Socio-historical study on the correspondence education of martial arts: Focusing on the sales strategy of the Teikoku Shōbukai from the late Meiji to Taisho eras

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Socio-historical study on the correspondence education of martial arts: Focusing on the sales strategy of the Teikoku Shōbukai from the late Meiji to Taisho eras

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Abstract: In this study, we focus on the Teikoku Shōbukai, which came into existence boasting that you could learn this in as little as two months of self-training. We cover this organisation from the time of its birth to after its closing, looking at who the target audience for this jūjutsu correspondence study was and for what purposes, along with the thinking and ideology that supported it.

The results of the consideration are as follows.

Firstly, Shōbu (as in, Shōbukai) means the honourable spirit of a warrior. Therefore, at least ostensibly, Shōbukai's mission was to instil this spirit into the common people, and to that end, the organisation restructured jūjutsu, published textbooks/manuals, and developed various products. They then created a mail order network that allowed for them to be distributed throughout the country.

Secondly, Shōbukai's business model of self-training for jūjutsu using a textbook is thought to have been devised based on the models of existing correspondence education companies. Furthermore, Shōbukai textbooks went through almost the same phases as the popular shūyō texts. The message that anyone can shūyō this easily and quickly was the same approach the shūyō texts used to sell their methods for obtaining profits and virtue.

Thirdly, Shōbukai arranged that the skill level of members on the surface corresponded to the amount that they paid, which created a system whereby greater secrets were made available for greater payments. Information as to the secretive names of products was meant to induce greater desire from members and was sent to those within the organisation through the newsletter. In these cases, it was the reader contributions section that demonstrated power and authority. The 'formless voices' were pretending to be a dear kindred spirit and played the role of drawing the reader's voluntary empathy and approval.

Introduction

In Japan, we have an empty-hand martial art called '柔術: jūjutsu'. Normally, by going to a '道場: dōjō' for many years, you would gradually learn the skills of this art, but one organisation came into existence boasting that you could learn this in as little as two months of self-training. This was '帝国尚武会: Teikoku Shōbukai' (1903-21, hereinafter, referred to...
as Shōbukai). In this study, we cover this organisation from the time of its birth to after its closing, looking at who the target audience for this jūjutsu correspondence study was and for what purposes, along with the thinking and ideology that supported it. At the time, there were two sides to the structure of Shōbukai to which we should pay particular attention: there was the enlightening educational organisation side and there was the business side interested in commercial profits.

I. The Mission of the Teikoku Shōbukai

Shōbukai was born in downtown Tokyo in 1903 through the efforts of brothers ‘野口正八郎: Noguchi Seihachirō’ (1872-19??) and ‘野口清: Noguchi Kiyoshi’ (1878-1930)². They published their first manual in 1905³, and went on to publish more than 40 different martial arts manuals. In addition, they also launched an organisational newsletter in January 1911. Their jūjutsu correspondence course appears to have begun in 1907⁴, and after 1910, that is thought to have been the main business of the organisation⁵.

In 1911, General ‘土屋光春: Tsuchiya Mitsuharu’, formerly of the army, was named head of the organisation, and the following year, former home minister ‘板垣退助: Itagaki Taisuke’ became an adviser. More than ten additional army officials were also named as honorary members⁶. On this point, Itagaki was an elder statesman of the Meiji era (1868-1912) who was immensely popular among the citizenry from his time working as a politician for the common people. He became the face of Shōbukai, with his photograph adorning the opening pages of every manual⁷. Moreover, at the same time, Shōbukai’s headquarters and dojo relocated to one of the best locations in the city⁸.

Shōbukai commercialised jūjutsu by combining seven existing schools⁹ and calling the formulation ‘神道六合流: Shintō Rikugō-ryū’ Jyūjutsu (hereinafter, jūjutsu)¹⁰. From this appellation, one could easily read and recognise imperial nationalism. This is because Shintō implies the nationalistic form of Shintō and the rule over the world by the imperial ancestor and deity ‘天照大神: Amaterasu Oomikami’ (sun goddess). Furthermore, the basis of jūjutsu was supposedly created by ‘日本武尊: Yamato Takeru no Mikoto’, a legendary hero from Japanese myth and history¹¹.

Shōbukai also produced and sold various related goods aside from their manuals/textbooks. Particularly representative of this was a training dummy to assist in self-training, which they patented. They also sold equipment for training the 丹田: tanden/dantian (energy centres), which are considered very important in Eastern medicine, and this continued to sell even after the end of Shōbukai. These products could be said to embody the two major objectives of Shōbukai, which would be to learn the art of self-defence and strengthen the mind and body¹². At the same time, these two objectives nurtured the minds and bodies of the nation’s people, positioning them as a means to achieve even greater goals¹³.

To begin with, ‘尚武: shōbu’ (as in, Shōbukai) means the honourable spirit of a warrior. Therefore, at least ostensibly, Shōbukai’s mission was to instil this spirit into the common people, and to that end, the organisation restructured jūjutsu, published textbooks/manuals, and developed various products. They then created a mail order network that allowed for them to be distributed throughout the country.
II. Textbooks as Shūyō shugi

It was easy to become a member of Shōbukai, and regardless of age or gender, anyone could join as long as they paid the predetermined admission fee and a tuition fee (textbook fee).\(^\text{14}\) It is worth noting that, according to the business directory issued in 1915, Shōbukai seems to have had as many as 200,000 members.\(^\text{15}\) Additionally, judging from membership information published in the organisation's newsletter, approximately 80% of members were young people in rural areas who ordinarily had an academic level of having graduated from primary school.\(^\text{16}\)

In this respect, the educational background that was born alongside the establishment of a modern education system was an important element that influenced young people's advancement in life to begin with, and for those living in rural areas, advancing in school meant the freedom to escape from a stuffy village society to a city. Therefore, this system of correspondence learning supported the enthusiasm of young people in rural areas to advance in education in this way, and the correspondence course/lecture transcripts allowed for self-study. Shōbukai's business model of self-training for jūjutsu using a textbook is thought to have been devised based on the models of existing correspondence education companies.\(^\text{17}\)

Furthermore, attention should be given to an increased interest in qualifications during the same period. With regard to this point, since qualifications required more immediate effectiveness than an academic background, people using manuals sought ease of learning, easy-to-understand content, and a shortened timespan for acquiring qualifications. Shōbukai's textbook, which emphasised simplicity and speed, featured many of the same qualities as other manuals at the time. However, correspondence course materials/lectures and manuals cannot be sweepingly seen as being the same as Shōbukai textbooks. The reason being that while education and qualifications are based on the logic of their utility, the rankings and certificates issued by Shōbukai, in contrast, did not have the same level of value in this respect. Contrarily, Shōbukai garnered so much appeal that visible proof of accomplishments, such as ranks and diplomas, became unnecessary. One aspect as to the true nature of this charm can be found in relation to '修養主義: shūyō shugi'.

Along with various social changes after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), public interest gradually shifted from national and social realms to private and personal ones.\(^\text{18}\) Alongside this, the conventional standards, goals, and philosophies that helped support the modernisation of Japan up to this point fell into dysfunction. In that sense, from the late Meiji era to the Taishō era (1912-1926) can be said to be a period of time where, while a pleasure-seeking and extravagant lifestyle was considered positive, the existential meaning of life became a matter of self-reflection. Young people suffered the most as a result of this society, with duelling extremes in values.

Shūyō shugi is a collective term for a way of thinking that appeared that was intended to provide guidelines to those young people as to how to live. To give a brief overview, in essence, the aim was to demonstrate excellent personal character, or virtue, and pursue realistic earnings and worldly success, or profits; these ideas were also disseminated widely through published media.\(^\text{19}\) Furthermore, the shūyō literature boom hit in 1907 and reached its peak from 1911-18, meaning its ebb and flow virtually overlapped with the time Shōbukai was active.

Furthermore, Shōbukai textbooks went through almost the same phases as the popular
shūyō texts. For example, one objective of Shōbukai’s jūjutsu self-training method was ‘to train sincere, brave, and free and independent thought’. In this way, the thinking is in part virtue; however, mastery should require time and patience. The message that anyone can do this easily and quickly is the same approach the shūyō texts used to sell their methods for obtaining profits and virtue.

Additionally, shūyō shugi had a role of soothing young people who had lost their dreams of social success. The feeling of self-fulfillment obtained through the process of working at shūyō was meant to lead to results that assuaged the pain of frustration and failure. By focusing on this, the acquisition of a certificate or rank was ignored. The reason being that, in this context, the important thing became the effort itself.

Ⅲ. Readers/members who share ‘secrets’

From here, let us shift our view to Shōbukai as a commercial organisation. Shōbukai, like shūyō, used the word ‘趣味: shumi’ (hobby and taste) heavily. This point of shūyō and shumi symbolises the Janus nature of society at the time. Shūyō generally dealt in ethics and morality through abstinence and moderation, but shumi—having the meanings of both ‘taste’ and ‘hobby’—invited the people to partake of the pleasures of consumption. Thus, just beneath the surface of the strict shūyō, the public exalted shumi.

Furthermore, Shōbukai overused words such as ‘arcane’ and ‘secret art’. This was meant to skilfully create interest using a kind of voyeuristic psychology with regard to the public. Therefore, these secrets could be available to anyone for just a little money, and since the secrets were covered with the veil of shūyō, there was no need to worry about what others might say when purchasing them. That is to say that members were able to feel dignified about their self-study.

In this way, the secrets of jūjutsu were sold only to members, and the violence of these techniques was concealed by calling it self-defence. Moreover, that violence was not necessarily limited to the use of the physical body. A more immoral violence was secretly dominating the spirit of the opponent and bending them to one’s own will. Shōbukai arranged that the skill level of members on the surface corresponded to the amount that they paid, which created a system whereby greater secrets were made available for greater payments. The greatest secret offered by Shōbukai was a technique of mental manipulation using clairvoyance and hypnosis.

Information as to the secretive names of products was meant to induce greater desire from members and was sent to those within the organisation through the newsletter. In these cases, it was the reader contributions section that demonstrated power and authority. It was here that the true secrets that Shōbukai could not sell as products were concealed.

Reader submissions were filled with enthusiastic praise for Shōbukai. However, the essential content of the writing was generally impersonal. The mediocrity of the content was reflective of Shōbukai’s averageness. Certainly, Shōbukai’s products looked nice, and there was also a plentiful selection. Easy-to-learn contrivances were also everywhere. However, most of Shōbukai’s claims were ready-made thinking and little more than a patchwork of philosophies; moreover, similar content was often repeated. In summary, Shōbukai’s products were generally unoriginal and meagre, and in order to keep up appearances—along with an elegant exterior and sensational endorsements,
etc.—praise from readers was necessary. Still, the role that the reader contributions section played was not limited to this alone.

Members appearing in the contributions section were not actual entities. They were just 'formless voices' that existed only on paper. These evocative voices appeared only to the individual who opened the newsletter and whispered candid feelings to 'that person alone'. In this regard, the 'formless voices' were pretending to be a dear kindred spirit and played the role of drawing the reader's voluntary empathy and approval.

Members were only a group of unconnected consumers, and in principle, self-study is a private activity where no other people intervene. However, these 'formless voices' encroached on the private domain of the members and brought to them with a fictitious solidarity. This falsehood, however, was a sharp contrast with the social realities of the time, such as the extremely strict restrictions on freedom of association and the suppression of individuals and personal identity in rural communities. Therefore, the feeling of participation created a kind of solidarity, and the feeling of independence created by that solidarity in turn strengthened it, which meant that the fictive solidarity exhibited a strong unifying force and cohesiveness.

The End of Shōbukai
—Concluding Remarks—

Shōbukai, in skilfully assessing the desires of consumers, commercialised ju-jitsu for common people, established correspondence education as a business model, and constructed a nationwide sales network through the market economy. This approach was not observable elsewhere. However, the Shōbukai method based on the ideals of shōbu/warrior spirit had to face the shifting context of the Russo-Japanese War and the mass consumption society that had sprouted, and it was not able to contend with the sudden social changes of the 1910s. That is to say that, in 1921, Shōbukai changed its name to the '国民体力改造同士会 Kokumin Tairyoku Kaizō Dōshikai' (hereinafter, Dōshikai). Along with that, the newsletter's name changed from '『武士道の日本』: Bushidō no Nihon' to '『尚武』: Shōbu', then to '『力』 Chikara', and finally, in 1922, it was renamed '『精力』 Seiryoku'. Allow me to conclude this paper by briefly considering the meaning of this transition from emphasis on 'warrior' to 'energy'.

As the name of the company indicates, the goal of Dōshikai is to improve the physical strength of the entire nation, and given this aim, since the result of Shōbukai's activities 'within the population did not go beyond a portion of the youth', accordingly 'the physical condition of the nation's people still remains poor' in summary. Thus, correspondence learning of jūjutsu ends here. In place of Shōbukai, a philosophy suited to Dōshikai is not shōbu (martial spirit) but seiryoku (vigour/vitality), and products necessary for heightening energy are no longer jūjutsu textbooks but nutritional supplements. Furthermore, even the shūyō philosophy was changed to 'super' shūyō.

As for the specifics of the ideals of shōbu proposed by Shōbukai, the actual results of ju-jitsu were ambiguous. Dōshikai was the complete opposite of this. The ambiguous concept of mental/physical power was given a scientific rationale that supported the effectiveness of nutrition. This reflected the desires of the masses in that, while having a vague longing for a 'rich life', they wanted to be able to easily obtain satisfaction through consumption in their everyday lives. Essentially, behind the guise of being a national cause, when Dōshikai said they were
aiming for the enlightenment of the public. Dōshikai was trying to enlighten the public using the same perspective that the public already had.

Dōshikai’s newsletter featured no reader contributions section. Was it that the 'formless voices' were unnecessary when it came to the trivialities of mental and physical health? Surely, that was not the case. As the organisation and its members were now on the same standing, the 'formless voices' were at Dōshikai itself, and the members were the comrades. That is why the new company was named Dōshikai (gathering of comrades). While the meaning of this has largely been elaborated upon, It should be kept in mind that “health”—mental and physical—became a heinous ideology used to include or exclude people later.

Endnotes

1 In pre-war studies of the history of '武道 : budō' (martial arts), a rigid historical image is often presented. Elements including national education, collectivism, spiritualism, nationalism, the samurai spirit, and tradition are required as a part of the essential values of budō; these are frequently found in contrast to the individualism, unrestrainedness, and entertainment of modern Western sport. In this conventional view of history, we are not able to properly investigate the historical significance of the commercialisation and mass consumption of budō; rather, this topic is neglected as a case that departed from the true essence of budō or disregarded as a trap that was easily fallen into.

2 The Noguchi brothers were born in present day '下都賀郡絹村 : Shimotsuga Kinu-mura', Ibaraki Prefecture. Their first dojo was located in '下谷区龍泉寺町 : Ryūsenji-chō Shitaya-ku', Tokyo.

3 鈴木凌雲斎『柔道宝典日本魂』帝國尚武會, 1905 (Suzuki Ryōunsai, Jūdō Hōten Yamato Damashī, Teikoku Shōbukai, 1905). The author, Suzuki, was an experienced 柔道 : jūdō practitioner. Additionally, the portrait photograph of '小松宮彰仁 : Komatsunomiya Akihito', head of the '大日本武徳會 : Dai Nippon Butoku Kai', was printed in the beginning of the textbook. Initially, it seems as though the author was trying to borrow the prestige of the Butoku Kai. In addition, the same text was renamed '戦捷記念日本魂': Senshō Kinen Yamato Damashī' in the following year, with senshō indicating victory in the Russo-Japanese War.

4 Mail order in Japan began around the end of the 19th century due to the development of transportation networks and the postal system. Then, in the 1910s, the mail order industry generally started to decline, and in the 1920s it hit a major slump; for that reason, with unauthorised sales being rampant from the beginning, the home business system was abolished in 1923. For further details, see 前賢勇 『日本型大衆消費社会への胎動—戦前期日本の通信販売と月賦販売—』東京大学出版会, 2014 (Maezono Isamu, Nihon-gata Taishū Shōhi Shakai e no Senshō Kinen Yamato Damashī, Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2014).

5 The first textbook was not much different from textbooks from other companies at the time. However, Shōbukai innovatively published three volumes of '甲乙丙種科教授書': Kō Otsu Hei Shuka Kyōjusho' in 1909, and the style and volume of their textbooks quickly overwhelmed other companies.

6 Among them, a great writer of the Meiji era, military doctor '森 阿外 : Mori Ōgai', was also listed.

7 Detailed information on how Itagaki came to be invited to be an advisor does not exist, but he was fond of '武術 : bujutsu' and was particularly
knowledgeable on jūjutsu; his enthusiasm for sumo while serving as a chairperson for the founding of a permanent venue for it seems to have been related. Additionally, Noguchi Seihachirō and Itagaki also watched sumo together (「外人の相撲 志願」『東京朝日新聞』1913年12月5日,朝刊,5面: 'Gaijin no Sumou Shigan', Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun, 1913 December 5, morning ed., pg. 5). Next, I would like to give an idea as to the symbolic meaning of Shōbukai's 'face'. Young people who had a role in the democratic popular rights movement in the early Meiji era were called '壮士: sōshi', and Itagaki was a leader of this movement. However, sōshi who initially were not averse to acts of violence were eventually encouraged to cease committing such acts, and in the end, they lost political influence (木村直恵 『「青年」の誕生―明治日本における政治的実践の転換―』新曜社,1998.): Kimura Naoe, 'Seinen' no Tanjō: Meijinihon ni okeru Seijiteki Jissen no Tenkan , Shin-yo-sha, 1998). However, the idea of the sōshi persisted despite being reduced to a formality, and there were a substantial number of young people with no place to enact their violence. The symbolism of Itagaki being associated with Shōbukai could be inferred by considering these young people's oppressed circumstances.

8 The head office is located in ‘渋谷区芝公園: Shibakōen’, Tokyo, and the dojo is in ‘麻布区本村町: Motomura-machi, Azabu-ku’, Tokyo. Shibakōen is a special subdivision with a temple, government buildings, legislators' private residences, etc.; in order for a mere private group like Shōbukai to have its headquarters there, some kind of support would be necessary, implying Itagaki's involvement. For that reason, first, the private residence of Itagaki is in the same park with the headquarters of Shōbukai close nearby, and second, both the office and dojo were former Red Cross buildings, which Itagaki generated much interest in through donations and other efforts.

9 The seven schools were ‘夢想流: Musō-ryū’, ‘無念流: Munen-ryū’, ‘起倒流: Kitō-ryū’, ‘楊心流: Yōshin-ryū’, ‘真蔵流: Shinkage-ryū’, ‘真之神道流: Shin'in Shintō-ryū’, and ‘気楽流: Kiraku-ryū’. Of these, the style Šôbukai emphasised most in terms of technique was Yōshin-ryū. Although these styles/schools generally have relatively short histories, they still have traditions that go back to before modern times. By integrating them, the regionality and uniqueness of each school is lost; however, Shōbukai used the legend of the ancestors of the Imperial Family to justify the validity of their own culture. For further details please see 'Ambivalence about the location and interpretation of jujutsu textbooks published in the Meiji Period: Focusing on a multi-layered structure woven by various elements surrounding jujutsu', Sendai Daigaku Kiyo, Vol. 49, No. 1, 2017, pgs. 1-15v

10 This was Šôbukai's attempt to modernise jūjutsu. To put it another way, the modernisation of jūjutsu was not a patenting of jūdō. The division in viewpoints of Shintōrikugō-ryū and jūdō is that, while both position themselves as self-cultural extensions of Japan's unique traditions, there is the point that Kanō Jigorō did not seek to trace an origin back to a deified 天皇: Ten'nō. It is worth noting that theories concerning the origin of jūjutsu in Japan according to the Kōdōkan are discussed in my paper (「柔術の起源論を巡る言説上の相克―自文化創出に際する西洋・東洋の役割関係を中心に―」「現代スポーツ論の射程―歴史・理論・科学―」文理閣, 2010, pgs. 96-117: "Jūjutsu no Kigen-ron o Meguru Gensetsu-jō no Sókoku: Jibunka Sōshutsu ni Sai suru Seiyō · Tōyō no Yukawari kankei o Chōshin nî," Gendai Supōtsu-ron no Shatei: Rekishi · Riron · Kagaku, Bunrikaku, 2010, pgs. 96-117).

11 Later, Šôbukai created a form of swordsmanship called ‘神道扶桑流: Shintō Fusō-ryū’, but fusō is also an old word referring to Japanese beauty, similar to ‘六合: rikugō’.
12 'Jūjutsu is a martial art for defending oneself from enemy attacks without relying on any special equipment that completely trains the mind and body' (帝国尚武会編『柔術教授書一虎之巻・龍之巻合本』帝国尚武会, 1913, 12頁 : Teikoku Shōbukai ed., Jūjutsu Kyōju-sho: Toranomaki Ryūnomaki Gappon, Teikoku Shōbukai, 1913, pg. 12).

13 'Since jūjutsu is an expedient means of physical and mental training at the root of bujutsu, citizens learn a great deal, their energy is enhanced, and we must do this to promote national strength' (ibid., pgs. 14-15).

14 For example, in 1911, the membership fee was 20 yen and the tuition fee (textbook fee) was 1 yen (shipping fee separate), and you were also able to subscribe to the newsletter for an additional monthly fee of 5 sen (subscription discount available). Some comparative prices from around the same time would be a pack of cigarettes was 5-10 sen, a typical monthly magazine was 20-30 sen per issue, and a record would be 1 yen to 1 yen and 20 sen (週刊朝日編『値段史年表－明治・大正・昭和－』朝日新聞社, 1988.: Shūkan Asahi-hen, Nedan-shi Nenpyō: Meiji・Taishō・Shōwa, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1988).

15 原田道寛編『大正名家禄』二六社編纂局, 1915, 401頁（: Harada Michihiro ed. Taishō Meikaroku, Niiroku-sha Hensankyoku, 1915, pg. 401. This is almost equal to the number of members (estimated) in Dai Nippon Chūgakkai in 1914, as indicated in endnote 17 ( 竹内洋『立志・苦学・出世－受験生の社会史－』講談社現代新書, 1991, 148頁 : Takeuchi Yo, Risshi・Kugaku・Shusse: Jukensei no Shakai-shi, Kōdansha Gendai Shinsho, 1991, pg. 148). Also, according to the first census in 1920, the total population of Japan was about 55,960,000, and the population of 12-19 year olds was about 8,940,000.

16 For instance, in 1909, looking at certificate holders of the Jūdō Hōten Yamato Damashī (6th ed.), of the 517 holders, 407 were in rural areas throughout the country. However, for the same reason as in endnote 30, information published in the newsletter cannot necessarily be taken on faith. On the other hand, looking at the addresses of members in the textbooks and newsletters owned by the author, they are all rural areas. In any case, Shōbukai was doubtlessly primarily targeting young people in rural areas. Incidentally, many of the members who went to the headquarters were students and company employees ( 東京府教育会編『通俗教育ニ関スル調査』東京府教育会, 1916, 221頁: Tōkyōfu Kyōiku-kai ed., Tsūzoku Kyōiku Ni-seki Suru Chōsa, Tōkyōfu Kyōiku-kai, 1916, pg. 221).

17 Looking at the reader contributions section of the newsletter, as examples of what motivated admissions, statements include things like someone read an advertisement in the magazine for the ‘大日本国民中学会 : Dai Nippon kokumin Chuugakuki’ that it was the largest correspondence education organisation at the time, or someone was inspired by the incorporation of jūjutsu and ‘剣術 : kenjutsu’ into the regular curriculum in junior high school. Furthermore, descriptions of a yearning to go to Tokyo were also smattered in. Also, as mentioned in endnote 30, the truth of these statements is not important. The meaning behind the emotions members felt when reading these submissions should be considered.

18 The intended goals of Meiji Japan, such as establishing a powerful centralised government based on the Ten’no system and the policy of increasing wealth and military power to be comparable to Western powers, allowed for temporary victories in the Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War while also placing heavy burdens on the citizenry, such as military conscription and heavy taxes. In this respect, up until the Russo-Japanese War, in Japan the citizenry came before individuals, so it can be said that it was an era when priority was given to causes rather than private affairs.

19 In this presentation, the basic understanding of
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22 Shōbukai’s textbooks were not completely unrelated to public qualifications. Especially when qualifications for jūdō therapy were introduced in 1920, some had value as valid manuals. However, it is important to note that this was during the final days of Shōbukai.
23 According to Jin’no, the shumi was consumer entertainment based on personal preferences; this shumi also became an indicator of the aesthetic judgement of individuals interested in it (神野由紀『趣味の誕生―百貨店がつかったテイスト―』勁草書房, 1993: Jin’no Yuki, Shumi no Tanjō: Hyakkaten ga Tsukutta Teisuto, 1993). That is to say that whether the shumi was good or bad was not only about the personality of each person; rather, lineage, rank, social status, and gender were also represented. Therefore, training to be skilled at the shumi became necessary, and from that a culture of 『稽古 : keiko』 (training) to learn arts under a teacher was born. For example, generally a shumi suitable for men to keiko would be budō; for women, shumi would include 『茶道 : sadō』 (tea ceremony) and 『華道 : kadō』 (flower arrangement).
24 For instance, if I buy a shūyō text to learn shūyō, etc., then shūyō itself was already aligned with consumption. Furthermore, consumption does not refer simply to the consumption of goods. According to Yamazaki’s definition, consumption is the extension of the process leading up to the consumption of goods as much as possible and behaviour that replaces the final goal of consuming/depleting the product with a goal of enjoying the process (山崎正和『柔らかい個人主義の誕生』中公文庫, 1987: Yamazaki Masakazu, Yawarakai Kojin Shugi no Tanjō, Chūkō Bunko, 1987). This means the essence of consumption is to feel fulfilled through spending as much time as possible consuming. Thinking in this way, particularly when emphasis is placed on the effort involved in the process, shūyō is extremely consumable. Furthermore, the more it is extended, the more consumption and play resemble one another. Play is also something that exists for the sake of the process itself; however, play is not necessarily accompanied by the consumption of a product. In this regard, shūyō as consumption and play has a similar relationship through an intermediary to shumi.
25 For example, published in 1916, 『武術最高極意―水之巻―』: Bujutsu Saikō Gokui: Mizunomaki, despite being a textbook on hypnotism as jūjutsu, was designated as having the greatest (最高: saikō) secrets (極意: gokui). Additionally, on hypnotism and violence, see 一柳廣孝『催眠術の日本近代 (復刊選書 7)』青弓社, 2006: Ichiyanagi Hirotaka, Saimin-jutsu no Nihon Kindai (Fukkan Sensho 7), Seikyūsha 2006. For more on Shōbukai and the occult, see 工藤龍太『近代武道・合気道の形成―「合気」の技術と思想―』早稲田大学学術叢書, 2015: Kudō Ryūta, Kindai Budō・Aikidō no Keisei: "Aiki" no Jūjutsu to Shisō, Waseda Daigaku Gakujutsu Sōsho, 2015.
26 For example, a member who obtained a textbook is said to have ‘been introduced as a member to a wealth of happiness’, but the explanation from start to finish focuses on the textbook having an excellent cover and binding, clear and polite photographs and commentaries, its volume, on it being more effective than going to a dojo, and so on (『武士道之日本』: Bushidō no Nihon', Vol. 3, No. 3, 1911, pg. 48).
27 strangely, the editor himself confessed on the page, 'All posted content is routine. In other words, the content is generally just those who have not had the opportunity for training due to living in mountainous or remote areas talking about entering Shōbukai through newspapers.
and magazines, getting results from hard work, obtaining excellent performance, or appreciating that their mind and body has become extremely energised, and giving praise to Shōbukai' (ibid., pgs. 54-55, summarised). Of course, in this context, the editor as well is a variant of a 'formless voice'.

28 From another perspective, despite all this, it is important that the goods of Shōbukai did sell. The reason being that here, too, we can see that the public wished for their location to be part of the nation.

29 From the viewpoint of the reader, it was not possible to judge whether the members posting in the contributions section were real or not. Additionally, even if the person mentioned were real, the possibility of the submission being chosen arbitrarily and edited leading up to publication was not disclosed on the reader side. In other words, only those connected to the publishing side of the newsletter knew the background of reader contribution content. Additionally, when looking at the roles of reader submission sections in women's magazines during the same era as the topic of this paper, Kitada found that they imitated a private/public sphere (Kitada Akihiro, Kōkoku no Tanjō: Kindai Media Bunka no Rekishi Shakaigaku, Iwanami Shoten, 2000, pgs. 134-142).

30 For example, a young person who has overcome weakness from a constitutional infirmity or a lack of perseverance through self-study giving a 'true confession' would correspond to this ('『武士道之日本』: Bushidō no Nihon', 1912, pgs. 49-50).

31 Looking at one submission as an example, in a text of less than 200 characters, a call to join the group is included three times with the lines 'brethren do not hesitate...', 'brethren, jūjutsu is...', and 'everyone, together so many...' ('『武士道之日本』: Bushidō no Nihon', 1911, pgs. 49-50).

32 On this point, Suzuki argued that youth magazines were overwhelmingly popular before and after the Russo-Japanese war, with readers responding strongly to calls from the print because of the charismatic characters, and a meaningful, energetic reader community was composed thereof (Suzuki Yasushi, 'Bukyō Rokubusaku no Kozō to Dokusha Kyōdōtai: Bōken Sekai ni Sanka suru Dokushatachi to Baikai-sha toshite no Shunrō,' Nara-jōshidai-gaku Bungakubu Kenkyū Kyōiku Nenpō (Vol. 9), 2012, pgs. 19-34).

33 For instance, according to Maruyama, 'cooperation from family-like ties and rituals, along with the old custom of mutual assistance formed buraku communities, and among them individuals were allowed to spring forth' (Maruyama Masao, Nihon no Shisō, Iwanami Shoten, 1961 (first edition), pg. 46). Furthermore, including 'independent movement of youth and ladies' (ibid., pg. 48), 'there was an influence of urbanisation in general' (ibid.) that was judged to be the 'influence of liberalism and individualism' (ibid.) that threatened the folk customs of the community (ibid.). On the other hand, it should not be overlooked that in rural villages incorporated without choice into a capitalistic commodity distribution economic system, individuality and freedom were also inevitably sought.

34 It is unknown how long the organisation lasted, but based on the texts available to the author, it was at least until 1929, so it would have survived until the early Showa era.

35 Noguchi Seihachirō stated 'it is the business of our company to try and save those Japanese citizens with poor constitution' ('『力』: Chikara', Special Issue, 1924, pg. 10).

36 Dōshikai sold nutritional supplements and,
justifying it logically as being for shūyō and health, they called these super-shūyō/super-health and published a textbook with the same name. There was tired content that was the same as that of the Shōbukai era, but at the same time very important points also emerged here. The super-shūyō and super-health goals brought positive awareness to people’s inherent power, and through that came the idea that ‘as soon as you recognise your own dignity’, ‘you can also understand the dignity of the Imperial Family and gratefulness for the nation’ (野口 凯風『超健康』 (改訂版)国民体力改造同志会, 1928, 60 頁: Noguchi Gaifū, Chō-kenkō (revised edition), Kokumin Tairyoku Kaizō Dōshikai, 1928, pg. 60). Here is nothing other than a simplistic direct connection between individuals and the state mediated by self-motivation. As to what it means, we should consider autonomous public spaces in modern Japan, the absence of an autonomous intermediary group, and problems brought on from immaturity, which are important topics to be brought up in the future.