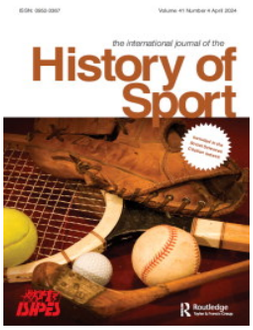

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Ad Santel is Coming to Town: The 1921 Yasukuni Shrine 'MMA Fights' Between Catch Wrestling and Kōdōkan Judo

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ABSTRACT

In February 1921, catch wrestlers Ad Santel and Henry Weber traveled to Japan to engage in several public bouts against fighters from the Kōdōkan judo school. The matches were held in a sumo ring at Tokyo's Yasukuni shrine and became a mega-event, attracting between 20,000 and 25,000 spectators. The Kōdōkan judo headquarters and the center's founder Kanō Jigorō positioned themselves in opposition to the bouts to protect the Kōdōkan brand. What became known as the 'Santel Incident' (*Santeru jiken*) caused major controversy in Japan's judo community. To understand the significance of the Santel Incident in the history of Kōdōkan judo, this article focusses on the aspects of medialization, commercialization, and eventization of sports, thus placing the bouts within the larger context of contemporary Japanese and global sport history. We demonstrate that the challenge by the American professional wrestlers brought to the surface generational tensions as well as divergent visions concerning the definition of judo between sports and martial art, and professionalism and amateurism. Our analysis is based on close readings of contemporary primary sources, including Japanese newspaper articles, research essays in judo magazines, and (auto)biographical writings, some of which are analyzed and discussed for the first time.

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Kano Jigoro; Kodokan judo; Ad Santel; wrestling; sportification

'Arrival of heroic boxers' (*Kentō no yūsha kuru*) announced the morning edition of the *Yomiuri* newspaper on February 27, 1921,[1] thus informing its readership that catch wrestlers Ad Santel (Adolph Ernst, 1887–1966)[2] and Henry Weber[3] were in Japan to engage in several public bouts against fighters from the Kōdōkan judo school.[4] The matches, which became a major media event, were held on March 5 and 6, 1921, in a sumo ring at Tokyo's Yasukuni shrine, attracting between 20,000 and 25,000 spectators. The participation of Kōdōkan fighters was perceived as a scandal by the general public, as the Tokyo based Kōdōkan judo headquarters and the founder

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and director of Kōdōkan judo,[5] Kanō Jigorō (1860–1938), had publicly positioned themselves against the bouts, going so far as to warn that participating *judoka* would be severely punished.[6] Accordingly, the 'Santel Incident' (*Santeru jiken*), as Kanō termed the event,[7] caused major controversy in Japan's judo community and marked a turning point in the history of the Kōdōkan.[8]

In recent years, several studies by Japanese sport historians have been published that re-evaluate the historical significance of the Santel Incident. According to Marushima Takao, who initiated this line of research, the decision not to engage in matches with the Santel group was in effect a ban of mixed martial arts competitions within Kōdōkan judo, which in the past had often been used to promote judo both in Japan and abroad.[9] By making this decision, the Kōdōkan thus, following Marushima, promoted the competitive nature of judo as a 'closed' sporting event, while deemphasizing the martial aspect of judo. In 2014, Nagaki Kōsuke argued that despite the development of Kōdōkan judo as a modern competitive sport, Kanō continued to value judo as martial art and that the sportification of judo occurred 'against Kanō's will'.[10] In a similar vein, in 2018 Ikemoto Jun'ichi viewed the 'Santel Incident' as an event that 'brought to light Kanō's ideas about the martial art-ness'[11] of judo. Ikemoto defines 'martial art-ness' (*bujutsu-sei*) as a quality that is 'only visible in 'life-to-death fights', where everything is possible'.[12] He attributed Kanō's decision to forbid the matches to 'a certain difference in values and a generation gap'.[13]

While these previous studies are important, they establish a strict boundary between judo as martial art and judo as sport and propagate a nostalgic return to Kanō's early definition of judo, which was based on the criterion of 'death-to-life fights' (*shinken shōbu*). However, this perspective is somewhat simplistic. In an article published in 1921 on the globalization of judo, Kanō clarified his ideas: 'Judo is essentially not a death-to-life fight' (*ganrai jūdō wa shinken shōbu ni arazaru*). It is therefore proposed in this article that, by the 1920s, Kanō's idea of judo had evolved and placed more emphasis on judo's educational value for body and mind (*seishinteki igai ni seishin shūyō*).[14]

The Santel matches were indeed a turning point in the sportification of judo's competition rules, but it will be argued, that the different visions of sports between amateurism and professionalism, which Marushima also identified, have to be revisited from the perspective of global sport history and contemporary sporting cultures in Japan. We further argue that Kanō's decision to prohibit the Yasukuni matches should not be seen a moment in which Kanō lost control over the Kōdōkan. Kanō's apparent change of mind reflected his support of an institutional position, rather a personal point of view, and his aim to protect the Kōdōkan brand. In this sense, Kanō's decision strengthened established administrative structures in the Kōdōkan and marked a moment of institutional maturation and professionalization.

In order to understand the significance of the Santel Incident for the development of Kōdōkan, this article focuses on the fights scheduled at the Yasukuni shrine, drawing particular attention to medialization (the increasing influence of mass media on different sectors of society) of these sport events and the management of public discourse through eventization and commercialization. The discussion builds on prior research but is primarily based on close readings of newspaper articles published between 14 January and 2 April 1921 see Table 1), research essays in contemporary judo magazines, and (auto)biographical writings.

Table 1. Newspaper articles covering the Santel fights between 14.1.–2.4.1921.

Date	Title	Newspaper
14.1.1921	Beikoku sumō no daisenshu Santeru kitaru	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
23.2.1921	Sekai jūryō senshuken no hasha Santeru shi raichō	Yomiuri Shimbun
	Seiyō zumō kitaru – Nihon no jūdō to kyōgi	Miyako Shimbun
	Kitai saruru Santeru	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
	Jūdō no shinka o toubeku Santeru o mukae tatakau	Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun
24.2.1921	Sekai jūryō senshuken no hasha Santeru raichō	Yomiuri Shimbun
	Hajimete raichō suru beikoku no ni riskishi	Kokumin Shimbun
25.2.1921	Undōkai	Yomiuri Shimbun
27.2.1921	Kentō no yūsha kitaru	Yomiuri Shimbun
	Jūdōka to tatakaubeku beikoku ni senshu kitaru	Jiji Shimpō
	Santeru kun to katatta Suzuki tokuhain	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
	Josai naku aikyō o furimaku seiyō zumō no senshu	Miyako Shimbun
	Beikoku kakkai no mosa Santeru kun kitaru	Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun
	Kairikishi Santeru	Hōchi Shimbun
	Beikoku kentō no ryō ōzeki wo mukau	Yokohama Bōeki Shimpō
28.2.1921	Dōshite shōbu o kessuru jūdō to resuringu	Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun
	Beikoku no kairikishi kitaru	Kokumin Shimbun
1.3.1921	Santeru no shiai wa Kōdōkan no seishin ni motoru to Okabe go dan dattai	Yomiuri Shimbun
	Kanō kanchō to iken awazu – Okabe go dan dakkai su	Tōkyō NichinichiShimbun
	Okabe 5 dan ikatte Kōdōkan o dattai su	Kokumin Shimbun
	Santeru to no shiai kara Kōdōkan bunretsu ka	Hōchi Shimbun
2.3.1921	Santeru kun kote narashi	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
	Santeru to wa tatakawanu to yūdasha kaigi kessu	Tōkyō NichinichiShimbun
	Beirikishi no aite wa jūdō 4 dan to 2 dan	Kokumin Shimbun
	Santeru kun no mōrenshū	Kokumin Shimbun
	Santeru no kaina no chikara	Hōchi Shimbun
	Seiyō zumō senshu to nihon no jūdō ka	Miyako Shimbun
3.3.1921	Risuringu nichibei shiai	Tōkyō Mainichi Shimbun
	Santeru shiai no kitei kettei	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
	Kentō shiaisha wa jijitsu jō jomei	Yomiuri Shimbun
	Seiyō zumō senshu to no kyōgi ni jūdōka kekki su	Miyako Shimbun
	Tai bei sumō senshuken ni kanshi yūdankai no kessoku	Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun
	Tai Santeru shiai kitei	Kokumin Shimbun
4.3.1921	Koi no tegami o mainichi mainichi kakasazu ni kaite iru Santeru san	Miyako Shimbun
	Santeru to no kyōgi ni jomei kakugo de shussen	Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun
5.3.1921	Kentō jūdō shiai	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
	Issai no kujō o haishite jūdōkaren no kaoawase	Miyako Shimbun
	Mondai no nichibei kyōgi	Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun
	Kyō tai resuringu jūdō shiai	Kokumin Shimbun
	Kokugi o sumau – Kyō no ōshiai	Kokumin Shimbun
6.3.1921.	Manyo no kanshū ni kakomarete chikara to waza no ōshiai	Yomiuri Shimbun
	Kairiki Santeru to kokusai daikyōgi	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
	Kentōka tai jūdōka ōshiai	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
	Seiyō zumō to jūdō	Miyako Shimbun
	Seiyō zumo	Tōkyō Mainichi Shimbun
	Beisenshu o mukaete monosugoi kakugisen	Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun
	Masuda 4 dan no nodo jime ni W(eber) kun kizetsu su	Kokumin Shimbun
	Hikiwake to natta ōshiai	Kokumin Shimbun
	Nichibei mushōbu	Hōchi Shimbun
	Shimizu 4 dan yūshō shi Shōji 4 dan hikiwake	Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun
	Kakutoka to jūdō ka to no shiai	Yokohama Boeki Shimpō
7.3.1921	Nihon no jūdō ga seiyō zumō ni katsu	Miyako Shimbun
	Udehishigi nihon kimatte Shimizu 4 dan katsu	Kokumin Shimbun
	Wēbā zampai Santeru wa hikiwake	Hōchi Shimbun
	Shōji tai Santeru shōbu uchi nashi	Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun
	Nichibei shiai beikoku-gawa hai o toru	Tōkyō Mainichi
8.3.1921	Beikoku rikishi no honsha hōmon	Kokumin Shimbun
2.4.1921	Nichibei shiai	Osaka Mainichi Shimbun

By the 1920s, Japanese society had transformed into a society driven by mass consumption,[15] and leisure activities including sports began to be popularized.[16] Newspapers and magazines contributed to the eventization of sports and turned sports into emotional media events.[17] Additionally, they began to organize sporting events themselves to increase their circulation and to feed the public's need for sensationalism. The matches between the wrestlers of the Santel group and the Kōdōkan fighters were no exception in the eventization of sports: Not only were they sponsored by the Bukyō Sekai Company, but the predominant Japanese newspapers, including *Asahi Shimbun*, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and *Mainichi Shimbun* turned the matches into a commodified media event. More than fifty-five articles reported about the event, indicating the high level of public interest, but it is striking that most of the articles were published in the run up to the matches. While articles written shortly after Santel's arrival in Japan generally stressed the fact that it was the first time Western wrestlers had travelled to Japan, those published after March 1st emphasized internal Kōdōkan conflicts.[18] Before this period, the Kōdōkan had followed a 'policy of isolation', in which it kept internal matters hidden from the public.[19] By reporting on the disagreements within the Kōdōkan, the media offered the public a rare peek behind the curtain and fueled as well as satisfied the public's desire for sensationalism surrounding the royal family of modern martial arts in Japan.

We argue that the challenge by American wrestlers was sensationalized for two reasons: First because the matches could be linked to the myth surrounding judo as a martial art in which a weaker person could overcome a stronger opponent, which perfectly reflected the way the public saw US-Japan relations since the forced opening of Japanese harbors by Commodore Perry in 1854; second, because of the mystique surrounding the Kōdōkan and Kanō. The Kōdōkan was seen by the public as an influential but closed institution, entirely controlled by its founder. The challenge by the Santel group brought to the surface generational tensions that reflected a loss of institutional power and control of the founder and the founding generation of the Kōdōkan. At the same time, the discussions initiated by the arrival of the professional wrestlers brought to the public discourse a clash of divergent visions concerning the definition of judo between sports and martial art as well as professionalism and amateurism.

Coming to Town: Preparing Mixed Martial Arts Matches in Tokyo

The history of bouts between judo/jujutsu practitioners and wrestlers in America dates back to the early twentieth century.[20] During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, judo and jujutsu were—along with other cultural products from Japan—spreading throughout Europe and America. The military success of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905) increased Western interest in Japanese martial arts, which coincided with a strong interest in physical culture and a corresponding boom of professional wrestling. As Diana Looser summarizes: 'A specific confluence of complementary trends during this period contributed to the ready adoption of these particular unarmed Japanese arts'.[21]

At this time, some of Kanō's top students went to the United States to teach judo. Yamashita Yoshitsugu (Yoshiaki) and Tomita Tsunejirō, for example, served as judo

instructors at universities and military academies, while Maeda Mitsuyo and Ōno Akitarō entered the world of professional catch wrestling and performed at theatres and circuses. Kanō had prohibited matches with martial artists that could potentially harm the reputation of the Kōdōkan at least since the early twentieth century, but he never imposed sanctions against those participating in mixed bouts.[22] Matches between American wrestlers and judoka (judo wrestlers) were first held around San Francisco and its surrounding cities, due to their large Japanese expat communities. The matches between German born professional wrestler Ad Santel and Japanese jujutsu and judo practitioners received significant media attention. His debut match against a Japanese jujutsu wrestler was on 30 November 1915, when he won a decisive victory against Noguchi Kiyoshi. Noguchi's disappointing defeat sparked patriotic sentiments among Japanese immigrants, and from then until February 1919, Santel had seven matches with Japanese opponents.[23]

In the spring of 1917, Santel shifted his focus to the inland areas of the US. According to reports in Japanese newspapers, this was due to disagreements with the promoters and wrestling associations in the San Francisco area.[24] When returning to the San Francisco wrestling scene in 1920, Santel began to consider a trip to Japan and began to search for connections with Japanese promotors, eventually making contact with a Japanese immigrant named Masuko Kōji.[25] Masuko had been an official of the Japanese Association in Florida as well as editor of the Hōji Shinbun in Utah, but he was also involved in fraudulent activities related to investment and stock dividends.[26] At Santel's request, Masuko returned to Japan in November 1920 and worked with Kushibiki Yumindo, who had lived in the United States from 1885 to 1915, to plan Santel's visit. Kushibiki had previously organized exhibitions in the US, making him a top promoter in the Japanese as well as the American entertainment industries.[27]

By early 1921, Santel's plans to visit Japan were widely reported in Japanese and Japanese-American newspapers. Articles based on comments from and interviews with Masuko and Kushibiki heavily exaggerated the planned tour and announced dinners and performances with prominent figures such as statesmen, high-ranking military officials, members of the imperial family, ambassadors, high-ranking judo practitioners, and Sumo grand champions.[28] Reports claimed that Santel's team would have matches with top-level judo practitioners at Tokyo's sumo stadium, Ryōgoku Kokugikan, and would tour major cities with a population above 50,000 for over four months. At the same time, it was reported that negotiations for matches were difficult, as the Kōdōkan Judo Institute objected to Kushibiki acting as promotor for the event.[29] In response, Kushibiki and others fabricated a story about the existence of a United States Wrestling Club with an International Competition Branch in Japan and tried to create an air of legitimacy by appointing Kawanuma Hajime, who in fact ran a Japanese vaudeville theatre in San Francisco, as director of the organization.[30]

Santel and his colleague Henry Weber, along with Masuko and Kawanuma, left the port of San Francisco on February 8th and, via Hawaii, arrived in Yokohama on the 26th.[31] At this point, the group's schedule was still vague, and, with the exceptions of the matches on March 5th and 6th at the Yasukuni Shrine, no further bouts had been announced. Before delving into the question of why the Kōdōkan opposed the mixed martial arts matches, we will first discuss the Yasukuni bouts themselves.

The Matches at Yasukuni Shrine[32]

The mixed martial arts Yasukuni bouts were intensively discussed by major newspapers, and strategic placement of advertisements ahead of the events also helped to create significant public attention. In the end, the bouts attracted between 20,000 and 25,000 spectators.[33] The fees for general admission were almost the same as for sumo, one of the most popular pastimes of the time. Guests of honor included *yokozuna* (sumo grand champion) Tachiyama Mineemon and other sumo wrestlers, ambassadors of the Republic of China and Germany, and Shibusawa Eiichi, one of Japan's leading businessmen at the time.[34] The venue was decorated with red and white broad horizontal stripes (*dandara obi*) to indicate the special event, and the flags of the United States and Japan hung from the ceiling of the large tent. The Japanese Army War College band (Rikugun Heigakkō) played the US military song 'Over There' as a gesture of hospitality. These elements certainly contributed to the impression of the event as an international competition in which the fighters represented their nation.

The *Hōchi Shimbun* reported that the audience 'cheered loudly' during the matches, making the venue 'a kind of unique and indescribable scene of violence'.[35] The audience was 'in the mood for watching sumo'[36] as the sound of lunch boxes (*bento*) and candy vendors echoed through the tent. According to the journalist, '20 or 30 of Shimbashi's most beautiful geisha' were in attendance.[37] That the spectators expected to see sumo was not only owed to the setting of the fights in a sumo ring, but was also created by the media, who often characterized Santel and Weber not as wrestlers but as *sumō no daisenshu* (great sumo wrestlers) or *rikishi* (strong man), a term generally used to refer to sumo wrestlers (see Table 1).

Four matches consisting of three rounds each were held over two days. On the first day, the fight between Weber and Masuda Sōtarō (4th dan) ended with a victory for Masuda,[38] while the match between Santel and Nagata Reijirō (3rd dan) ended in a draw when Nagata was unable to continue fighting after an unruly headlock. On the second day, Weber lost to Shimizu Hajime (4th dan) and the bout between Santel and Shōji Hikoo (4th dan) ended in a draw.[39]

One challenge that became apparent during the fights was the difficulty to create and maintain common rules that would guarantee a fair match between judo and wrestling.[40] In wrestling, for example, one won a match by pinning one's opponent, while in judo a win was achieved through a submission technique called *ippon*. Newspaper articles commented on these challenges, stating: 'As certain techniques from both wrestling and judo are prohibited, the matches ultimately come down to a battle of stamina'[41] and 'there is no hope for a life-to-death match (*shinken shōbu*)'.[42] The audience not only had difficulty understanding the rules, but also had an issue with the rule that the wrestlers had to wear *judogi* (judo uniform), which would give the Kōdōkan contestants an advantage as they were used to fight with clothes, while wrestlers generally fought bare chested. Publisher Kisaki Masaru, who attended the fights with Rinzai monk Sasaki Shigetsu, noted in his diary that Sasaki considered the fights 'boring' and 'unfair' as the wrestlers had to wear *judogi*.[43] The fighters also struggled with the rules. In the second match of the first day, a headlock by Santel was ruled to be a violation of the rules.[44] Accordingly, these matches, despite their success, didn't spark further public interest in mixed martial arts competitions.

After Tokyo, the Santel group moved on to Osaka in late March. They held a series of matches here with admission fees at half the price of the Tokyo tickets. The matches were held in the pleasure district Shinsekai, which had been modelled after the American Luna Park.[45] Santel and his group returned to Tokyo in May and held matches over ten consecutive days in the Asakusa district. Asakusa was a popular theatre district,[46] and this move shifted the matches from sporting spaces to spaces of spectacle. The 'Santel Incident' as medialized event was only a short bonfire, which would be soon forgotten by the general public. However, the events had long-lasting consequences for the development of judo as a sport as well as the structure and the power relations within the Kōdōkan.

Kanō Jigorō and Okabe Heita: Judo Between Amateurism and Professionalism as Well as Sport and Martial Arts

Kanō's conflicting positioning in the discourse surrounding the Yasukuni fights arose because broader debates were ignited by this incident. This included the question of whether judo should be defined as sport or martial art, and whether *judoka* should be considered amateurs or professionals. In this section, we will contextualize the different positions by focusing on the arguments put forward by Kanō and his protégé Okabe Heita (1891–1966).

Kanō ended up forbidding *judoka* from participating in fights with the American wrestlers—with questionable success—but he initially did not want to take an explicit position against the bouts. Shōji Hikoo (1896–1960) for example, who later was demoted for his participation in the matches, stated in a newspaper article that the opinions of Kōdōkan executives on this matter differed but that Kanō initially 'tacitly approved' (*mokunin shugi*) the bouts. Without naming names, he further states: 'When Santel's visit was confirmed, a certain Kōdōkan executive expressed a willingness to compete, and at the subsequent meeting to discuss holding the match, another executive was present. At that time, there were no concrete objections'.[47] Kodama Kōtarō, who was involved in the early stages of organizing the Santel matches, also gave interviews to the press explaining his take on the conflict. An article in the Nippu Jiji even mentions Kodama as potential opponent two months prior to Santel's arrival to Japan.[48] At that time, Kodama confirmed through Yamashita Yoshitsugu that he had received Kanō's permission for the match. Regarding Kanō's approval, Okabe Heita recalls, 'To my surprise, it seemed that the main advocate for accepting the challenge was sensei himself'.[49] Kodama was the owner of the Kōseikan training hall, a small town dojo (*machi dōjō*) in Tokyo, to which all Yasukuni judo wrestlers (with the exception of Shōji) belonged.[50] According to newspaper reports, Kodama met with Kanō on 3 March and obtained his approval for the match.[51] At that time, Kodama said that he had been rebuked for describing the Japanese wrestlers as 'Kōdōkan high ranking practitioners' on the billboards.[52] The promoter also admitted that 'there were some minor errors in the advertisement'.[53] The main point of discussion was not so much the phrase 'high-ranking', as three of the contestants were only 3rd and 2nd dan, but the use of the term 'Kōdōkan'. In later advertisements, including for the events held in Osaka, Kōdōkan was not used. The official position of the Kōdōkan differed, as an article in the *Miyako Shimbun* exemplifies: 'The organizers

have communicated that the Kōdōkan and the director have allowed their members to participate in the Santel competitions, but in reality, neither the director nor the instructors have given any permission, nor has the Kōdōkan been involved in any negotiation'.[54]

Kanō's hesitation to take a clear position was met with criticism within the Kōdōkan.[55] One of the strongest voices within the Kōdōkan arguing against the participation of judoka in the Yasukuni mixed martial arts bouts was Okabe Heita. Okabe had entered the Tokyo Higher Normal School, where Kanō was director in 1913, and had also joined the Kōdōkan.[56] In just two years, Okabe was promoted to the rank of 4th dan and began to accompany Kanō when he traveled around the country to teach judo. After Okabe graduated from the Tokyo Higher Normal School, Kanō, at his own expense, sent him to the US in 1917 to study the latest developments in international sports. Upon his return in 1920, Kanō not only gave Okabe an administrative position in the Japan Amateur Sports Association, of which Kanō was chairman, but provided Okabe with a room in his own house.

In contrast to disciples from the Kōdōkan in the 1880s, Okabe didn't uncritically accept Kanō's authority. Even before going to the US, he had reservation about Kanō's conception of judo as 'a way to most effectively use the power of the body and mind' (*shinshin no chikara wo yūkō ni shiyō suru michi*).[57] His criticism was born when watching a fight in which a judoka pulled his opponent immediately into a *ne-waza* (ground technique). For Okabe, who regarded competition (*shōbugoto*) based on throwing techniques as the true essence of judo, this was unacceptable. If he were to follow Kanō's philosophy of judo, to most effectively use body and mind to reach a given goal, he would have to accept this tactic.[58] Furthermore, despite Kanō's encouragement to engage in mixed martial arts matches with wrestlers and boxers during his stay in the US, Okabe quickly gave up on the idea and positioned himself against such matches because he believed that it was impossible to compete on equal terms due to the decisive difference in rules. For Okabe, the only way to compete on equal terms would be to revive the ancient and 'uncivilized' (*yaban*) art of pankration, which would 'bring nothing to the progress of judo',[59] and would 'only benefit the showmen'.[60] Okabe also disliked the 'worship of money' even before he visited the US and before a distinction between professional and amateur sports was made in Japan. For Okabe, 'Judo can never be considered capital'[61] so he did not want judo to be associated with professional sports nor the entertainment industry. In 1917, he wrote in the *Nichibei Shimbun*: 'Although not explicitly stated in the Kōdōkan regulations, it is an unwritten rule that professionalization is prohibited. Not to say that all professional sports are spiritually vulgar, but at least Judo is based on a noble spirit'.[62] Okabe's concern was that, by participating in fights with wrestlers from the Santel group, the Kōdōkan 'would be branded as a professional organization by the world amateur sports community'.[63] When Okabe returned to Japan, newspapers reported that he had a conflict with Kanō as he strongly opposed the matches with Santel and Weber and, by extension, the connection of judo with entertainment (*misemono*).[64]

In fact, Kanō, who was heavily influenced by Pierre de Coubertin's ideas of amateurism,[65] also supported the idea of amateurism in athleticism and sports, and he also feared the negative image the Kōdōkan might get if it were to become associated

with entertainment. Kanō's aversion to entertainment was based on his studies of jujutsu. He had witnessed jujutsu become 'a form of vulgar entertainment (*misemono*), performing acrobatics and tricks for the public, who came with the intention of buying entertainment with their money'.[66] To avoid following in the footsteps of jujutsu was therefore considered an absolute necessity during the founding years of the Kōdōkan, and Kanō introduced a strong educational element into judo and linked it to the wellbeing and future of the Japanese nation.[67] In January 1921, just before his return to Japan from the US, Kanō expressed his concerns about the development of modern sports towards spectacle: 'Looking at the global trends, it is regrettable that sports are increasingly seen as entertainment (*misemono*)'.[68] At the same time, he began to consider that it might be 'acceptable to ask for admission or spectator fees' as long as 'the revenue goes to athletic facilities and not to the athletes themselves'.[69] Kanō therefore took a more differentiated position concerning the described developments, compared to Okabe's rigid perspective.

One might expect that the establishment, which Kanō personified, would take the more conservative position; however, when Okabe was born in 1891, Judo had already been developed into a systematized and closed discipline with distinct rules, and competitions were only held within the framework of the organization. For Okabe, then, judo was a sporting culture in which matches with other martial arts had no meaning. Kanō, however, remembered how important matches with rival jujutsu schools had been in the early history of the Kōdōkan and understood that mixed martial arts competitions were inevitable as judo expanded overseas. He therefore told Okabe: 'My experience with mixed matches in the early days of the Kōdōkan takes precedence'.[70] Furthermore, pioneers and influential judoka like Yamashita Yoshitsugu arranged mixed fights with boxers and, as early as the 1910s, Tomita Tsunejirō, one of Kōdōkan's first students, studied judo based on his experience with mixed martial arts fights, as he wanted to 'train judoka with techniques that would surpass those of boxing and wrestling experts'.[71] Additionally, Kanō didn't regard mixed martial arts competitions as merely a place of confrontation, but as a source to further develop judo: 'Kōdōkan judo has concentrated on incorporating the strong points of various old schools of jujutsu. It adopted their merits and made them fully effective as a form of physical education. Whenever we discovered similar techniques, not only in Japan, but also in the East, or in other countries of the world, rather than in the West, we immediately adopted them and continued our research'.[72] In essence, the disagreement between Okabe and Kanō was based on their definition of judo as a pure and closed system on the one hand, and as a hybrid and open system on the other.

When Okabe realized that he could not persuade Kanō to take a strong position against mixed martial arts fights, he handed in his resignation from the Kōdōkan on February 28th, 1921,[73] and resigned from his position in the Japan Amateur Athletic Association.

Changing Position: Kanō Jigorō Prohibiting Kōdōkan Fighters' Participation in the Yasukuni Matches

On 2 March 1921, three days before the fights at Yasukuni shrine, more than fifty *yūdansha* (members with a rank of *dan*) including high-ranking judoka like Honda

Chikatami,[74] Yamagata Kotarō, Yamashita Yoshitsugu, and Nagoka Hideichi, both 8th dan, and the highest-ranking members of the Kōdōkan besides Kanō, Iizuka Kunisaburō (7th dan), Mifune Kyūzō (6th dan), Takahashi Kazuyoshi (5th dan), and Okabe Heita held a meeting in Tokyo to discuss the issue of the Yasukuni matches.[75] The majority of those within the commission agreed that involvement in the events would severely harm the reputation of the Kōdōkan and that any participation by high-ranking members would therefore be unacceptable. They presented a petition to Kanō. Surprisingly, and in contrast to his earlier position, Kanō accepted the group's suggestion to bar all Kōdōkan members from involvement in the fights with the Santel group. Kanō and the commission ultimately decided to merely issue a warning. On the next day, March 3rd, the major newspapers in Tokyo reported on the decision of the Kōdōkan and published statements by high-ranking members, including Kanō.[76] Although the coverage was generally neutral, the public was once again made aware of the extent of the debate within the Kōdōkan. Additionally, two newspapers published rebuttals from the contestants' perspective on the March 4th and 5th with the headlines 'Prepared to be banned from the Santel Competition'[77] and 'Eliminating all complaints, a face-to-face meeting with judo practitioners',[78] thus implicitly criticizing the position of the Kōdōkan.

The official statements by the Kōdōkan published in the newspapers and in the organization's magazine *Yūkō no katsudō* show that the organization to a large extent followed Okabe's perspective.[79] In *Yūkō no katsudō,* the Kōdōkan tried to control the discourse by stressing that the decision was based on internal consensus, not merely on Kanō's individual opinion. It was also mentioned that the responsibility for the problems lay with Kanō, who, as director of the Kōdōkan, neglected to supervise the students. The article additionally explains that Kanō chose to only demote and not exclude the renegades as he intended an educational effect that would lead to rehabilitation; this reintegration would be impossible in the case of expulsion.[80] Kanō's initial argument against the bouts focused on the objectives and the definition of judo: 'The essence of judo is to display the most effective use of energy in attack and defense. For that, all means are applied and that is why fights or training within judo are possible, but not with other styles; as fighting means to kill or to guard one's life'.[81] His definition of 'pure judo' or 'judo in the narrow sense' (*kyōgi no jūdō*) meant that dangerous judo techniques had to be banned in matches with boxers or wrestlers, which then rendered a comparison of the effectiveness of fighting styles meaningless:[82] 'A match like this is not a match between judo and wrestling, but between a variant of wrestling and some of the techniques of judo. Such a match makes no sense whatsoever. Judo and wrestling have different objectives, so there is no way they can compete against each other'.[83] The Kōdōkan and Kanō also made strong statements in opposition to the commercial aspect of the public spectacle, which they saw as a 'degeneration' (*daraku*).[84] Kanō accused those who had studied in the US of undermining and corrupting the spirit of sport competition by introducing professionalism to sports, athleticism, and judo in Japan. As member of the International Olympic Committee, Kanō also defended the idea of amateurism, arguing that athleticism and sport competitions had a value for their own sake and that those competing for money were not 'pure athletes' (*junsui undōka*).[85] Linked to the

above-mentioned points is the argument that judo and wrestling differ in their objectives. To Kanō, judo was self-cultivation as well as physical and mental education based on academic studies and therefore 'refined' (*kōshō*). Professional wrestling and boxing on the other hand were, as Kanō states, only exercised by 'men with low character' on which society was looking down upon as being vulgar.[86]

Kanō's stance on professionalism was criticized even before the Santel Incident. The criticism included the question to which extent judoka should be allowed to earn money. Kanō had allowed judoka to earn money for educational purposes only and had argued that education is noble and doesn't serve the purpose of making profit.[87] However, only a small percentage of judoka were able to earn their living through judo education. The monthly income of a high-dan judoka teaching at the Kōdōkan headquarter was 200 yen, while the monthly income of a high-dan judoka for teaching judo at universities, to the police, or in the military was only fifty to sixty yen, the equivalent of the starting salary of a college graduate at this time.[88] Such higher-income earners only accounted for less than one percent of all Kōdōkan members. Although there was an option to become a martial arts teacher at junior high schools and high schools, the monthly income for these roles was only around fifteen yen, only slightly above the thirteen yen that was considered the standard for a low monthly salary at the time. It was thus 'generally difficult for judoka in Tokyo to make a living'.[89] The most vocal critic of the Kōdōkan and Kanō's opposition was the organizer and sponsor of the Yasukuni tournament, the Bukyō Sekai publishing company. Harishige Keiki, the company's director and chief writer, directed his criticism against Kanō's 'argument that it is against the spirit of judo to compete with professional athletes'.[90] While Kanō acknowledged the possibility of earning a living as judo teacher and instructor, he rejected professional activities as 'degeneration' of judo. This approach was rejected by those who believed that there was 'no difference between high and low in any profession'.[91] This criticism reflected the confusion in the current Japanese sports world regarding the distinction between amateur and professional sports.[92]

The members of Bukyō Sekai, especially the group centered on Harishige, were leading members of private social sport groups like the 'Tengu Club' and the 'Popura Club'. In opposition to Kanō, who approached sports from an educational perspective, these clubs and their members emphasized on the feelings of excitement and exhilaration that sports provide. They also tried to raise the athletic level of Japanese sports, which they considered to be 'almost insignificant compared to other countries in the world',[93] by increasing opportunities for domestic and international competition and exchange. They believed that Japanese sports required professionals and should be considered entertainment, anticipating that 'professional baseball teams will soon become indispensable'.[94] They not only tried to infuse the Yamato spirit (Japanese spirit) into Western sports, based on the ideology of 'Japanese spirit and Western learning' (*wakon yōsai*), but also hoped that Japanese martial arts would make inroads into this sporting world. As Harishige states: 'I am not only promoting foreign sports, but I am also encouraging the traditional sports such as judo and kendo. In particular, I hope that judo exercises and techniques will be widely practiced throughout the world. In this sense, the matches between US wrestlers and our own judoka that

were held under the auspices of our company are most meaningful'.[95] Harishige was convinced that if one adhered only to the viewpoint that 'nothing else than what has existed in Japan since ancient times [such as the martial arts] is acceptable', one 'would not be able to see progress or development'.[96] Based on these arguments, he was convinced that judo would and should develop along the same lines as professional baseball.

When members of the Kōdōkan participated in the bouts despite the publicly announced warning, Kanō decided to not expel members that had been involved; a decision that was announced in the official Kōdōkan magazine *Yūkō no katsudō*.[97] Instead of expulsion from the Kōdōkan, offenders were treated as 'unranked' for a certain period. Since their names were still listed as dan-holders in the following year's Judo Yearbook (*Jūdō Nenkan*), it can be inferred that the punishment was mainly symbolic.[98] However, the significance of the mixed martial arts matches for defining judo beyond this incident becomes evident in Kanō's announcement that the punishment of the seven members should be a warning to all members of the Kōdōkan, who must understand that 'judo should never be a means of entertainers to make money. Judo always must be exercised with the objective of self-cultivation'.[99]

The Santel Incident forced Kanō and the Kōdōkan to respond to contemporary developments and challenges concerning the nexuses between amateurism and professionalism and between sports and martial arts. Before this incident, Kanō had consistently stressed that judo should be seen as an educational activity and noble art, which should be held as distinct from professional sports and the 'low brow' entertainment industry. The Kōdōkan and—eventually—Kanō wanted to prevent involvement in the Yasukuni fights because the mass media interest in the American wrestlers linked the Kōdōkan to the entertainment industry, consumption, and commodification, which threatened its carefully branded image. Paradoxically, the decision by the Kōdōkan to focus on amateurism and on the educational aspects of judo also resulted in a further step towards a modern sport, as Kōdōkan judo became entirely a closed system that not only rendered mixed martial arts fights impossible, but that also stopped developing through the confrontation with and influence by other martial arts.

Marushima and others have argued that judo lost its martial culture as a result of a historical process to which Kanō was only a passive witness or even opposed.[100] By analyzing a broad array of contemporary Japanese primary sources, however, we have demonstrated that Kanō actively contributed to the sportification process and consciously decided to part with judo's martial nature. Kanō's initial hesitation to take a clear position within the competing discourses concerning the Yasukuni fights, as well as the mild punishment imposed on the renegades, shows that he hesitated to exclusively position judo as an amateur sport, but also didn't want it to be professional and/or linked to entertainment. Kanō's concern was the decline of judo due to professionalization, entertainment, and eventization. In the end, Kanō followed the line of the dan-holders that dominated the discourse within the Kōdōkan. This decision-making process also marked a shift in the institutional history of the Kōdōkan towards democratization and professionalization, as it strengthened the voice of the administrative level and different commissions of the organization.

At the same time, the rejection of mixed martial arts matches resulted in the loss of a certain degree of experimental freedom within the Kōdōkan.[101]

The Santal Incident had lasting repercussions. In the early 1920s, a faction emerged that sought to completely transform judo into a modern sport.[102] This manifested itself in *kōsen jūdō* (technical college judo), which was created by students at old high schools and vocational schools. Their goal was to dominate the inter-school team competitions, and they developed a competitive form of judo that emphasized *ne-waza*. This approach was a distinct departure from Kano's emphasis on *nage-waza* (throwing techniques), and in 1924, Kanō changed the refereeing rules to restrict *ne-waza,* with the goal of suppressing *kōsen jūdō*. The logic Kanō used at that time was that judo was a martial art rather than just a sportive competition. This shows that even after the Santel Incident, judo remained somewhere between a sport and a martial art. Eventually, in the 1930s, with the rise of imperialist fascism and militarism, criticism of the degeneration of judo into a sport was launched from a different angle. Kanō had warned against the so-called degeneration of judo, using the spirit of amateurism to save it from the clutches of professionalism, but by the late 1930s sports in general were seen as a cultural import from the West that didn't fit to the Japanese culture. Kanō remained head of the Kōdōkan until his death in 1938. His position was never fundamentally threatened, but he was never pleased with the closed and isolated form of judo that had developed and began to pursue the development of an open (unfinished) form of judo that would allow for exchange with other martial arts.

Notes

1. 'Kentō no yūsha kuru', Yomiuri Shimbun, 27 February 1921, 7. As the term wrestling was not known to the general audience, the newspapers often used terms like *kentō* or *sumō* to refer to the fights. See also below.
2. Ad Santel was one of the pioneers and stars of the North American catch (catch-as-catch-can) wrestling scene. He debuted in 1907 and won the title of World Light Heavyweight Champion in 1913 and only retired from wrestling in 1933. 'Last rites held for Ad Santel', *Oakland Tribune*, 12 November 1966, 13; 'Santel was the best', *Oakland Tribune*, 17 November 1966, 39.
3. The database wrestlingdata.com lists one Austrian born wrestler by the name of Henry Weber (1886-1936). According to this database, Weber had a total of forty-six matches, but was still rather inexperienced in 1921. According to Japanese newspapers, Weber was from Portland, US. 'Jūdōka to tatakaubeku beikoku ni senshu kitaru', *Jiji Shimpō*, 27 February 1922, 11.
4. Catch wrestling or Catch-as-catch-can wrestling, from which modern-day professional wrestling developed, was a legitimate competitive sport in North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, with professional wrestlers barnstorming the country and fighting at circuses, theatres, or carnivals.
5. Kanō Jigorō not only had developed judo and had founded the Kōdōkan, he was also the first Asian member of the International Olympic Committee. He was founder and chairman of Japan's first sports promotion organization, the Japan Amateur Sports Association (Dai Nippon Taiiku Kyōkai), principal of the Tokyo Higher Normal School, and a member of the House of Peers. Kanō's authority extended beyond the world of judo to the worlds of sports, education, politics, and business in Japan. See Andreas Niehaus, *Leben und Werk Kanō Jigorōs: Judo – Sport – Erziehung* (Würzburg: Nomos/

Ergon, 2019). As of 1921, the Kōdōkan had registered 22,000 students and over 6,400 dan rank holders. See Kōdōkan Bunkakai, ed. *Jūdō nenkan* (Tōkyō: Kōdōkan Bunkakai, 1922), 27. With these membership numbers, the Kōdōkan was by far the largest single martial arts organization in Japan, and it exerted a very strong influence even on the Dai Nippon Butokukai, the largest general martial arts organization throughout pre-war and wartime Japan. For the Butokukai see, for example, Denis Gainty, *Martial Arts and the Body Politic in Meiji Japan* (London: Routledge, 2013).

6. E.g. 'Kentō shiaisha wa jijitsu jō jomei', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 3 March 1921.
7. Kanō Jigorō, 'Santeru jiken no ketsumatsu', *Yūkō no katsudō* 7, no. 5 (1921): 2–4. The term 'Santel-Incident' takes into account the fact that Santel was the main challenger and the more established fighter. Additionally, there had been already a number of bouts between Santel and representatives of Kōdōkan judo in the Unites States that had received considerable media attention, both in the US and in Japan.
8. Marushima Takao, *Kōdōkan jūdō tai puroresu hatsutaiketsu: Shōwa 10nen, Santeru jiken* (Saitama: Shimazu Shobō, 2006), 234.
9. Ibid., 234.
10. Nagaki Kōsuke. "Jūdō' to 'supōtsu' no sōkoku: Kanō ga motometa bujutsusei to iu kadai', in *Gendai supōtsu wa Kanō Jigorō kara nani o manabu no ka: Orimpikku taiiku jūdō no arata na bijon*, ed. Kiku Kōichi (Kyōto: Minerva Shobō, 2014), 156.
11. Ikemoto Jun'ichi, *Jitsuroku jūdō tai kentō – nageru ka, naguru ka* (Tōkyō: BAB Japan, 2018), 151.
12. Ibid., 152.
13. Ibid., 158.
14. Kanō Jigorō, 'Sekaiteki ka sen to suru nihon no jūdō', *Shin Kōron* 36, no. 9 (1921): 106.
15. Minami Hiroshi, ed. *Taishō bunka* (Tōkyō: Keisō shobō, 1965).
16. Nihon fūzokushi gakkai, ed. *Kindai nihon fūzokushi* (Tōkyō: Yūzankaku, 1968), 187–246.
17. Tsuganezawa Toshihiro, ed. *Kindai nihon no media, ibento* (Tōkyō: Dōbunkan, 1996).
18. The *Hōchi Shimbun* argued that the 'Japan-US wrestling match between wrestling and judo was fueled by the Kōdōkan dispute,' but it was not least the newspapers that made increased interest in this topic. 'Nichibei mushōbu', *Hōchi Shimbun*, 6 March 1921, 9.
19. 'Mondai no nichibei kyōgi', *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun*, 23 February 1921, 9.
20. For the propagation of judo in the US in the early twentieth century, see Yabu Kōtarō, *Jūjutsu kyō jidai – 20 seiki shotō Amerika ni okeru jūjutsu būmu to sono shūhen* (Tōkyō: Asahi Shimbun Shuppan, 2021). Around 1900, mixed martial arts matches between judo practitioners and boxers were sporadically held, but by 1919, a show bearing the name 'Jūken Kōgyō' (Judo Boxing Entertainment) began to be held on a regular basis. It is possible that Kanō approved of this activity for three reasons: (1) The box office was based in the Kansai region, far from Tokyo, the Kōdōkan's home base; (2) the box office did not carry the Kōdōkan sign, even though it bore the name judo; and (3) the owner was Kanō's nephew, Kanō Kenji, who was a well-known mobster (*yakuza*) in the Kansai region. Jūken Kōgyō lost popularity in the late 1920s and ceased to exist in 1931. For Jūken Kōgyō, see Ikemoto, *Jitsuroku jūdō*.
21. Diana Looser, 'Radical Bodies and Dangerous Ladies: Martial Arts and Women's Performance, 1900–1918', *Theatre Research International* 36, no. 1 (2011): 3–19.
22. Ōno Akitarō, for example, sent a letter to the Kōdōkan from the US detailing the popularity of mixed martial art matches in the US at the time and also mentioned his own participation in such matches. Yokoyama Sakujirō, 'Kaigai no nihon jūdō', *Seikō* 7, no. 5 (1905): 44–8.
23. Santel was not the only wrestler to have matches with judo practitioners, but he had a significantly higher number of matches than anyone else. Analyzing articles published in *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Shin Sekai* between 1915 and 1920 suggest, that his overall record before coming to Japan was four wins, two draws, and one loss. See also Marushima, *Kōdōkan jūdō*, 87–113.
24. 'Santeru ga sōkō ni konu wake', *Shin Sekai*, 27 November 1918, 3.

25. The Japanese language press in the US reported about Santel's plans to visit Japan from January 1919, 'Santeru no tonichi', *Nichibei Shimbun*, 21 January 1919, 5) and in January 1920 the newspapers wrote, that Santel was looking for a manager ('Santeru nihon-iki', *Shin Sekai*, 13 January 1920, 7). In November of the same year the *Nichibei Shimbun* then announced that Mashiko Kōji took over the position of manager. 'Santeru tonichi maebure', *Nichibei Shimbun*, 29 November 1920, 3.
26. 'Denshinsha uttaeraru', *Kororado Shimbun*, 5 April 1915, 3; 'Masuko Tōzan Kōji *Roku tōshū dōhō shokumin jijō*', *Santō Jiji*, 18 May 1917, 1; 'Hikyō naru rokkī jihō no taido ni tsuite', *Yuta Nippō*, 9 September 1919, 2. On Masuko Kōji and his activities in the entertainment business, his baseball club as well as the accusations of fraud see Suzuki Mutsuhiko et al. ed. 'Intā maunten dōhō hattatsushi'. (Denver: Denbā Shimpōsha 1910), 141–3.
27. For more details on Kushibiki's biography see below. Hashizume Shinya, *Jinsei wa hakurankai: Nihon rankaiya retsuden* (Tōkyō: Shōbunsha 2001), 35–61.
28. 'Tōkyō ni Santeru kai', *Nippu Jiji,* 21 February 1921, 2. 'Seiyō zumō kitaru – Nihon no jūdō to kyōgi', *Miyako Shimbun*, 23 February 1921, 7.
29. 'Santeru shuppatsu', *Nichibei Shimbun*, 8 February 1921, 2.
30. 'Kawanuma Hajime shi kikō', *Hawai Hōchi*, 15 February 1921, 2; 'Beikoku kentō no ryō ōzeki wo mukau', *Yokohama Bōeki Shimpō*, 27 February 1921, 5.
31. In Yokohama the group was welcomed by members of the International Wrestling Club of America, but also by Yamashita Yoshitsugu, who held the highest rank of 8th dan in the Kōdōkan at that time, Fujimura Kenkichi, a 2nd dan judo instructor at a town dojo (*machi dōjō*), Harishige Keiki, the owner and chief editor of the famous youth magazine *Bukyō Sekai* (The World of Heroism), and Yamada Toshiyuki, a 4th dan judo instructor and an employee of the Bukyō Sekai Company, which would be sponsoring Santel's matches at Yasukuni Shrine. 'Beikoku kentō no ryō ōzeki wo mukau', *Yokohama Bōeki Shimpō*, 27 February 1921, 5.
32. The Yasukuni Shrine (established 1869) as a memorial facility for soldiers who died in Japan's wars and civil wars since the Meiji era, is a typical 'ideological apparatus of the state.' At the same time, the shrine was popular among the common people as a venue for entertainment and festivals. In addition, the shrine also had a sumo facility within its precincts, which could be used for a fee. At that time, there was also the Ryōgoku Kokugikan in Tokyo, which could accommodate 20,000 visitors, but access was limited to professional sumo wrestling. There were hardly any sports facilities with spectator seating except for baseball fields. Yasukuni was therefore chosen as venue for the matches because of practical reasons related to infrastructure and not political reasons. For details, see Tsubouchi Yūzo, *Yasukuni* (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha, 1999).
33. Concerning the venues, see below. Sasaki Shigetsu, *Amerika yawa* (Tōkyō: Nihon Hyōronsha Shuppanbu, 1922), 168–227.
34. Shibusawa had been secretary of the Kōdōkan Foundation since it became an incorporated foundation in 1909.
35. 'Weber zampai Santeru wa hikiwake', *Hōchi Shimbun*, 7 March, 1921.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Masuda won the first round, while Weber was able to win the second round. The third round was ruled to be a draw. As the rules stipulated, that the fighter who had won the first round would be declared winner, Masuda was able to claim—very much to the surprise of the audience which expected a draw—victory for this fight. Marushima, *Kōdōkan jūdō*, 161–4.
39. Some newspapers also categorized this bout as 'no match' (*shōbu nashi*). For a detailed description of the fights, see Marushima, *Kōdōkan jūdō*, 161–74.
40. The rules for the matches were as follows: '1. Three bouts of twenty minutes each (with two wins required to win). 2. Wrestlers are required to wear a judo jacket and belt, but pants and shoes are allowed. 3. Striking techniques such as punches and kicks, attacks to the groin, and hair grabbing are prohibited. 4. Victory is achieved through submission

or knockout, rather than wrestling falls or judo throws. 5. Two referees, one from Japan and one from the United States will be selected.' 'Issai no kujō o haishite jūdōkaren no kaoawase', *Miyako Shimbun,* 5 March 1921, 7.

41. 'Manyo no kanshū ni kakomarete chikara to waza no ōshiai', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 6 March 1921, 5.
42. Ibid.
43. Kisaki Masaru, *Kisaki nikki (jō): 'Chūō kōron' to Yoshino, Tanizaki, Akutagawa no jidai* (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron, 2016), 270. Sasaki Shigetsu would go on to establish the Buddhist Society of America in 1930.
44. In the actual matches, the use of the headlock wrestling technique was disputed (Santel used this technique on Nagata in the second match on the first day). The match was declared a draw, and the use of the headlock was banned for the following matches. Santel's mistake was due to the interpreter's failure to correctly convey the rules to Santel's side. There were also problems with the judges, and both judges for the second day's fights were Japanese: One was Yamada Toshiyuki, as on the first day, and the other was Watanabe Yūjirō, one of the first Japanese professional boxers. Watanabe had just returned from the US in 1921.
45. Hardly anything is known about the fights in Osaka, but the fights on April 1st ended in a draw for Santel and Shimizu Hajime, while Weber defeated Masuda Sōtaro. 'Nichibei shiai', *Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 2 April 1921, 7. *Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 31 March 1921, 2 (Advertisement). *Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 1 April 1921, 2 (Advertisement). *Ōsaka Mainichi Shimbun*, 3 April 1921, 2 (Advertisement).
46. *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, 12 March 1921, 3 (Advertisement). These events also received no press coverage, and the admission fee was the same as in Osaka. In addition, Santel and his team were betrayed by the promoter in Osaka, who absconded with most of their earnings, and they returned home at the end of May without any significant achievements. 'Santeru wa keizaiteki songai', *Shin Sekai*, 1 June 1921, 2.
47. 'Santel to no kyōgi ni jomei kakugo de shussen', *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun*, 4 March 1921, 8.
48. 'Tōkyō ni Santeru kai', *Nippu Jiji*, 21 February 1921, 2.
49. Okabe Heita, *Supōtsu to zen no hanashi* (Tōkyō: Fumaidō, 1957), 283.
50. Although there is no clear definition for *machi dōjō*, the term generally refers to a small dojo with a few to several dozen students run by a private owner. Examples of the general understanding of a town dojo include: 'Within the Kōdōkan, a private dojo in Tokyo is called a town dojo' (Fujita Kamezō, *Wagahai to Kōdōkan jūdō* (Shanghai: privately published, 1927), 29; and 'I think the definition of what a 'town dojo' is, is quite problematic, but if we speak from a commonsense perspective, it is a place which is managed by an individual in his own name and where body and mind are trained through judo.' Kawakami Chū, 'Machi dōjō no genjō', in *Jūdō kōza* Vol. 5, eds. Mifune Kyūzō, Kudō Kazumi, Matsumoto Yoshizō (Tōkyō: Hakusuisha, 1956), 141. These dojos generally taught various styles of judo and *jūjutsu*, and there were approximately sixty to seventy dojos in the Tokyo area. Ōtaki Tadao, *Jūdō jikkō (jō)* (Tōkyō: Fumaidō, 1959), 64–9. By the 1920s, the success of the Kōdōkan had resulted in a marginalization of traditional jujutsu schools, especially as Kanō had successfully lobbied to place Kōdōkan judo, and not jujutsu, in middle school curricula. The dominance of the Kōdōkan made it increasingly difficult for small, local training halls, called town dojo (*machi dōjō*) to attract disciples and to economically survive. The Santel Incident could therefore be analyzed from the perspective of hegemonic center vs. marginalized periphery, but also from the perspective of traditional vs. modern institutional structures, as the town dojo were still based master-disciple relationships, while the Kōdōkan already had developed into client-oriented sport institution.
51. 'Issai no kujō o haishite jūdōkaren no kaoawase,' *Miyako Shimbun*, 5 March 1921, 7.
52. Ibid.
53. 'Santel to wa tatakawanu to yūdasha kaigi kessu', *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun*, 2 March 1921, 9.

54. 'Seiyō zumō senshu to no kyōgi ni jūdōka kekki su', *Miyako Shimbun*, 3 March 1921, 7.
55. 'Kanō kanchō to iken awazu – Okabe 5 dan dakkai su', *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun*, 1 March 1921, 9.
56. For Okabe's career see Takashima Kō, *Kokka to supōtsu: Okabe Heita to Manshū no yume* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa, 2020).
57. Kanō Jigorō, 'Santeru to no shiai ni tsuite', *Yūkō no katsudō* 7, no 4 (1921): 5.
58. Okabe, *Supōtsu to zen*, 245–70.
59. Okabe Heita, 'Raibei jūdōka shokun teisu', *Nichibei Shimbun*, 14 November 1917, 1.
60. Ibid.
61. Okabe Heita, *Supōtsu angya* (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1931), 27. Okabe later went to Chicago University, where he became a believer in amateurism under the tutelage of Amos Alonzo Stagg, the university's football coach.
62. Ibid.
63. Okabe, *Supōtsu to zen*, 282.
64. 'Kanō kanchō to iken awazu – Okabe 5 dan dakkai su', *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun*, 1 March 1921, 9.
65. On Coubertin's idea of amateurism, see: International Olympic Committee, ed. *Olympism: Selected Writings. Pierre de Coubertin, 1863–1937* (Lausanne: 2000), 633–57.
66. Kanō Jigorō, 'Kōdōkan jūdō kōgi dai-nikai', *Kokushi* 1, no. 3 (1898): 10.
67. Kanō Jigorō, 'Jūdō ippan narabi ni sono kyōiku jō no kachi', *Dainihon kyōikukai zasshi* 87 (1889): 446–81.
68. 'Orinpikku kyōgi no nihon senshu wa kōseiseki', *Shin Sekai*, 23 January 1921, 3.
69. Kanō Jigorō, 'Ōbei no taiiku shisatsu', *Kokumin taiiku* 7, no. 1 (1921): 6–7. There is no historical record, to our knowledge, that reveals whether the judo wrestlers, that participated in the Santel matches received any compensation.
70. Okabe, *Supōtsu to zen*, 283. In the *Yomiuri Shimbun,* Kanō exemplifies his point further: 'As head of the Kōdōkan, I do not want to limit the principles of the Kōdōkan too much. If we were to limit our principles, we would have to expulse *judoka* who had experienced mixed martial arts fights abroad in the past, which would be impossible.' 'Santel no shiai wa Kōdōkan no seishin ni motoru to Okabe go dan dattai', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 1 March 1921, 5.
71. Tomita Tsunejirō, 'Jūdō o sekai teki narashime yo', *Jūdō* 3 no. 1 (1916): 79–82.
72. Kanō Jigorō, 'Jūdō no sekaika', *Kokuhon* 1, no.9 (1921): 98.
73. Kanō initially stated 'I cannot expel Okabe, but if he insists, I have no choice,' and finally accepted Okabe's resignation. 'Santeru no shiai wa Kōdōkan no seishin ni motoru to Okabe go dan dattai', *Yomiuri Shimbun,* 1 March 1921, 5.
74. Honda Chikatami had been appointed secretary-general of the Kōdōkan during Kanō's overseas trip from June 1920 to February 1921.
75. 'Seiyō zumō senshu to no kyōgi ni jūdōka kekki su', *Miyako Shimbun,* 3 March 1921, 7.
76. E.g. 'Kentō shiaisha wa jijitsu jō jomei', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 3 March 1921.
77. 'Santeru to no kyōgi ni jomei kakugo de shussen', *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun*, 4 March 1921.
78. 'Issai no kujō o haishite jūdōka ren no kao awase', *Miyako Shimbun*, 5 March 1921.
79. Two major articles on the Santel Incident were published in *Yūkō no katsudō* in April and May: Kanō Jigorō, 'Santeru to no shiai', 2–7; Kanō Jigorō, 'Santeru jiken no ketsumatsu', *Yūkō no katsudō* 7, no. 5 (1921): 2–4.
80. Kanō, 'Santeru to no shiai', 2–7.
81. Ibid.
82. Kanō Jigorō, 'Jūdōka ni zehi motte ite moraitai seishi', *Yūkō no katsudō* 6, no. 5 (May 1920) and Kanō, 'Santeru to no shiai', 5. See also Maruyama, Sanzō, *Dainihon jūdōshi* (Tōkyō: Kōdōkan, 1939), 193. In his article about the spirit of judo, Murakami shows a small figure in which the techniques of judo and wrestling are categorized according to their objectives. See Murakami Tetsuji, 'Santari jūdō no seishin (Santeru mondai no shinsō)', '*Yūkō no katsudō* 7, no. 4 (1921): 36–9.

83. Kanō, 'Santeru to no shiai', 5. See also Jigorō, 'Sekaiteki ka sen', 106.
84. Kanō, 'Santeru jiken', 4.
85. Ibid., 3. In the 1930s, Kanō further stressed amateurism in judo to prevent judo from entering the world of entertainment: 'According to those who have returned from abroad, I heard that there is a trend in foreign countries to strictly distinguish between those who exercise for the sake of athletic competition itself and those who exercise for money, and to greatly despise those who do so for money. … In Japan, athletic competitions have also become a part of the Japanese sports culture. I believe that athletic competitions in Japan should also be conducted in the same spirit, and I insist that Kōdōkan judo should be no different.' Kanō. 'Santeru to no shiai', 3. By the mid-1920s, Kanō also began to explore the possibility of judo being 'actively promoted by newspapers and magazines,' like a sport and 'being shown to a large number of people to attract their interest.' Kanō Jigorō, 'Tenran budō shiai shokan', in *Shōwa tenran shiai,* ed. Dai Nippon Yūbenkai Kōdansha (Tōkyō: Dai Nippon Yūbenkai Kōdansha, 1930), 443. On sportification, see especially Nakajima Tetsuya's detailed analysis *Kindai nihon no budōron: 'Budō no supōtsuka' mondai no tanjō* (Tōkyō: Kokusho Kankōkai, 2017).
86. Kanō, Jigorō, 'Jūdōka ni zehi motte ite moraitai seishin', *Yūkō no katsudō* 6, no 5 (1920): 6; Kanō, 'Santeru to no shiai'; Kanō, 'Santeru jiken'; Kanō, 'Sekaiteki ka sen', 106. The idea of the refined *judoka* matches the definition of the amateur sportsman and gentleman in the Anglo-Saxon world.
87. In the late 1920s, Kanō also clarified the policy of charging admission fees, allowing it only in cases when 'not for personal gain.' Kanō Jigorō, 'Jūdō to kyōgi undō', *Sakkō* 8, no. 11 (1929): 3.
88. Mizutani Chikushi, 'Jūdōka no seikatsu', *Yo no naka* 3, no. 1 (1917): 106–13.
89. Ibid., 108; Ōmura Ichizō, 'Jūdō kōgyōron', *Bukyō Sekai* 10, no. 5 (1921): 6.
90. Harishige Keiki, 'Kiryoku katsuryoku o yashinae yo', *Bukyō Sekai* 10, no. 5 (1921): 3.
91. Ibid.
92. Coincidentally, in March 1921, the month after Kano stepped down as president and Okabe stopped his administrative duties, the Japan Amateur Athletic Association announced that athlete qualification to compete would be based on professional status. Zaidan Hōjin Dai Nippon Taiiku Kyōkai, ed. *Dai Nippon Taiiku kyōkai shi (jō)* (Tōkyō: Zaidan Hōjin Dai Nippon Taiiku Kyōkai, 1936), 35. This regulation targeted manual laborers such as rickshaw men and milkmen and excluded them from amateur athletic competitions on the grounds that they were training through their work. At the same time, Japan's first professional baseball team was founded. Kiku Kōichi, Kozonoi Masaki, 'Taishō-ki no yakyū ni okeru professhonaru ideorogī no hōga ni kansuru kenkyū', *Taiikugaku Kenkyū* 37, no 1 (1992): 1–14.
93. Harishige, 'Kiryoku katsuryoku', 1.
94. Ibid., 2.
95. Ibid., 3.
96. Ibid.
97. Kanō, 'Santeru jiken', 3. After Kanō discussed the issue with different members of the Kōdōkan, it was decided to demote seven members: Masuda Sōtarō (2nd dan), Fujimura Kenkichi (2nd dan), Nagata Reijirō (2nd dan), Shimizu Hajime (2nd dan), Shōji Hikoo (3rd dan), Yamada Toshiyuki (3rd dan), and Kodama Kōtarō (4th dan). See Kanō, 'Santeru jiken,', 2–4. It is interesting to note that Okabe Heita's name was not added to this list. Most likely because the Kōdōkan and Okabe had already gone separate ways by this time. Their break was announced by *Yomiuri Shimbun* and other newspapers on 1 March ('Santeru no shiai wa Kōdōkan no seishin ni motoru to Okabe godan dattai', *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 1 March 1921, 5) with the headline: 'Santeru Fight against Spirit of Kōdōkan: 5th dan Okabe Withdrawal'.
98. Kōdōkan Bunkakai, ed. *Jūdō nenkan* (Tōkyō: Kōdōkan Bunkakai, 1922).
99. Kanō, 'Santeru jiken no ketsumatsu', 3. See also Kanō, 'Santeru to no shiai', 2–7.
100. Marushima Takao, *Kōdōkan jūdō.*

101. Iizuka Kunisaburō (7th dan), who regretted the loss of experimental freedom, characterized Kōdōkan judo as 'incompetent and stagnant,' decided to create an 'entirely free judo' (*mattaku jiyū na jūdō*) incorporating boxing and wrestling while remaining a member of the Kōdōkan. Iizuka Ichiyō, *Jūdō o tsukutta otokotachi: Kanō Jigorō to Kōdōkan no seishun* (Tōkyō: Bungei Shunjū, 1990), 180. In November 1921, he established the Shigōkan dojo. These expressions were only found in the draft prepared by Iizuka and were deleted in the text submitted to the Kōdōkan. The main aim of the dojo was a 'totally free judo' (*mattaku jiyū na jūdō*). Author unknown, 'Shigōkan Jūdō Kenkyūjo no setsuritsu', *Yūkō no katsudō* 8, no 3 (1922): 58.
102. Sasaki Kibizaburō, 'Jūdō shimpan kitei nit suite Kōdōkan kitei o tanzu', *Teikoku Daigaku Shimbun* 180 (1926): 4.

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