu' [Reader's Comments: A Response to a Reader], *Shūkyū* [Football], October 1935, 30.

⁴ Great Japan Football Association, 'Kaimu hōkoku orimupikku daihyō senshu kōen-hi ōboshā meibo' [Committee Report: List of Applicants for Sponsorship of Olympic Athletes], *Shūkyū* [Football], July 1936, 16–8; Great Japan Football Association, 'Kaimu hōkoku orimupikku daihyō senshu kōen-hi ōboshā meibo – zoku' [Committee Report: List of Applicants for Sponsorship of Olympic Athletes – Continued], *Shūkyū* [Football], September 1936, 11.

⁵ Great Japan Football Association, *Shūkyū nenkan Shōwa nana-hachi nendo* [Football Annual, 1932–33] (Tokyo: Great Japan Football Association, 1933), 97–129.

⁶ Great Japan Football Association, 'Zenkoku ni "shūkyū" shikyoku o tsukure' [Establishing "football" Branch Offices All Over the Country], *Shūkyū* [Football], January 1936, 29.

⁷ John Horne and Derek Bleakley, 'The Development of Football in Japan', in *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*, ed. John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter, (London: Routledge, 2002), 91–2.

⁸ Guttman and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 190.

restricted to articles published during the *Shūkyū* era, which literally means ‘the day of football’ in Japan, rather than the Soccer period, which was influenced by American terminology after the Second World War.

The early integration of British public school games into Japanese education was twofold. British teachers employed by the Japanese government following the ‘opening’ of the country in the aftermath of the Meiji Revolution introduced sports to students in their new workplaces.⁹ An outflow of elite Japanese scholars to prominent Western educational institutions compounded this situation, particularly those studying at British public schools and universities, who recognized the educational value of the British games ethic.¹⁰ Allen Guttman and Lee Thompson note the influence of ‘Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and other English “public schools”’ on early Japanese headmasters.¹¹ While the country willingly integrated many British-imported practices during the late nineteenth century, a strong sense of indigenous nationalism, cultivated in reaction to the Sino-Japanese (1894–5) and Russo-Japanese (1904–5) wars saw various British values reinterpreted, becoming a fusion of traditional Japanese and imported British values which would be more understandable to the Japanese public.¹² The influence of education on the development of Japanese football culture, driven by the accommodation of English public school values, has been partly clarified,¹³ but failed to examine the influence of the Japanese media in reinforcing this concept. In practice, given that Japanese football is uniquely education-centric compared with the rest of the world, explicit references to education within its literature will clarify its cultural accommodation into the mainstream Japanese football ideology. An evaluation of the 656 articles across the magazine’s first fifty-two issues discerned five significant articles exclusively examining Japanese football’s relationship with education for further analysis.

Four Analytical Perspectives

An analysis of these five literary works will identify how primary perspectives connected British athleticism values with Japanese football’s association with education during this period. Firstly, how was the concept of ‘character’ development promoted through engagement in football? Secondly, how did Japanese football embrace the idea of amateurism, a longstanding facet of the sport’s history in the country, during a critical period of its development? Thirdly, how did football participation promote individualistic tendencies? Finally, how was the balance of football participation alongside conventional education perceived? These four questions represent key milestones examining the

⁹ Dale Whitfield, ‘Education and Football: A History of the Cultural Accommodation of British Association Football into Japanese Society’, *Sport in History* 42, no. 1 (2022): 2.

¹⁰ Keiko Ikeda, ‘The History of Modern Sport in Japan: The British Influence through the Medium of Sport on Imperialism, Nationalism and Gender with Reference to the Works of J. A. Mangan’, in *Manufacturing Masculinity the Mangan Oeuvre Global Reflections on J.A. Mangan’s Studies of Masculinity, Imperialism and Militarism*, ed. Peter Horton (Berlin: Logos Verlag Berlin, 2017), 140.

¹¹ Guttman and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 81.

¹² Ikeda, ‘History of Modern Sport in Japan’, 140.

¹³ Whitfield, ‘Education and Football’, 16–7.

influence of British athleticism on the educational values associated with Japanese football during its earlier period, which continue to endure within contemporary Japanese society. Analyzing the discourse of Japan's first national football-centric media during the early period of the sport's growth, both domestically and internationally, helps to comprehend how its organizing body and principal actors interpreted the accommodation of British sporting values in Japanese football and its close association with education beyond the institutional involvement. Given that by the turn of the century, Japanese culture integrated several concepts borrowed from Britain as 'invented traditions', notably the ideals of *ryōsaikenbo* (good wife and wise mother) and *shitsujitsu-gōken* (stoical, direct, vigorous and brave),¹⁴ the values established are undoubtedly integral to the sport's long-established relationship with educational institutions.

Four Analytical Perspectives

As previously mentioned, the primary purpose of *Shūkyū* was to support the development and performance of Japanese extracurricular football players toward international success. The magazine's content reflected the embryonic state of Japanese football at that time; the popularity of the sport had not yet reached a wide enough social impact to warrant a publication for the general reading public, and a clear conception of Japanese 'football culture' had still yet to be established within the construct of Japanese society. As the country's initial sole nationwide football magazine, *Shūkyū* is critical to understanding how 'football culture' became consolidated and accepted throughout Japan. To accomplish this research aim, the initial 53 issues of *Shūkyū*, published before 1945, were selected for analysis. The titles of the 656 articles published in these issues were translated, analyzed, and categorized according to their content (Table 1). The majority of articles during this period are concerned with overseas football information and reports on the Japanese national team (136). Also prominent are articles relating to the technical, physical, and tactical preparation of football players (72), domestic football match reports (62), and information about Japanese domestic tournament football (62). Though several articles are dedicated to comments and memoirs from stakeholders in Japanese football (48), all focus on commentary surrounding the match performance and competition experience and are considered unsuitable for this study. Twenty-seven articles were identified as potentially containing information relating to the social attitudes of Japanese football stakeholders. Of these, ten were reader's comments columns, mainly about questions about the magazine and general football rules, and were discarded. Following a deeper analysis of each article's content, twelve were removed due to their focus on in-game performance and discussion of domestic football tactics.

Table 1. Categorization of articles published in *Shūkyū* before 1945

Description	Number of articles	Percentage (%)
International and overseas football competitions	136	20.7

¹⁴ Ikeda, 'History of Modern Sport in Japan', 146.

Player development and coaching	72	11.0
Match reports	62	9.5
Domestic tournament information	62	9.5
Association announcements and general news	52	7.9
Player comments and memoirs	48	7.3
Domestic league competitions	43	6.6
Regional association information	42	6.4
Association meetings and reports	36	5.5
Social attitudes	27	4.1
Postscript	23	3.5
Rules and refereeing information	18	2.7
Fictional stories	17	2.6
List of publications	10	1.5
Preface	18	1.2
Total	656	100.0

Nevertheless, the following five articles were identified and provide an invaluable explanation of Japanese people's involvement and preference for association football within the construct of acceptable cultural values and whose content warrants further examination. Furthermore, the authors of these articles help clarify the disseminators of association football during the early period of the sport's development throughout the country. These articles are: '*Kojin no chikara*' [Individual ability], '*Bengaku to undō to no kankei*' [The relationship between schoolwork and physical activity], '*Supōtsu to bengaku no mondai*' [Issues of sport and schoolwork], '*Shidō ni kansuru dansō*' [Reflections on teaching], and '*Mudai*' [Untitled].

A prevailing theme among the articles' five authors was their association with 'elite' Japanese educational institutions. This 'educated elite' were in a position to understand Western values through their knowledge of the liberal arts acquired during their experience, translating and communicating overseas football information into the Japanese language. Not only knowledge, but they received and assimilated ethics and values inherent in English public school games.¹⁵ For instance, Ryūtarō Fukao, a graduate of Hitotsubashi University and a baron in Japan's House of Peers, was a prominent businessman and a critical exponent of Japanese sports governance,¹⁶ a director of the Great Japan Association of Physical Education and president of the Great Japan Football

¹⁵ Ibid., 140; Guttman and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 81.

¹⁶ 'Sokaiya Foundations and History', *Japanese Economy* 26, no. 3 (1998), 42.

Association.¹⁷ In his September 1935 article '*Kojin no chikara*' [Individual ability], Fukao asserts that football participation is congruent with developing a personality and characteristics desired by a new business model, interspersing the word 'business' with the introduction of Western capitalism by that time.¹⁸ Chōjirō Hayasaka, a teacher at the Hamamatsu Daiichi Chūgaku, a secondary school in Japan's Shizuoka prefecture and secretary of the Hamamatsu branch of the Tokai Football Association,¹⁹ authored an article in December 1935 entitled '*Bengaku to undō to no kankei*' [The relationship between schoolwork and physical activity]. Hayasaka's article analyses the co-existence of sports and schooling within the Japanese secondary school education structure. A follow-up to Hayasaka's article was published in June 1936 by Genzaburō Noguchi, entitled '*Supōtsu to bengaku no mondai*' [Issues of sport and schoolwork]. Noguchi, a graduate of Tokyo Higher Normal School (now the University of Tsukuba), was a decathlete who competed for Japan at the 1920 Antwerp Summer Olympic Games, later becoming an educator.²⁰ Ryōsaku Konagaya, a regular contributor to *Shūkyū* and a graduate of Tokyo Bunrika University (now the University of Tsukuba), was an acknowledged translator of overseas materials,²¹ who later served as a football preparation committee member for the aborted 1940 Tokyo Summer Olympic Games.²² In December 1937, he published '*Shidō ni kansuru dansō*' [Reflections on teaching], providing guidance to those responsible for coaching football in secondary schools, clarifying their role in contrast to conventional school educators. In August 1940, Taizo Kawamoto, a graduate of Waseda University and a prominent representative of the Japanese national team in the pre- and post-Second World War,²³ published an article entitled '*Mudai*' [Untitled], in which he reflects on his experiences as a player until that point. These five contributors, as elite Japanese scholars with an outlet in the form of the country's only nationwide football magazine, were pivotal in discussions regarding the role of football and its development throughout the country.

¹⁷ Hiroshi Kagawa, '*Kazoku de kizoku-in giin. Berurin gorin e daihyō o okuri seika o ageta, dai 2-dai JFA kaichō Fukao Ryūtarō*' [A Member of the House of Lords. Ryūtarō Fukao, the Second JFA President, Who Sent a Team to the Berlin Olympics], *Gekkan Guran* [GRUN Monthly], June 2008.

¹⁸ Ikeda, 'History of Modern Sport in Japan', 142.

¹⁹ Chōjirō Hayasaka, '*Bengaku to undō to no kankei*' [The Relationship Between Schoolwork and Physical Activity], *Shūkyū* [Football], December 1935, 21.

²⁰ Juntendo University's Faculty of Physical Education, '*Ryakureki (Noguchi Genzaburō kyōju tsuitō)*' [Biography (In Memory of Professor Genzaburō Noguchi)], *Bulletin of the Faculty of Physical Education, Juntendo University* 10, (1967–12): 1–2.

²¹ In addition to translating foreign works for publication in *Shūkyū*, in 1934, Konagaya published *Daigaku no shimei* [The Mission of the University] based primarily on a translation of the contents of Martin Heidegger's *Die selbstbehauptung der Deutschen universität* [The Self-Assertion of the German University]. Ryōsaku Konagaya, '*Daigaku no shimei*' [The Mission of the University], *The Japanese Journal of Educational Research* 2, no. 12 (1934): 1513–21.

²² '*Gōka sukejūru sekai shūkyū seiha e gaikoku san chīmu shōhei*' [Invitation of Three Foreign Teams to Conquer World Football], Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, March 3, 1937.

²³ Hiroshi Kagawa, '*Tengoku no shūto no meijin to no kaiwa*' [Conversation with the Master of the Heavenly Shot], *Sakkā Magajin* [Soccer Magazine], July 1998; Japan Football Association, 'JFA Hall of Fame Inductee: KAWAMOTO Taizo', Japan Football Association, https://www.jfa.jp/eng/about_jfa/hall_of_fame/member/KAWAMOTO_Taizo.html (accessed January 23, 2022).

The Cultivation of ‘Character’ Through Football Participation

Despite Western sports’ longstanding relationship with Japanese educational institutions, the link between football and education was not consistently clear and historically subject to heavy debate. Notably, baseball’s case was argued and consolidated around the *Yakyū Gaidoku Ron* [Baseball Canker Controversy]. This argument was relevant to the initial impressions of Japanese high society, composed of educationalists, who initially admonished baseball’s popularity, though Japanese society later acclimated to this new sports culture. This campaign comprised a 21-day series of essays presented in the Tokyo Asahi Shimbun newspaper between August and September 1911.²⁴ These articles contained anti-baseball rhetoric from prominent Japanese educators and intellectuals who denounced the adverse effects of baseball on the development of ‘model students’.²⁵ Most consistent was the argument that participation in baseball was a burden to students, resulting in a neglect of schoolwork and an impact on their studies. Despite the criticism of baseball in the Japanese national media, football primarily avoided a similar association and flourished within Japanese schools and universities. This response signifies that football was so far removed from similar protests, although the criticism of baseball was evidence of the public fervour towards this new sport.

In contrast, Japanese football was strongly associated with the concept of education from its inception as a quote from the series’ initial article (August 29, 1911) written by the then headmaster of the First Higher School, Inazō Nitobe, provides some insight into the positive perception of football in Japanese education:

The game of baseball is, to put it mildly, a game for pickpockets, in which the opposing team must be kept on the sharp end of their nerves, looking in all directions for ways to deceive, trick or steal the bases. This is why it suits Americans but never Englishmen or Germans. The British national sport of football, which is played with courage and vigour that even if one’s nose is crooked or one’s jawbone is twisted, one can still take a bite out of the ball, cannot be played by an American.²⁶

Nitobe’s proclamation highlights the unfavourable perception of baseball’s ethical code in contrast to British and European sports, notably football. His argument undoubtedly references Japanese educators’ perception of English public school games’ eligibility in ‘developing manliness’ and ‘forming character’,²⁷ which ‘led directly to a Japanese late-

²⁴ William W. Kelly, ‘The Spirit and Spectacle of School Baseball: Mass Media, Statemaking, and “Edu-tainment” in Japan, 1905–1935’, *Senri Ethnological Studies* 52, (2000): 107.

²⁵ Yuji Ishizaki, ‘*Yakyū gaidoku ronsō (Senkyūhyakujūicbinen) saikō: ‘Kyōiku ronsō’ to shite no kanōsei o tegakari to shite* [Reconsideration of “Baseball Canker Controversy (1911): “As the Key Practice Toward the Possibilities of Educational Controversy”], *Japan Journal of Sport Sociology* 11, (2003): 116.

²⁶ Inazō Nitobe, ‘*Yakyū gaidoku ron*’ [Baseball Canker Controversy], *Tokyo Asahi Shimbun*, August 29, 1911.

²⁷ J. A. Mangan, ‘Empires: West and East—Curious Conjunction and Contemporary Consequences, Complexity and Circumstances’, in *Japanese Imperialism: Politics and Sport in East Asia*, ed. J. A. Mangan and others (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 15.

nineteenth-century concept of “sportsmanship” linked closely to traditional Japanese concepts of education’.²⁸

As is well-known through the exhaustive research works of J. A. Mangan, ‘character’, a concept comprising varying psychosocial and moral qualities including ‘physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to command and obey’,²⁹ was initially conceived by Victorian public school educators, facilitated by organized games.³⁰ Depictions of team sports in British literature, most notably Thomas Hughes’ *Tom Brown’s School Days*, helped reinforce this belief worldwide.³¹ While this ideology remained confined to the public schools in Britain, Chōjirō Hayasaka, a secondary school teacher and secretary of the Hamamatsu branch of the Tokai Football Association, notes in his article ‘*Bengaku to undō to no kankei*’ [The relationship between schoolwork and physical activity], published in *Shūkyū* (December 1935), that this concept was universally associated with football participation throughout Japan:

I am more aware of the necessity of physical education and the development of character in secondary schools. Physical education and the cultivation of character are necessary for each individual, and there should be no single person who dislikes exercise or who is not of good moral character.³²

Genzaburō Noguchi emphasizes the significance of sport for the development of character within the Japanese school curriculum by stating: ‘In secondary schools, school education aims to educate the whole person, not just impart knowledge. The school’s goals are the development of the body, the cultivation of emotions, and the training of the will’.³³ It is notable that Noguchi recorded the above opinion in his article ‘*Supōtsu to bengaku no mondai*’ [Issues of sport and schoolwork], in *Shūkyū* (June 1936). The views of Hayasaka and Noguchi appear to have mirrored the beliefs of many Victorian public school educators, notably Edward Thring, of whom Mangan notes: ‘There could be no separation of parts in sound educational practice wherever the whole training of the heart, mind and body was undertaken’.³⁴ However, such casual references to the nineteenth-century British educational ideology within the context of Japanese football were not entirely coincidental. Ryōsaku Konagaya, reinforces that the purpose of football participation goes beyond physical development but should promote various psychological and social tendencies associated with the ‘spirit of the game’:

²⁸ Ibid., 20.

²⁹ J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (London: Routledge, 2000), 9.

³⁰ Ibid., 55; Gideon Dishon, ‘Games of Character: Team Sports, Games, and Character Development in Victorian public schools, 1850–1900’, *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 4 (2017): 366–9.

³¹ Gerald Redmond, ‘The First Tom Brown’s Schooldays: Origins and Evolution of “Muscular Christianity” in Children’s Literature, 1762–1857’, *Quest* 30, no. 1 (1978): 4–18.

³² Hayasaka, ‘*Bengaku to undō to no kankei*’, 21–2.

³³ Genzaburō Noguchi, ‘*Supōtsu to bengaku no mondai*’ [Issues of Sport and Schoolwork], *Shūkyū* [Football], June 1936, 19.

³⁴ Mangan, *Athleticism*, 56.

The primary purpose of teaching football is to make students understand football's theoretical system and improve their skills, but even more important is for them to master the spirit of the game. Football is a game that demands patience and justice, patience in practice, fighting with all one's might in a match, avoiding cowardice and acting bravely.³⁵

The values Konagaya associates with the spirit of football, such as 'justice', 'fighting with all one's might', and 'avoiding cowardice', epitomize the features associated with the development of character in Victorian and Edwardian public schools, echoing the ethical concepts of 'truth', 'sacrifice', and a 'feeling of responsibility' that British educationalist E. P. Hughes references in her 1902 article 'The Ethical Ideal of the English Public Schoolboy', composed for Japanese readers with an accompanying Japanese translation.³⁶ Despite the thirty-year interval between the publication of Hughes' and Konogaya's articles, studies examining the period of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–22) assert that British 'athleticism' merged with concepts of Confucianism, Buddhism, and traditional Japanese concepts of the *bushi*-spirit (the Japanese chivalrous spirit of the samurai) into a novel indigenous Japanese 'athleticism', referred to as a 'new *bushido*'.³⁷ Therefore, these values were clear evidence that they are echoed by, among other authors, Ryūtarō Fukao, noting the five qualities he associates with reliable and trustworthy young men and is congruent with the new western-influenced business model emerging within the country:

If we ask what kind of young man we are looking for, he should possess the following five qualities: Be enthusiastic about his duties; show a strong sense of responsibility; possess a strong spirit of sacrifice; be creative; show physical toughness. This is the spirit of sport, which all sportsmen should live by in their daily lives.³⁸

Fukao's assertion reinforces the example, ensuring the relationship between sports participation and building character, with four of the designated qualities, the need for 'enthusiasm', 'responsibility', 'a spirit of sacrifice', and 'physical toughness' rooted in nineteenth-century British Athleticism as Mangan exemplifies:

Physical exercise was taken considerably and compulsorily, in the sincere belief of many, however romantic, misplaced or myopic, that it was a highly effective means of inculcating valuable instrumental and impressive educational goals: physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well,

³⁵ Ryōsaku Konagaya, 'Shidō ni kansuru dansō' [Reflections on Teaching], *Shūkyū* [Football], December 1937, 25.

³⁶ E. P. Hughes, 'The Ethical Ideal of the English Public School Boy', *Kokushi* [Patriot] 5, no. 41 (1902): 4–7; E.P. Hughes, 'Eikoku gakusei no rinriteki shisō' [A Japanese Translation of 'The Ethical Ideal of the English Public School Boy'], *Kokushi* [Patriot] 5, no. 42 (1902): 6–9; Keiko Ikeda, 'British Cultural Influence and Japan: Elizabeth Phillips Hughes's Visit for Educational Research in 1901–1902', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31, no. 15 (2014): 1931–2.

³⁷ Ikeda, 'History of Modern Sport in Japan', 140–2.

³⁸ Ryūtarō Fukao, 'Kojin no chikara' [Individual Ability], *Shūkyū* [Football], September 1935, 3.

the ability to both command and obey. These were the famous ingredients of character training which the public schools considered their pride and prerogative.³⁹

With neither a sportsman nor an educator background, Fukao's son, who played football at Fifth High School (now Kumamoto University), is credited for his involvement in sports governance.⁴⁰ How did his beliefs mirror those of English public school athleticism so implicitly? A potential solution presents itself in Fukao's position as a prominent international businessman. Between 1868 and 1889, 2,299 government-employed foreign experts, the so-called *oyatoi*, migrated to Japan, with the majority (928) hired from Britain to perform various roles,⁴¹ including 'commanding steamships'.⁴² During the Meiji era (1868–1912), British influence in Japan was more substantial than any other foreign power,⁴³ with the significance of this relationship fortified with the signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–22). As the president of two shipping companies, it is evident that he would have come into contact with numerous former public schoolboys from Britain, who impressed upon him the virtues of athleticism. These assertions may have been confirmed by observing the cultivation of similar concepts in his son associated with his participation in football.

Sports participation functioned as an essential factor in a 'complete education' of Japanese schoolboys, reflecting the English public school conviction that 'games function as simulations that prepare students for the graver challenges of adult life',⁴⁴ with the development of *esprit de corps* (team spirit) underpinning this fanatic encouragement of games.⁴⁵ The aforementioned Hayasaka references this association, accentuating the role of sports within education to train people as members of broader society:

The education of the present time requires learning without participation in physical activity, an educational concept rooted in the past. The present education emphasises 'character building' for the future members of society. There is no reason why a country should spend so much money on educating the elite, whose health is essential in their role in the administration of international affairs. Learning and physical education should go hand in hand.⁴⁶

Hayasaka is explicit in his association of sports participation with character development, maintaining the educational value of sports, stating: 'If there is a division of labour

³⁹ Mangan, *Athleticism*, 9.

⁴⁰ Japan Football Association, 'JFA Hall of Fame Inductee: FUKAO Ryutaro', Japan Football Association, https://www.jfa.jp/eng/about_jfa/hall_of_fame/member/FUKAO_Ryutaro.html (accessed January 19, 2022).

⁴¹ Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, *Shiryō oyatoigaikokujin* [Materials Relating to Government-Employed Foreign Experts] (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1975), 493.

⁴² W.G. Beasley, *The Rise of Modern Japan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000): 88.

⁴³ Olive Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868–1912*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989), 17.

⁴⁴ Dishon, 'Games of Character', 364.

⁴⁵ J. A. Mangan, 'Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in the Victorian and Edwardian Eras', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 15, no. 4 (1983): 322–3.

⁴⁶ Hayasaka, '*Bengaku to undō to no kankei*', 24.

between studies and sports, sports will turn into entertainment, and sports for the purpose of entertainment should not be considered in secondary schools' and not allowing students to 'warm to the idea of winning.'⁴⁷ While such declarations are likely made tongue-in-cheek, his underlying message is clear: sports participation's primary purpose is not to seek enjoyment or victory but to facilitate educational outcomes. The conception of sports participation as a facilitator of character development within Japanese education, and an essential factor for psychological and social growth required in adulthood, is noted by Taizō Kawamoto, a renowned football player for the Japanese national team before and after the Second World War and graduate of Waseda University, to be a view not just limited to select elite institutions, but supported by state policy:

Both learning and sports make a man. The point is that human beings should be formed. This is the view of the new Minister of Education, Mr. (Kunihiko) Hashida, on sports. Few education ministers have said this much, but it is important to savour these words. How can we build human beings through sport? It is not about taking a giant leap forward. It is not about being a good athlete. It is about devotion, about striving to move forward.⁴⁸

When mentioning 'character', Kawamoto's reference to sports being a vital component of making men alludes to the concept of rugged manliness that emerged in Victorian Britain, centred on the capacity to endure and overcome challenges,⁴⁹ of which public school games played a significant role.⁵⁰ He reveals that the acknowledgement of the values associated with British athleticism had not been restricted solely to individual educators and sports enthusiasts but had been recognized by those within the Japanese government, helping to contextualize the widespread acceptance of extra-curricular sports within Japanese education. Such an assumption is probable given the increasingly militaristic education policies that had permeated Japan around the publication time of this article.⁵¹ Kawamoto goes on to reinforce the integration of 'character building' outcomes as a component of Japanese educational policy, highlighting the contrast in discipline between themselves and foreign players, whose participation in the sport did not conform with similar educational ideologies:

The match against the Philippines at the Far Eastern Championship Games was utterly misguided. A newspaper reviewed: 'The Japanese team's struggle was not due to a mistake in their tactics. If this was not a tactical problem, then there must have been a more fundamental flaw. The Filipino players were sluggish, looking very

⁴⁷ Ibid., 22.

⁴⁸ Taizō Kawamoto, 'Mudai' [Untitled], *Shūkyū* [Football], August 1940, 30.

⁴⁹ Paul R. Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850–1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 5; John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 2005), 34.

⁵⁰ Mangan, *Athleticism*, 9.

⁵¹ Yoshimitsu Khan, 'Schooling Japan's Imperial Subjects in the Early Shōwa Period', *History of Education* 29, no. 3 (2000): 219–22.

different from the exceptional players we had expected, and as such, there was no way they could have competed in the rain.⁵²

Kawamoto indicates that these beliefs conflict with the public perception of sports in Japan during this period noting, 'It would be nice to have a sense of what it means to play sports, at least in these times, regardless of what anyone else says'.⁵³ Finally, he affirms that these concepts had been firmly accommodated into Japanese culture, indicating that they were 'based on a Japanese view of the world'.⁵⁴

The Adaptation of Amateurism in Japanese Football

Japanese athletes subscribed to the moral educational values embedded within English public school athleticism, exemplified by their response to being ordered to continue participating despite being the targets repeatedly for unsportsmanlike behaviour at the 7th Far Eastern Championship Games (1925), stating; 'Amateurism is ours ... Even if the Japanese Imperial Society of Physical Education sent us back to Japan ... we should stick to the principle of amateurism and the important spirit of fair play'.⁵⁵ Though this example exemplifies Japanese athletes' idealism and indifference to political pressure and their attachment to the ideals of amateurism in its purest form, the increasing internationalization of sport during this period coupled with the country's aspiration to develop into a competitive football country feasibly instigated a more literal interpretation of the concept. Japan's high regard for British amateur values is personified in the article 'Profile of the British team' (*Eigun no yokogao*), which details the visit of Islington Corinthians,⁵⁶ an English amateur football team visiting the country and their match against a team comprised of players from the Kantō region of Japan. The English team's name is in reference to Corinthians Football Club, famous champions and promoters of amateurism worldwide, with the Islington club formed under comparable values.⁵⁷ Even at that time, the club was renowned even within Japan, with JFA honorary secretary Shigeyoshi Suzuki stating: 'The London Corinthians visit to the orient will be unforgettable, and it is a great pleasure for Japanese football, which is still in the process of developing, to be able to welcome a top team from football's homeland'.⁵⁸ In conjunction with Japan's respect for British amateur ideals, this close association ensured

⁵² Kawamoto, 'Mudai', 31.

⁵³ Ibid., 30.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Keiko Ikeda and J. A. Mangan, 'Towards the Construction of a New Regionalism? The End of East Asian Colonialism: Japanese Responses and Reactions to the Games of Asia', in *Japanese Imperialism: Politics and Sport in East Asia*, ed. J. A. Mangan and others (London: Palgrave, 2018), 340–1.

⁵⁶ Daniel Gorman, 'Amateurism, Imperialism, Internationalism and the First British Empire Games', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 4 (2010): 613.

⁵⁷ For further reading regarding the Islington Corinthians and their 1937–38 world tour, see Rob Cavallini, *Around the World in 95 Games* (Surrey: Dog 'N' Duck Publications, 2008) and R. B. Alaway *Football All Round the World* (London: Newservice, 1948).

⁵⁸ Japan Football Association, *Nihon Sakkā no Ayumi* [The Progress of Soccer in Japan]. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1974), 108.

that the resultant match between the two teams would set a benchmark for Japanese football. However, the article's contributor, expecting a strong performance, was subsequently disappointed, lamenting the poor showing of the English team:

The long-awaited match between the British Islington Corinthians Club, which had previously played 80 matches and achieved 58 victories, and the Kantō team was a great disappointment to us, with the British team was too tired to perform to their full potential, losing 4-0. However, I believe that the association's invitation to the Corinthians team was not for nothing, as it introduced the British team and British residents in Japan to the country's excellent football and gave them an appreciation of the game's standing.⁵⁹

Ultimately, the Japanese team's victory vindicated Japan's amateur values, indicating that they were as good as any of the predominant amateur British teams. Thomas Smith, manager of the Corinthians team, reinforces this position, stating: 'Although we suffered such a terrible defeat, we are not displeased. We are glad to see the excellence of the Japanese team. They are as good as any of our British amateur teams'.⁶⁰ Regardless of the result, the Japanese took great enjoyment from the match and appreciated watching a good demonstration of amateurism values from a prominent British advocate.

The widespread acceptance of British amateur values appears linked to the perception of sports participation as a critical component of Japanese schooling, exemplified by Genzaburō Noguchi's negative discourse concerning Japanese students' over-enthusiasm toward participation in sport at the expense of their schoolwork, declaring, 'However, it may be noted that there are rare students who are so devoted to athletics that they neglect their studies. This kind of athlete cannot be regarded as a true sportsman'.⁶¹ His statement appears to echo the current concept of a 'well-rounded education', with facets equivalent to the nineteenth-century moral code of 'sportsmanship', an unwritten code of honour that stresses the importance of, amongst others, good behaviours, manners, integrity, and honesty, which underpinned the principles of amateurism,⁶² the dominant ideology in British sport between the 1860s and 1960s.⁶³ Noguchi's remarks also reflect the sentiments of amateur athletes regarding specialized physical preparation in sport, with it commonly remarked that amateurs' rejected the idea of a specialized form of physical preparation for sport. Amateur sport was a celebration of the 'natural, unforced qualities of the human body'.⁶⁴ Noguchi's statement recalls the differences from the specialization that professionalism demands and is juxtaposed with preceding references to 'athletics teachers' and 'managers' who

⁵⁹ Shoji Ohashi [大橋正路], 'Eigun no yokogao' [Profile of the British Team], *Shūkyū* [Football], June 1938, 15.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 18.

⁶¹ Noguchi, 'Supōtsu to bengaku no mondai', 20.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Richard Holt, 'Amateurism and the English Gentleman: The Anatomy of a Sporting Culture', *Japan Journal of the History of Physical Education and Sport*, no. 27 (2010): 75.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 81.

could operate as leaders to balance sports participation and schoolwork commitments.⁶⁵ Noguchi demonstrates how the amateurism concept evolved, adapting the inherited nineteenth-century British concept to suit the 1920s competitive international sporting arena, requiring adherence to specialist training by those ‘paid to improve performance (professional trainers)’.⁶⁶ However, during this period in Japan, school teachers undertook the function of athletic trainers. While this is not any indication of Japan softening its stance toward professionalism, it is notable that during this decade, most Japanese Olympic athletes were students educated at ‘elite’ educational institutions. Likewise, Ryōsaku Konagaya references the influence of ‘school coaches’ in football instruction in schools, though he emphasizes the need for educationalists who encompass a broader social pedagogy:

Coaches should consider that they are also educators. It is not only the conventional educators who monopolise school education but everybody who composes society and instructs those who belong to it. These are all social duties. The aforementioned must educate differently compared to school educators and thus assist them in their work. If teaching football breaks away entirely from what school educators have previously done, it is not beneficial within the educational sphere.⁶⁷

Similarly to Noguchi, the aforementioned Konagaya’s views conflict with ‘pure’ amateurism principles, as he expressly acknowledges that a coach’s instructions differ from those of their conventional school colleagues. Consequently, even the coach, a specialised role in professional sports, was reinterpreted and conceptualized Japanese football’s extended adherence to amateur values within its most influential football magazine without mentioning payment for sports participation, rather than rejecting specialized physical preparation methods.⁶⁸

Promoting Individualism as a Consequence of Football Participation

The increased influx of overseas values and ideals following the Meiji Restoration resulted in numerous societal changes, promulgating the embracement of individualism in numerous private Japanese educational institutions, influenced by the global New

⁶⁵ Noguchi, ‘*Supōtsu to bengaku no mondai*’, 18–9.

⁶⁶ Holt, ‘Amateurism and English Gentleman’, 77.

⁶⁷ Konagaya, ‘*Shidō ni kansuru dansō*’, 24.

⁶⁸ Following the aftermath of World War Two and prior to the establishment of the professional J. League in 1992, *jitsugyō-dan* (corporate-amateur clubs), extra-curricular football teams organized and funded by prominent Japanese companies for their employees, slowly began to emerge and challenge the domination of universities in Japanese football. These organizations were classified as ostensibly ‘amateur teams’ since the payments received by players were designated for their work duties within the company. However, the reality is that such arrangements had more in common with the British pre-professionalism period during the late 1870s and early 1880s, when players would dedicate extensive amounts of time to footballing activities and relatively little time to their actual work duties. This concept of ‘corporate-amateur’ teams continues to endure within the structure of Japanese football today. Whitfield, ‘Education and football’, 11.

Education Movement.⁶⁹ While this trend was most prevalent during the *Taishō* period (1912–26), by the 1930s, the establishment of liberal education inadvertently prepared the country for the adoption of fascism, which prioritized learning based on internal motivation,⁷⁰ ultimately influencing the adaptation of limited individualism, as defined during the period, within Japanese education. As Katsumi Irie notes, the conversion of individualistic tendencies inherent in Japanese education during the ‘*Taishō* democracy movement’ resulted in a new understanding of ‘liberal education’ conforming to fascist ideologies.⁷¹ Without exception, several articles acknowledge the continuity of football as a medium to foster individualism within the construct of Japanese education. The aforementioned Konagaya proclaims the following assertion relating to the individualistic nature of football participation: ‘Football is the most individualistic sport. Of course, the full potential of each individual is fundamental and necessary, but it must never be for the sake of oneself. As an individual, one must play the most prominent role for the good of the whole.’⁷² Why was Japanese society able to embrace ‘this individualism’? Konagaya’s description of football as the most individualistic sport, and the necessity for each individual to exert their full potential, references the concept of individual players working together to achieve success for the whole team.⁷³ By stating that the role played by each individual should be for the good of the whole, Konagaya conceptualizes the perseverance of individualism within Japanese education through the medium of sports as an instrument for developing independent imperial subjects possessing an unwavering loyalty to the nation. His view is consistent with the stance of British educationalist Cyril Norwood who said of public school games, ‘the lesson to be learnt by each individual is the subordination of self in order that he may render his best service as the member of the team in which he relies upon the rest’.⁷⁴ Ryūtarō Fukao parallels Konagaya’s sentiments, referring to the necessity for developing individual capability in his article, despite the predominant ideology of traditional collectivism throughout the country. Fukao’s statement outlines this, ‘In recent times, it is not unusual to be blinded by the power of the organizational structure or of the selection process and to underestimate the power of the individual’.⁷⁵ He outlines several qualities required of individuals to prosper

⁶⁹ Kazumasa Suzuki, ‘*Kindai kyōiku seido to Taishō shinkyōikuundō: Kyōikugaku ni okeru sho gainen no kentō o chūshin ni*’ [The Modern Educational System and the Taisho New Educational Movement: An Examination of Concepts in Pedagogy], *Kyōiku kenkyū jissen hōkokushi* [Journal of Educational Research and Practice] 1, no. 1 (2017): 34–6.

⁷⁰ Keiko Miyauchi Ikeda, ‘The Body from the Perspective of the Historical Phase in Society’, in *Sport Science and Studies in Asia: Issues, Reflections and Emergent Solutions*, ed. Michael Chia and Jasson Chiang (Singapore: World Scientific, 2010), 224–5.

⁷¹ Katsumi Irie, *Taishō Jiyū Yaiiku no Kenkyū* [The Study of Liberal Physical Education in the Taisho Period] (Tokyo: Fumaido Publishing, 1993), 131.

⁷² Konagaya, ‘*Shidō ni kansuru dansō*’, 25.

⁷³ Ricardo Duarte, D. Araujo, V. Correia and K. Davids, ‘Sports Teams as Superorganisms’, *Sports Medicine* 42, no. 8 (2012): 633.

⁷⁴ Cyril Norwood, *The English Tradition of Education* (London: John Murray, 1929), 143.

⁷⁵ Fukao, 3.

in Japanese corporations, asserting that football participation is optimal for their development:

This is the spirit of sport, which all sportsmen should live by in their daily lives. This spirit of sacrifice, of forgetting oneself for the good of the whole, is most evident in the game of football. In this way, they will be respected and admired by all, and in all their duties, they will be held in high esteem by all.⁷⁶

Fukao expands upon the conception of sports participation as a conduit for individualism, asserting the necessity for individuals devoted to the spirit of sport to support the development and progress of the nation toward a more promising future:

The future of this new Japan rests on the shoulders of previous generations and the shoulders of you all individually. I do not doubt that those of you who are fully committed to the spirit of sport will be able to bear the burden of your duties, raise your strength, and create a brighter future for this new Japan.⁷⁷

Football undoubtedly influenced a change in Japanese people's attitudes, promulgating individualism through the spirit of sport. As a team sport, football encapsulated the principles of 'European individualism',⁷⁸ facilitating its acceptance within traditionally collectivist Japanese culture. The repeated association of football participation with the development of individual tendencies is conceivably a reference to the organized games that emerged in Victorian public schools. Such games could be conceptualized as the initial instigators of individualism in British education,⁷⁹ creating 'the confidence to lead and the compulsion to follow',⁸⁰ the basis of imperial command. Mangan notes the influence of English sport on Japanese society during this period:

English 'sportsmanship' led directly to a Japanese late nineteenth-century concept of 'sportsmanship' linked closely to traditional Japanese concepts of education, nationalism and militarism to create strong bodies for a strong state. English 'sportsmanship' was admired because it was perceived as the source of British Imperialism: global power achieved by strong bodies of a strong state.

The British imperialist used sport as a means of hegemonic control. The Japanese imperialist, inspired by the success, grandeur and extent of the largest land and sea empire in the history of the world, did likewise: a posteriori subscription to a perceived effect and cause!⁸¹

⁷⁶ Ibid, 3.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Kanji Nishio, *Yōroppa no kojīn shugi: Hito wa jiyū to iu shisō ni tae rareru ka* [European individualism: Can people stand the idea of freedom?] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1969), 114–27.

⁷⁹ Stefan Collini, 'The Idea of 'Character' in Victorian Political Thought', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 35, (1985): 48–9.

⁸⁰ J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 18.

⁸¹ Mangan, *Empires: West and East*, 20.

The nurturing of creative, self-reliant individuals possessing an unwavering loyalty to authority and the nation was a fundamental tenet of British imperialism; it is inconceivable that Japan would have forsaken this just as its own imperial ambitions were intensifying. Teachers were critical instigators of individualism within Japanese education for the Great Japanese Empire, with secondary school teacher Chōjirō Hayasaka presenting detailed descriptions of the four different types of students that participated in his football team, categorizing them as: 1) students who will have to find employment immediately after graduation due to family circumstances, and who account for the majority of his members; 2) students who have little to no interest in academic matters but are enthusiastic about exercise; 3) students whose family circumstances mean they are expected to progress to senior school, subsequently prioritizing academic study over physical activity; and 4) students who have no goals or aspirations, and are considered outcasts within the school.⁸² Hayasaka acknowledges the differing personalities of his players and their impact on academic performance and social situations, advocating sports participation as a necessary component of education. He recognizes the diversity of his students and the need for teachers to personalize their approach to student instruction, stressing a child-centred, individualistic approach within Japanese education: ‘The issue is whether it is correct or not to provide opportunities to play football, considering each individual’s current situation and may have a substantial influence on their future because each student, whose motivations towards physical exercise differs significantly, is not subjected to more or less than this.’⁸³

Balancing Sports Participation and Conventional Education

In contrast to other nations, Japanese football has remained implicitly education-centric, maintaining an amateur ethos since its introduction to the country.⁸⁴ However, student-athletes within the influential educational sphere struggled with another centripetal educational force with ‘scholastic activities’ as ‘non-extracurricular activities’. They are subject to additional sporting activity demands that their non-athletic counterparts do not need to balance.⁸⁵ Therefore, how did early Japanese football media debate the balance of extra-curricular activities and the educational curriculum? Though the discourse of the educated elite exemplified football as an essential component of a Japanese boy’s education and development, similar to the Baseball Canker Controversy, the question of whether a ‘balance’ was achievable between conventional school education and extra-curricular sports participation remained heavily debated. Concerning the students in his school football team, Chōjirō Hayasaka reveals that his belief that a sport-study balance was achievable was not a perception shared by their parents and broader Japanese society:

⁸² Hayasaka, ‘*Bengaku to undō to no kankei*’, 22–3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁸⁴ Whitfield, ‘Education and Football’, 17.

⁸⁵ J. Gomez, J. Bradley, and P. Conway, ‘The Challenges of a High-Performance Student Athlete’, *Irish Educational Studies* 37, no. 3 (2018): 330.

The parents, however, do not think so. They think that the cause and effect are the same. They say: “their grades are poor because of exercise”. It is hard to believe that a student forced to sit in a classroom and watch a lecture can come straight home, sit at his desk, and study again after dinner. It is an adult’s way of thinking that the more ordinary a person is, the harder he has to work, and it is a way of treating a boy without sympathy for his feelings.⁸⁶

Genzaburō Noguchi reiterates the widely perceived scepticism from parents and other educators concerning the impact of sports participation on academic results, stating: ‘The fact that the performance of this type of athlete is moderate and adequate may seem inadequate to parents and educators who are concerned only with good academic results’.⁸⁷ The implication that Japanese educators were not united in accepting organized games demonstrates the educated elite’s overarching influence in accommodating the British games ethic into the country’s education system. Taizō Kawamoto also remarks upon the enduring discourse regarding the negative impact of sports participation on a student’s academic performance. However, he explicitly states that he believes this to be untrue; ‘It is often said that students who play sports do not perform well (academically), but this is not true. Both learning and sports make a man’.⁸⁸ To achieve an appropriate balance between sports participation and schoolwork, the aforementioned Noguchi argues the necessity of individuals possessing strong leadership skills in order to support students in harmonizing the demands of both:

For the student to achieve good academic results and compete as a team or as a school representative, the secondary school must have a leader who understands the relationship between sport and academics and can harmonise the two. This can be an athletics teacher or a senior school teacher...However, if there is a good teacher, a good captain, a good manager, etc., who always keeps the athlete’s life in order and harmonises their work with the training of the sport, it is easy for the athlete to become a good student.⁸⁹

Noguchi proposes that a teacher could fulfil this leadership role, acknowledging that students would likely neglect either without receiving appropriate guidance. He later acknowledges that senior students could fulfil this role, stating that ‘a good captain’ could help facilitate this balance. While this proposed student self-management system resembles the prefect-fagging system that emerged in English public schools during the early nineteenth century,⁹⁰ strict age hierarchy has long been an essential component of

⁸⁶ Hayasaka, ‘Bengaku to undō to no kankei’, 22.

⁸⁷ Noguchi, ‘*Supōtsu to bengaku no mondai*’, 19.

⁸⁸ Kawamoto, ‘Mudai’, 30.

⁸⁹ Noguchi, ‘*Supōtsu to bengaku no mondai*’, 18–9.

⁹⁰ Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, *Association Football: A Study in Figurational Sociology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 33–4; Dishon, ‘Games of character’, 366–7.

Japanese society.⁹¹ This structure was accommodated into educational institutions within the context of sport and British athleticism, though a fundamental discrepancy between them is the significance of the educator. Japan's age hierarchy ensures that teachers always maintain the highest social position amongst students, unlike the class-based hierarchy within English public schools, resulting in many teachers being unable to control their more socially superior students. Despite this distinction, adopting similar principles into the Japanese education system was not accidental; in both cases, strictly adhering to the orders of one's captain (senior) was an essential element of one's duty.⁹²

The perception of Japanese parents towards football contrasts significantly with that of their British counterparts, of whom Mangan remarked: 'Stimulated by the ideologues Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes, parents wished their sons to be brought up in the now well-explored image of Tom Brown. As much as masters they subscribed to the ethical value of games'.⁹³ The deficiency of either associated literature (available in Japanese) or the opportunity to observe the ethical consequences of games directly implies that these concepts were strictly limited to the Japanese educated elite possessing the capacity to apprehend them.

'Education and Sport': The Influence of Japanese Football Literature

The borrowed British moral codes have been reconstructed in the new academic current of Japanese sports history, exposing a previously undisclosed nature rooted deep in Japanese society during the introduction of British amateurism to the country, starting in the late-nineteenth century.⁹⁴ As the sole nationwide football media in Japan, *Shūkyū* demonstrates a significant connection in supporting the diffusion of British athleticism values in Japanese football, reinforcing education's preference towards adopting the British moral codes in modern sports. Notably, *Shūkyū* illustrates how Japan's 'educated elite', adapting these concepts from British athleticism, played an important role in the magazine's composition. Football, a medium of foreign culture, formed part of Japan's educational values and involved educated elites with the game's diffusion throughout the country during this period. The magazine's connection with education, a unique aspect of Japanese football, influenced school teachers' embracement and dissemination of these elite ideas. In this sense, the establishment of *Shūkyū* as the country's first national football-specific media reinforced the institutionalization of football within Japanese

⁹¹ Chie Nakane, *Japanese Society* (California: UC Press, 1972), 45.

⁹² Mangan, *Games Ethic and Imperialism*, 48; Peter Cave, 'Bukatsudō: The Educational Role of Japanese School Clubs', *The Journal of Japanese Studies* 30, no. 2 (2004), 390.

⁹³ Mangan, *Athleticism*, 132.

⁹⁴ Daishi Funaba, 'The Pervasion of 'The Spirit of Civilization' through the Invented 'Bushido in Meiji Era – the Role of Inazo Nitobe and the Japanese Trade Company, *Jitsugyo-no-Nihon-sha*', *Journal of East Asian Studies* 13 (2015); Daishi Funaba and Keiko Ikeda, 'Britain and the Development of Modern Japanese Sport: from Sporting Amateurism to Fascism during the Period of Japanese Imperialism', *Pan-Asian Journal of Sports & Physical Education* 3, no. 1 (2011); Ikeda and Mangan.

education,⁹⁵ aided by the magazine's readership who participated in school extra-curricular activities.

The analysis highlights the role of *Shūkyū* magazine in disseminating this adopted ideology, which recognized the value of sports as a component of comprehensive Japanese education. The contributors to the magazine underline that sports continued to retain individualist tendencies in the aftermath of Japan's *Taishō* period despite the movement eventually linking militaristic education to fascism, as Irie indicated. However, it is conceivable that football participation provided a new experience to enjoy individualism in the late-nineteenth century, ensuring that sports would continue to retain such tendencies, even as Japanese education assumed fascist ideologies. The widespread conviction of football participation to promote 'character building' qualities reinforce British athleticism values' accommodation in Japanese education and the association of sports with multi-faceted educational outcomes. While the educated elite's conviction in these values assured their proclamation of sports participation as a component of education, their sentiments regarding students' capability to balance both were restricted to elite male education. In particular, the concept of amateurism was more congruent with the internationally competitive sport that football had become.

These four aspects contributed to the amalgamation of British athleticism values into Japanese football culture, embedded concepts that persevere within its education system, and are consistent with Japanese sports sociologist Atsushi Nakazawa's assertion of Japanese extra-curricular activities present focus on 'human development', not only the enhancement of performance.⁹⁶ Despite abandoning its imperial connotations in the aftermath of the Second World War, character development has long been a component of the Japanese educational curriculum under the guise of 'moral education'.⁹⁷ Furthermore, while this paper describes the mainstream educational pathway of football's integration into Japan through the media, there is the possibility that a grassroots pathway developed to some extent concurrently during this period,⁹⁸ however primary discourse in the magazine *Shūkyū* demonstrates football's links primarily to elite culture.

Notes

1. Allen Guttman and Lee Thompson, *Japanese Sports: A History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 1.

⁹⁵ Whitfield, 'Education and Football', 3–5.

⁹⁶ Atsushi Nakazawa, *Undō-bu Katsudō no Sengo to Genzai: Naze Supōtsu wa Gakkō Kyōiku ni Musubitsuke Rareru no ka* [Athletic Club Activities – Postwar and Present: Why are sports tied to school education?]. (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2014), 50–1.

⁹⁷ Sam Bamkin, 'The Taught Curriculum of Moral Education at Japanese Elementary School: The Role of Classtime in the Broad Curriculum', *Contemporary Japan* 32, no. 2 (2020): 8; Mayumi Nishino, 'The Challenges of Developing Meaningful Curriculum Initiatives for Moral Education in Japan', *Journal of Moral Education* 46, no. 1 (2017): 48.

⁹⁸ Masahiro Sugiyama, Selina Khoo, and Rob Hess, 'Grassroots Football Development in Japan', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 34 (2017), 1855.

2. Jikichi Imamura, '*Honshi no shimei*' [Mission of this magazine], *Shūkyū* [Football], October 1931, 1.
3. Gen Iwasaki, '*Dokusha no koe ichi dokusha ni kota fu*' [Reader's Comments: A Response to a Reader], *Shūkyū* [Football], October 1935, 30.
4. Great Japan Football Association, '*Kaimu hōkoku orimupikku daihyō senshu kōen-hi ōboshā meibo*' [Committee Report: List of Applicants for Sponsorship of Olympic Athletes], *Shūkyū* [Football], July 1936, 16–8; Great Japan Football Association, '*Kaimu hōkoku orimupikku daihyō senshu kōen-hi ōboshā meibo – zoku*' [Committee Report: List of Applicants for Sponsorship of Olympic Athletes – Continued], *Shūkyū* [Football], September 1936, 11.
5. Great Japan Football Association, *Shūkyū nenkan Shōwa nana-hachi nendo* [Football Annual, 1932–33] (Tokyo: Great Japan Football Association, 1933), 97–129.
6. Great Japan Football Association, '*Zenkoku ni "shūkyū" shikyoku o tsukure*' [Establishing "football" Branch Offices All Over the Country], *Shūkyū* [Football], January 1936, 29.
7. John Horne and Derek Bleakley, 'The Development of Football in Japan', in *Japan, Korea and the 2002 World Cup*, ed. John Horne and Wolfram Manzenreiter, (London: Routledge, 2002), 91–2.
8. Guttmann and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 190.
9. Dale Whitfield, 'Education and Football: A History of the Cultural Accommodation of British Association Football into Japanese Society', *Sport in History* 42, no. 1 (2022): 2.
10. Keiko Ikeda, 'The History of Modern Sport in Japan: The British Influence through the Medium of Sport on Imperialism, Nationalism and Gender with Reference to the Works of J. A. Mangan', in *Manufacturing Masculinity the Mangan Oeuvre Global Reflections on J.A. Mangan's Studies of Masculinity, Imperialism and Militarism*, ed. Peter Horton (Berlin: Logos Verlag Berlin, 2017), 140.
11. Guttmann and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 81.
12. Ikeda, 'History of Modern Sport in Japan', 140.
13. Whitfield, 'Education and Football', 16–7.
14. Ikeda, 'History of Modern Sport in Japan', 146.
15. Ibid., 140; Guttmann and Thompson, *Japanese Sports*, 81.
16. 'Sokaiya Foundations and History', *Japanese Economy* 26, no. 3 (1998), 42.
17. Hiroshi Kagawa, '*Kazoku de kizoku-in giin. Berurin gorin e daihyō o okuri seika o ageta, dai 2-dai JFA kaichō Fukao Ryūtarō*' [A Member of the House of Lords. Ryūtarō Fukao, the Second JFA President, Who Sent a Team to the Berlin Olympics], *Gekkan Guran* [GRUN Monthly], June 2008.
18. Ikeda, 'History of Modern Sport in Japan', 142.
19. Chōjirō Hayasaka, '*Bengaku to undō to no kankei*' [The Relationship Between Schoolwork and Physical Activity], *Shūkyū* [Football], December 1935, 21.
20. Juntendo University's Faculty of Physical Education, '*Ryakureki (Noguchi Genzaburō kyōju tsuitō)*' [Biography (In Memory of Professor Genzaburō Noguchi)], *Bulletin of the Faculty of Physical Education, Juntendo University* 10, (1967–12): 1–2.
21. In addition to translating foreign works for publication in *Shūkyū*, in 1934, Konagaya published *Daigaku no shimei* [The Mission of the University] based primarily on a translation of the contents of Martin Heidegger's *Die selbstbehauptung der Deutschen universität* [The Self-Assertion of the German University]. Ryōsaku Konagaya, '*Daigaku no shimei*' [The Mission of the University], *The Japanese Journal of Educational Research* 2, no. 12 (1934): 1513–21.

22. 'Gōka sukejūru sekai shūkyū seiha e gaikoku san chīmu shōhei' [Invitation of Three Foreign Teams to Conquer World Football], Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, March 3, 1937.
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