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Ami Kobayashi

THE GAIT AS POLITICAL CHOREOGRAPHY

POLITICAL SCHOOL CEREMONIES FOR
THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE NATION-STATE
IN GERMANY AND JAPAN (1873-1945)



STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF
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Ami Kobayashi

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Studies in the History of Education and Culture



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Volume 8

Ami Kobayashi

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For Sandra

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Notes on the Transliteration and Translation of Non-English Names and Terms

1. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Japanese and German are my own.
2. Transliterated terms are presented in italics at first mention (e.g., *gunki*; *Körperkultur*) and presented in roman thereafter. Exceptions include proper nouns such as the names of people, places, institutions, and laws, which are all presented in roman.
3. The modified Hepburn style of romanization is used for transliteration into Japanese. Macrons indicate long vowels (ā, ī, ū, ē, ō), except for “ei” and certain instances of double “i.” Macrons are not used for place names that are widely known in English (e.g., Tokyo, not Tōkyō).
4. Japanese names are presented in East Asian order—family name first, followed by the given name—except for the names of Japanese authors who have published in English or German.

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The Choreography of National Identity: State Control of Human Gaits

He was so nervous that he couldn't walk correctly. He pushed his right arm and right foot forward at the same time. You know, the right way of walking is to push one's right arm and left foot forward and then one's left arm and right foot . . .

This is how my grandmother described her classmate who had become extremely nervous while walking onto a stage in front of the other students at their elementary school. When I was a child, my grandmother, who was born in 1930, often told me her childhood memories. For instance, she had to practice thrusting a bamboo spear, visualizing that she would one day use it to pierce through US soldiers. Among the odd school practices she told me about, one of the strangest was what she called the “right way of walking.” This made me wonder whether I had ever been taught how to “walk properly.” Like most Japanese children today, I had to learn to march not only as part of physical education but also for school assemblies and other events in kindergarten and elementary school. However, it was not something I had been particularly conscious of, and it had not felt like a strict disciplinary exercise at the time.

We tend to regard the upright gait as an anthropological feature and the standard, basic practice of all humans regardless of place, time, and culture. Having a propensity to ignore people with mobility challenges, our society has generally been designed around the majority, who can walk upright and move in what is considered the “proper” fashion. However, it is questionable whether only people with mobility limitations have difficulties performing the “proper gait.” How does our gait change as we grow older and weaker? Do we all always walk in the same way? Do we learn the “proper gait” in schools? What exactly is the “proper gait”?

The Diversity and Significance of the Human Gait

In his 1833 essay, “Théorie de la démarche” (Theory of walking), the French novelist and playwright Honoré de Balzac comprehensively described human gaits and their demonstrative effects, noting:

Is it not truly extraordinary to realize that ever since men have walked, no-one has ever asked why they walk, how they walk, whether they walk, whether they might walk better, what they achieve by walking, whether they might not have the means to regulate, change,

or analyze their walk: questions that bear on all the systems of philosophy, psychology, and politics with which the world is preoccupied?¹

Balzac was not alone in studying the human gait. In fact, according to anthropologist Wiktor Stoczkowski, the idea from classical antiquity that the free hand, liberated by bipedal locomotion, gives humans an intellectual superiority over non-human creatures was common among naturalists from the eighteenth century.²

Fellow anthropologist Tim Ingold supports the idea that bipedal locomotion was a crucial factor for human evolution, arguing that “whereas the feet, impelled by biomechanical necessity, undergird and propel the body within the natural world, the hands are free to deliver the intelligent designs or conceptions of the mind *upon* it.”³ While the hands have helped humans to master and control nature, the feet became increasingly regulated and disciplined through footwear, also crafted by the hands.⁴ Even so, Ingold points out, premodern travel accounts and missionaries’ reports, as well as nineteenth-century ethnographic literature, allude to the dexterity of the toes and the prehensile powers of the feet—such as in picking up a spear or holding cloth while sewing—among “primitive” people accustomed to going barefoot.⁵

The multifunctionality of the hands explains to some extent why they are more often researched than the feet in education and anthropology. One handbook on historical anthropology, for example, includes chapters about body parts like the hands, brain, eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, but not the feet or any other parts of the lower half of the body.⁶ Interestingly, there is also a chapter dedicated to “sitting,” but no chapter on “walking.” The importance of sitting is also evident in most modern school activities, which require students to be seated on chairs.⁷

Research in sociology, biometrics, and psychology, however, has paid more attention to the feet and walking, showing that the human gait changes and has been changed across time, space, and culture. In the view of French sociologist

1 This translation is from Tim Ingold, “Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet,” *Journal of Material Culture* 9, no. 3 (2004): 315. The original French text can be found in Honoré de Balzac, “Théorie de la démarche,” in *Oeuvres diverses de Honoré de Balzac*, Vol. 2, 1830–1835, ed. Marcel Bouteron and Henri Longnon (Paris: Louis Conard, 1938), 614.

2 Stoczkowski, *Explaining Human Origins: Myth, Imagination and Conjecture*, trans. M. Turton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 87.

3 Ingold, “Culture on the Ground,” 318.

4 Ingold, “Culture on the Ground,” 332.

5 Ingold, “Culture on the Ground,” 319, 337.

6 Christoph Wulf, ed., *Vom Menschen. Handbuch Historische Anthropologie* [On humankind: Handbook of historical anthropology] (Weinheim: Beltz, 1997).

7 According to Hajo Eickhoff, sitting promotes the development of cognitive abilities and manual skills. Eickhoff, “Sitzen” [Sitting], in Wulf, *Vom Menschen*, 489–500.

and anthropologist Marcel Mauss, the way human beings walk is closely related to their background and lifestyles; as such, there is no “natural” way of walking.⁸ Indeed, Tim Ingold notes the diversity of walking, which can depend “on the surface and contours of the ground, the shoes they are wearing (if any), the weather, and a host of other factors, including culturally specific expectations concerning the postures considered proper for different ages, genders, and social ranks.”⁹

Historical sources also demonstrate this diversity across cultures. Before Westernization, Japanese gaits differed from those of Europeans—due to the influence of rice growing, people walked with the knees bent and not fully extended to ensure stability on muddy rice paddies (see Chapter 2).¹⁰ While walking, they did not twist their body, and the center of gravity was situated above the front third of the feet.¹¹ This is an example of how an individual’s physical work influences how they walk. Furthermore, Yatabe Hidemasa, a researcher of traditional Japanese body techniques, noted the variety of gaits in the Edo period (1603–1868), referring to a *Nihon buyō* (日本舞踊, narrowly defined as traditional dancing based on kabuki) textbook, which described different types of walking for different roles and genders—for example, women’s strides were smaller with toes pointing inward, whereas men’s steps were bigger with toes pointing outward.¹² Similarly, in Western European countries since antiquity, men have typically employed the so-called “striding gait,” asserting their superiority over subject peoples and animals as they sally forth into the world, while women have generally walked with smaller, more nimble steps.¹³

In his exploration of the complex everyday behavior of human beings, the sociologist Erving Goffman made acute observations on walking and created a grammar of the unspoken language used in public places.¹⁴ According to Goffman, urban dwellers adhere to the rules of pedestrian traffic on a busy road, grasping and responding to a rich vocabulary of body language—walking down a city street is not merely a locomotive action but an intrinsically social activity that embodies the unspoken codes of social understanding necessary for orderly conduct in society.

8 Mauss, “Body Techniques,” in Marcel Mauss, *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979), 102.

9 Ingold, “Culture on the Ground,” 335.

10 Matsunami Minoru, “Hitei sareru karada / Kindaika sareru karada” [The rejected body / The modernized body], in *Kindai Nihon noshintai hyōshō* [Representations of the modern Japanese body], ed. Seto Kunihiko and Sugiyama Chizuru (Tokyo: Shinwasha, 2013), 157.

11 Takechi Tetsuji, *Dentō to danzetsu* [Tradition and rupture] (Tokyo: Fūjinsha, 1989), 27–34; Miura Masashi, *Shintai no reido* [The zero-degree body] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1994), 140.

12 Yatabe, *Tatazumai no bigaku. Nihonjin no shintaigihō* [The aesthetics of appearance: Japanese physical techniques] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2011), 52–54.

13 Ingold, “Culture on the Ground,” 324, 334.

14 Goffman, *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order* (London: Allen Lane, 1971).

Moreover, biometrics research suggests that individual gaits are so distinctive that information gleaned from a walking pedestrian's silhouette and posture may serve as a unique signature, like a "fingerprint," and be used for personal identity authentication.¹⁵ Likewise, psychological research shows that the way a person walks can influence their likelihood of being attacked by aggressive strangers. Psychologists Betty Grayson and Morris Stein filmed short clips of study participants walking along New York's streets and showed them to violent inmates, finding that the movements of those selected by the inmates as "easy targets" were subtly less coordinated than those who were not selected.¹⁶ Even when all other identifying information such as unique clothing was removed and accounted for, inmates still selected some individuals as more vulnerable to assault than others based on how they moved. Subsequent training of study participants in how to walk, specifically focusing on the synchronicity and energy of their movement, led to a significant drop in their vulnerability ratings.¹⁷ In this way, walking can be regarded as a cultural performance shaped by societal expectations. I would argue, therefore, that beyond their biomechanical and locomotive functions, the feet also function as a part of a social body.

While research in different fields shows that individual gaits are diverse, the upright gait as a whole is sometimes considered the defining symbol of human beings. The ideal Western upright gait with long strides, according to historian Jan N. Bremmer, dates back to ancient Greece, or even earlier when men had to bear arms to protect themselves and their possessions.¹⁸ This ideal gait can be found in depictions of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, in which humans look ahead and march forward while stooping apes follow obediently behind.¹⁹

Indeed, the gait as a movement going forward began to be associated with progress in the modern era. According to historians Christian Meier and Reinhart Koselleck, the word for progress in German, *Fortschritt*, means, in general, a

15 Yoshimura Takuro and Kirishima Toshiyuki, "Kojin shikibetsu no tame no hokō dōsa tokuchō no chūshutsu to hyōka" [Extraction and evaluation of human gait features for person identification], *IPJS SIG Technical Report* 161, no. 43 (2008): 287–92.

16 Grayson and Stein, "Attracting Assault: Victims' Nonverbal Cues," *Journal of Communication* 31, no. 1 (1981): 68–75; see also Tom Stafford, "How the Way We Walk Can Increase Risk of Being Mugged," *BBC*, November 5, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20131104-how-muggers-size-up-your-walk>.

17 Stafford, "How the Way We Walk."

18 Bremmer, "Walking, Standing and Sitting in Ancient Greek Culture," in *A Cultural History of Gesture*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), 16–23, 27; see also Ingold, "Culture on the Ground," 325.

19 Ingold, "Culture on the Ground," 324f.

movement for improvement.²⁰ *Fort* means “forward” and *Schritt* means “step.” Similarly, in the Japanese word for progress, *shinpo* (進歩), *shin* (進) means “forward” and *po* (歩) means “step.” In premodern times, the term referred simply to the physical act of moving or walking forward, but as Japan modernized *shinpo* became associated with the abstract concept of progress and used in relation to political, technological, and medical developments.²¹

The modern association between “going forward” and “development” explains to some extent the popularity of marching in parades throughout history—if the human gait were merely a means of locomotion, marching would be a meaningless movement that wastes energy and goes nowhere. The upright gait seems to be given special significance even in our daily lives, not only in military or political ceremonies. When a child stands up and walks on their two legs for the first time, most parents are deeply moved, as if it were their child’s very first step as a human being. In the field of robotics, researchers have put enormous effort into creating robots that can walk with two legs and, instead of creating the perfect robotic wheelchair, they have developed machines to support patients to walk with two legs. Such examples abound, highlighting how the bipedal upright gait is regarded as an essential part of being human.

In summary, the gaits of individuals are diverse and depend on the environments and cultures they live in. If one’s gait were to deviate from societal expectations significantly, it would likely cause social difficulties and friction. At the same time, the upright bipedal walk is generally regarded as a symbol of human beings and has been associated with the idea of development. In this regard, the feet play a crucial role in walking as a collective and cultural performance. Yet, as explicated in the following section, the feet have also been assigned for biomechanical and locomotive work, making them subject to control, both by oneself and by others.

Marching for Togetherness: The Feet as a Target of State Control

Research in anthropology and cultural history highlights the social and cultural aspects of gaits. Sociologist Émile Durkheim found that synchronous activities like marching lead to “collective effervescence”—positive emotions that serve to

²⁰ Meier and Koselleck, “Fortschritt” [Progress], in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* [Basic historical concepts], ed. Reinhart Koselleck, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta), 351, 420.

²¹ See, e.g., “Igaku no shinpo wa kekkōdaga, kusuri no urikata ni wa musekinin ga ōi” [Medical progress is good, but there is a lot of irresponsibility in how medicines are sold], letter to the editor, *Yomiuri Shinbun*, March 13, 1875, morning edition, p. 2.

unify the group.²² According to Durkheim, individual minds cannot come into contact and communicate with each other without some type of bodily movement, be it verbal or nonverbal. It is the homogeneity and synchronicity of these movements that give the group self-consciousness and consequently make it exist, as society cannot make its influence felt unless the individuals who compose the society are assembled together and act in common.²³ Similarly, the historian William H. McNeill argues that various communities benefit from “muscular bonding,” that is, the group builds cohesiveness through physical synchronicity, “keeping together in time, moving big muscles together, and chanting, singing, or shouting rhythmically.”²⁴ He suggests that collective movements support the feeling of togetherness, evoking in the participants the sensation of a strong, warm, and conjoined “we,” even temporarily connecting different social classes to create a group or strengthening the bonds of an already existing group.²⁵ Indeed, large, complex human societies probably could not maintain themselves without such kinesthetic undergirding.²⁶

Sports scientist Thomas Alkemeyer also suggests that upon generating a sense of belonging among a group of people moving together, a more abstract idea such as “patriotic feelings” can be constructed.²⁷ Even research in the field of applied robotics has demonstrated the relationship between walking rhythms and a sense of togetherness: Miyake Yoshihiro’s research with assisted walking robots and the generation of rhythmic sounds has shown that people walk unconsciously in step with others, even if they can only hear the sounds of collective walking, and that this contributes to the stabilization of the gait and the feeling of togetherness.²⁸

22 Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964), 383.

23 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 231, 419.

24 McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time. Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 2.

25 McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*, 2–3.

26 McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*, 4–5.

27 Alkemeyer, “Verkörperte Gemeinschaftlichkeit. Bewegungen als Medien und Existenzweisen des Sozialen” [Embodied communality. Movements as media and modes of social existence], in *Die Körperlichkeit sozialen Handelns. Soziale Ordnung jenseits von Normen und Institutionen* [The physicality of social action. Social order beyond norms and institutions], ed. Fritz Böhle and Margrit Wehrich (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2010), 343–45.

28 Miyake, “Interpersonal Synchronization of Body Motion and the Walk-Mate Walking Support Robot,” *IEEE Transactions on Robotics* 25, no. 3 (2009): 638–44; Yoshihiro, “Co-creation System for Community Interface: Creation of “Place” for Sympathy by Walk-Mate System,” *Journal of the Robotics Society of Japan* 24, no. 6 (2006): 700–707.

Besides contributing to group-building, collective walking can also visually represent abstract ideas such as strength and unity toward others who are watching it. This is probably one of the reasons why marching has been practiced not only as a means of military training and physical education but also as a form of political representation all over the world. Marching can be basically regarded as choreography, aimed not only to convey certain movements but also to train a group of people, such as men of the royal court, to embody certain social habits.²⁹

Moreover, in many modern nation-states, marching was practiced in physical education classes.³⁰ Before and during the Second World War, educational institutions put great effort into teaching children the “proper gait.” A number of publications show that students at the time marched in order to practice the “normal” and “correct” gait to perform in political ceremonies. Such ceremonies often targeted children in addition to adults, as children were expected to sustain the political system in the future. Compared to political ceremonies, however, far less research has been conducted on school ceremonies, although school life is actually full of ceremonial activities through which students learn and acquire body techniques.

As many scholars have already revealed, languages and symbols play an important role within ceremonies, but in this book I will mainly focus on bodily actions. This is because, firstly, the display of a collective body may represent the idea of unity and help to convey an image of the nation-state.³¹ Secondly, marching exercises and ceremonies can be regarded as what Judith Butler calls “performance,” that is, specific repetitive practices that link individual and collective behavior, which are crucial for the construction and reproduction of identity narratives as well as of attachment.³² They are also what linguist Andrew Hewitt describes as “social choreography,” which transfers cultural norms via the body and represents and constructs the social order and belonging.³³

29 Gabriele Brandstetter, “Choreographie” [Choreography], in *Metzler Lexikon Theatertheorie* [Metzler dictionary of theater theory], ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Doris Kolesch, and Matthias Warstatt (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2005), 52–3.

30 Christoph Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen. Eine Einführung in die historische Anthropologie* [The riddle of humanity. An introduction to historical anthropology] (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), 40–41.

31 Erika Fischer-Lichte, “Verkörperung” [Embodiment], in Fischer-Lichte, Kolesch, and Warstatt, *Metzler Lexikon Theatertheorie*, 379–80.

32 Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal* 40 (1988): 519–20, 524–28.

33 Hewitt, *Social Choreography. Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 2.

Transnational Comparative Perspectives on Marching in National Education

Marching parades have been an integral part of political ceremonies all over the world, regardless of differences in political, historical, and cultural backgrounds. Although each ceremony is strongly affected by the local cultural context, I will argue that they all share the same character in that they are organized from above for the consolidation of the existing political system. Thus, in this book, I will investigate marching parades from a transnational perspective.

I understand “transnational” here as a posture, rather than a methodological approach, which encourages us to look beyond and between nationally defined borders. For instance, in the research on how political ceremonies spread within Japan, there is little focus on their origins or their commonalities with political ceremonies overseas.³⁴ In order to understand how countries with their distinct embedded cultures and traditions deployed marching parades of youth, I will first conduct a comparative analysis and then try to highlight the “links and flows,” namely, how ideas and patterns of marching ceremonies may have operated across polities and societies.³⁵ This transnational comparative study is also based on educational scientist Thomas S. Popkewitz’s notion that “a transnational comparative history of education can provide an important mode of thinking about the modern school as a historical project, generating multiple trajectories that are not tied to the geographical boundaries of the nation.”³⁶

To conduct transfer research, I regard comparative studies as an initial and essential step. National educational systems did not evolve in isolation. After the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), the Prussian school system attracted attention

34 See, e.g., Yamamoto Nobuyuki and Konno Toshihiko, *Kindai kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogī* [The emperor ideology of modern education] (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1981); Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai* [Japan’s educational issues], vol. 5 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Hōrei Shuppan, 2002); Ono Masaaki, “Gakkō shitatsuke ‘goshin-ei’ no fukyū katei to sono shoki ‘hōgo’ no keitai” [The proliferation of “Imperial Portraits” in schools and their “protection” in the early years], *Kyōiku zasshi* 24 (1990): 58–72.

35 Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier, “Introduction,” in *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History: From the Mid-19th Century to the Present Day*, ed. Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (London: Palgrave, 2009), xviii.

36 Popkewitz, “Transnational as Comparative History: (Un)Thinking Difference in the Self and Others,” in *The Transnational in the History of Education: Concepts and Perspectives*, ed. Eugenia Roldán Vera and Eckhardt Fuchs (London: Palgrave, 2019), 286.

worldwide, from the Ottoman Empire to Chile and Japan.³⁷ In Japan, Germany (i.e., Prussia) was the third most popular country from which to invite qualified teachers, after the US and England.³⁸ By comparing the collective displays of the nation-state in Japan and Germany, and investigating the possible knowledge transfers behind this, I aim to reveal the differences between what was referenced as a model and what was actually occurring in each country.

As problematized by educational historian Edward Vickers, Japan is often regarded as an “exception” or is somehow “forgotten” in postcolonial discourses, since the depiction of “colonialism” or “coloniality” as uniquely “Western” ignores non-Western forms of colonialism.³⁹ Yet it is important to relocate Japan in the field of postcolonial studies in order to encourage nonbinary postcolonial perspectives. As both an object of colonization and a colonial power, Japan exemplifies how one country can fit into both categories. Moreover, social historian Hans-Ulrich Wehler has argued that postcolonial studies in Britain cannot be simply adapted to the case of the German Empire (1871–1918), as there were far fewer people involved in the latter’s colonial projects than there were in the former’s.⁴⁰ Although the knowledge transfer from Germany to Japan was very asymmetric, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, their relationship differed from that of Britain and India. Therefore, in addition to being the first step in writing a transnational history of education, this comparative study contributes to tackling the dichotomous perspective of a colonialist “Western modernity” and the universally victimized “non-West,” shedding light on cases of asymmetric knowledge transfer between countries positioned somewhere between the two.⁴¹

37 Cristina Alarcón López, *Modelltransfer im Schatten des Krieges. “Deutsche” Bildungs- und “Preußische” Militärreformen in Chile (1879–1920)* [Model transfer in the shadow of the war. “German” education and “Prussian” military reforms in Chile (1879–1920)] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2014).

38 Imamura Yoshio, *Gakkō taiiku to supōtsu sokushin undō no rekishi* [The history of physical education in schools and the sports promotion movement] (Tokyo: Organizing Committee of the International Seminar of Physical Education and Sports History, 1981), 13.

39 Vickers, “Critiquing Coloniality, ‘Epistemic Violence’ and Western Hegemony in Comparative Education: The Dangers of Ahistoricism and Positionality,” *Comparative Education* 56, no. 2 (2020): 170, 178.

40 Wehler noted that one can observe colonial experience in the history of the mentality of the German bourgeoisie (*die Mentalitätsgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums*). Wehler, “Transnationale Geschichte—der neue Königsweg historischer Forschung?” [Transnational history: The new ideal of historical research?], in *Transnationale Geschichte. Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien* [Transnational history: Themes, trends and theories], ed. Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad, and Oliver Janz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 167f.

41 Vickers, “Critiquing Coloniality,” 168–71.

In order to explore the entangled relationship between the individual marching body and the symbolic body of the nation-state, in the following chapters I will investigate the history of marching exercises in physical education and politically affiliated school ceremonies in Germany and Japan, where they were used to help establish and consolidate the nation-state through collective and physical experiences. In terms of the time frame, I have chosen to focus on the period between 1873 and 1945 for several reasons.

The German Empire was founded after the Franco-Prussian War in 1871. While many schools celebrated military victories in 1871 and 1872, a ministerial decree in 1873 marked the start of annual ceremonies for the Day of Sedan (Sedantag) to commemorate the Prussian victory over Napoleon III in the Battle of Sedan in 1870 (see Chapter 3). These official ceremonies established and consolidated the nation-state through collective and physical experiences, honoring soldiers and their self-sacrifice, until the end of the First World War and the collapse of the empire in 1918. Subsequently, political ceremonies for the Day of Sedan and the Emperor's Birthday vanished and were replaced by new ceremonies that had the same social and political functions in the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) and in Nazi Germany (1933–1945).

The Franco-Prussian War sparked Japanese intellectuals' interest in Prussia. Likely inspired by Prussian school ceremonies, Mori Arinori (1847–1889), Japan's first Minister of Education, encouraged schools to celebrate three national holidays from 1889—New Year (四方拜 *Shihōhai*), Emperor's Birthday (天長節 *Tenchōsetsu*), and National Foundation Day (紀元節 *Kigen-setsu*)—to foster patriotism among children.⁴² These ceremonies remained basically unchanged until 1945. The end of the Second World War would lead to social and political upheavals in both Germany and Japan and the above political ceremonies vanished from schools. Although political ceremonies continued to play an important role in East Germany, I decided to end my research period in 1945, when the city of Berlin was divided into two parts that then adopted different political systems.

The Structure of This Book

This book consists of five chapters, which address the relationship between a) the individual marching body, b) gymnastics classes in schools, and c) political ceremonies in public spaces. This multilayered comparative research explores how

⁴² Satō Hideo, *Kyōiku no bunkashi* [A cultural history of education], vol. 1, *Gakkō no kōzō* [The school structure] (Kyoto: Aunsha, 2004), 175–205; in regard to the influence from Germany, see Chapter 3.

Japan and Germany interacted in the process of modeling individual bodies into a united “docile body” that was deployed for the consolidation of the nation-state. Through analyzing not only the marching practices themselves but also the political and educational contexts, this book aims to crystalize a variety of knowledge transfers within the research framework. The main questions are: How did German and Japanese authorities choreograph the ideal gait, and how did they transmit it to students? How were political ceremonies constructed in German and Japanese schools, and what did the collective gaits of students represent in those ceremonies? Furthermore, which aspects of marching exercises and school ceremonies may have been transferred from Germany to Japan?

In Chapter 1, I will define and clarify key concepts in this research—including marching and the school systems of Germany and Japan—and discuss why ritual theories can be useful for investigating political and school ceremonies. Furthermore, I will discuss the relationship between these two countries and why it is fruitful to conduct comparative research on their capital cities, Berlin and Tokyo, as a space for national ceremonies. I also introduce the primary sources and archives used in this research.

Then, in Chapter 2, I will explore German and Japanese physical education, including marching exercises, from the 1870s to the First World War, discussing why it was established as a part of school programs, and how these exercises related to state ideologies and political ceremonies. Drawing on Michel Foucault’s theory of discipline,⁴³ I will discuss how students’ physical activities were controlled, both in the form of examination and in the form of ceremony. After comparing the development of physical education in both countries, I will discuss the possible knowledge transfers behind them.

In Chapter 3, I will explore political school ceremonies in both countries and tackle the question of how these ceremonies became intertwined (or not intertwined) with physical activities from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century. I will also discuss how pre-existing and newly imported ritual components were integrated into the new school ceremonies.

Next, in Chapter 4, I will explore German and Japanese political ceremonies and physical activities in the interwar period as well as during the Second World War, especially how marching exercises and school ceremonies changed and were integrated into mass political events. I will carefully examine the continuity of physical education and political school ceremonies across these eras, as well as

⁴³ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

the role of the Hitler Youth (Hitlerjugend), whose visual image was circulated within Japan and often referenced by Japanese experts.

In Chapter 5, I will discuss marching in political ceremonies as a form of examination, which not only provided an occasion for observation and control by charismatic political leaders, but also created a space for collective movements, experiences, and sensations. Finally, I will compare the entangled nature of the individual body, the marching collective body, and state ceremonies, while exploring what was referenced or transferred between the two countries.

Shedding light on the transnational character of marching ceremonies and the underlying knowledge transfers, this book explores the relationship between marching (physical education) and political ceremonies for the consolidation of the nation-state, primarily in terms of cultural performance, rather than ideas or ideologies. It reveals that the nationalization of school-age youths relied heavily on emotionally charged collective bodily experiences. Drawing from literature in three languages (English, German, and Japanese) and archived sources written in German and Japanese, many of which have hitherto not been translated, I aim to offer English-language readers a deeper insight into the histories of German and Japanese education.

Chapter 1

The History of Gait as an Educational, Political, and Daily Performance

Before delving deeply into the two specific case studies of Germany and Japan from 1873 to 1945, I will begin in this chapter by discussing the physical, social, and ceremonial aspects of marching in the modern nation-state. Marching often has a disciplinary aspect and was thus once integrated into school gymnastics. At the same time, as Foucault's theory of discipline suggests, modern discipline is strongly connected to political power. Therefore, it is essential to consider marching performance within the framework of political ceremonies. In this book, I regard political ceremonies as a form of political ritual that visualizes the abstract concept of the nation-state through symbols, languages, and collective moving bodies. In discussing the knowledge transfer from Germany to Japan, I focus on Berlin and Tokyo, which were two capital cities that created a special space for such rituals through the collective body of their elite male students in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the end of this chapter, I introduce the German- and Japanese-language primary sources and archives used in this research.

1.1 Marching as Discipline

Characteristics and functions of marching

Marching requires training and practice, since it is not the most comfortable or instinctive way of walking, although people's automatic reflex, such as keeping their balance on a shaking bridge, may also lead to an unintentional synchronization of gaits.¹ At the beginning of the eighteenth century, marching lockstep was introduced to the army in European states, since linear tactics, the typical battle formation at the time, required soldiers on the battlefield to line up and march in orderly formation toward the enemy.² When two of these well-oiled enemy formations confronted each other, the side that killed more soldiers than the other would win the battle. With advances in firearms, tactics changed and soldiers no longer marched

1 Kuramoto Yoshiki, *Hisenjō kagaku* [Nonlinear science] (Tokyo: Shuei, 2014), chap. 2.

2 Reinhold Müller and Manfred Lachmann, *Spielmann – Trompeter – Hoboist* [Minstrel – trumpeter – oboist] (Berlin: Militärverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1988), 15.

on the battlefields. However, marching between battlefields helped commanders to calculate the time required to move troops over long distances.

Indeed, both armies and schools continued to place a high value on precise and synchronized marching. With the introduction of compulsory military service in the modern era, children's gaits also became a part of the state education program. All children were considered future soldiers who should be disciplined, trained, and able to march. Until the twentieth century, it was generally believed that military drills and regulated collective movements were indispensable for keeping the troops disciplined.³

Military events and political ceremonies, including mass marching, were often organized to unite and control a large group of people under the name of the nation-state, especially under totalitarian regimes. Thus, I would argue that marching in political ceremonies created a space for sensorial and emotional experiences: seeing spectacles of mass movement with flags and costumes; hearing marching music, the rhythmical sounds of steps, and people's cries; and feeling the movement and warmth of others. Thus, marching has had multiple functions, such as enhancing the feeling of togetherness within the group and representing unity and strength toward others who are watching.

Considering its performative aspects, marching can be regarded as a performance of choreographed movements like dancing. Since the late seventeenth century, dance masters in Europe started to write down and document the choreography of dances, not only to convey certain dance movements but also to train people in appropriate court behavior.⁴ Choreography as a form of organized bodily movement has played a crucial role in political ceremonies, since it regulates actions and interactions in a public space.⁵ This differs from other walking styles like flaneur (*flâneur*). Originally essential to any literary depiction of nineteenth-century Parisian street life, flaneur became the object of scholarly interest as an archetype of the modern urban experience in the twentieth century.⁶ Flaneur refers to walking without any destination or aim, which was thought to enable people to experience a city in various ways. These experiences are inconsistent, scattered, and not necessarily connected to each other.⁷ Marching, on the contrary, usually had clear aims and the totality of the marching experience constructed a social meaning.

3 Müller and Lachmann, *Spielmann – Trompeter – Hoboist*, 29–30.

4 Brandstetter, "Choreographie," 52–3.

5 Brandstetter, "Choreographie," 52–3.

6 Gregory Shaya, "The Flâneur, the Badaud, and the Making of a Mass Public in France, circa 1860–1910," *American Historical Review* 109 (2004): 46–47.

7 Shaya, "The Flâneur," 46–51, 76.

As modern nation-states emerged, the gait of the masses became connected to political ideologies. Since marching requires us to suppress diverse individual gaits and to walk in a specific way, educational institutions took on the role of training and homogenizing individuals' gaits. Marching was practiced in physical education classes and deployed in political ceremonies. Therefore, marching was not merely a physical exercise but also a choreographed aesthetic performance strongly connected to political ideologies.⁸

In order to perform in political ceremonies, one had to first learn the choreography, a process that can be also understood as a form of “mimesis,” which is an anthropological concept that refers to any imitating behaviors formed based on observations made by the senses.⁹ Referencing Plato, anthropologist Christoph Wulf argues that children and youths experience and acquire appropriate social behaviors by interacting with others in their society, using all their sensory organs and perceiving how others view the world, behave, and present themselves in their daily lives, and then acting in a way that incorporates this information.¹⁰ Idealized social models, such as war heroes, that provoke emulation and mimetic self-improvement in children and youths, play an important role in this process through which a social body can be constructed.¹¹

In historical anthropology, “human nature” is understood not only as a biological and evolutionary phenomenon but also as a historical and cultural construct—thus, according to Wulf, there is no “natural” human body, as it is always constituted in the framework of a historical and cultural process.¹² However, within historical and cultural contexts, there have always been certain forms of bodies that have been regarded as “natural.” These standards often contributed to concealing socially constructed power relations and distracting people from reconsidering the existing social order.¹³

8 Gabriele Brandstetter, “Tanz” [Dance], in Fischer-Lichte, Kolesch, and Warstatt, *Metzler Lexikon Theatertheorie*, 328.

9 Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen*, 32.

10 Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen*, 25–7.

11 Wulf's concept of mimesis includes broad fields such as the infant's encounter of the world, and he argues that the products of mimesis are not merely copies of an original model, but rather individual, diverse, and creative constructions. Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen*, 42.

12 Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen*, 32, 34.

13 Wulf, *Das Rätsel des Humanen*, 40–41.

Studies on the history of physical education

In Germany, such physical education experts as Rudolf Gasch, Edmund Neuenendorff, and Carl Diem, one of the founders of the first sports college in Berlin, had already published books on the history of physical education in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁴ After the Second World War, sports historians such as Horst Ueberhorst and Michael Fritz Krüger also edited books on the history of physical education in Germany.¹⁵

As for Japan, in 1928, the physical education experts Shingyōji Rōsei and Yoshiwara Tosuke wrote what was arguably the first book on the history of the subject in modern Japanese schools.¹⁶ After the Second World War, Imamura Yoshio, Satō Tomohisa, Kinoshita Hideaki, Kawamura Hideo, and Kawashima Torao, among others, also explored this history.¹⁷ Irie Katsumi specifically focused on the pedagogical ideas behind physical education, especially during the 1930s and the Second World War,¹⁸ while Kinoshita Hideaki and Okuno Takeshi studied the history of military gymnastics in modern Japanese schools.¹⁹

In regard to the relationship between sports and political order, Gunter Gebauer and Thomas Alkemeyer, among others, conceptualized sports as a mimetic

14 See, e.g., Gasch, *Geschichte der Turnkunst* [History of gymnastics] (Leipzig: G.I. Göschen'sche, 1910); Carl Diem, Arthur Mallwitz, and Edmund Neuendorff, *Handbuch der Leibesübungen* [Handbook of physical exercise], vol. 1, *Vereine und Verbände für Leibesübungen. Verwaltungswesen* [Clubs and associations for physical exercise. Administration] (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925).

15 See, e.g., Ueberhorst, ed., *Geschichte der Leibesübungen* [History of physical exercise], 5 vols (Berlin: Bartels und Wernitz, 1972–1989); Krüger, ed., *Einführung in die Geschichte der Leibeserziehung und des Sports* [Introduction to the history of physical education and sport], 6 vols. (Schorn-dorf: Hofmann, 2005).

16 Shingyōji and Yoshiwara, *Kindai Nihon taiiku-shi* [History of physical education in modern Japan] (Tokyo: Ariake Shobō, 1984).

17 Imamura, *Nihon taiiku-shi* [History of Japanese physical education] (Tokyo: Kaneko, 1951); Satō Tomohisa, *Nihon taisō jitsugi-shi no kenkyū* [Research on the history of gymnastics in Japan] (Tokyo: Dōwa, 1971); Kinoshita, *Nihon taiiku-shi kenkyū josetsu* [An introduction to the study of the history of physical education in Japan] (Tokyo: Fumaidō, 1971); Kinoshita, *Supōtsu kindai Nihon-shi* [History of sport in modern Japan] (Tokyo: Kyōrin, 1972); Kawamura, *Nihon taiiku-shi* [History of Japanese physical education] (Tokyo: Shōyō, 1979); Kawashima, *Nihon taiiku-shi kenkyū* [Studies in the history of Japanese physical education] (Nagoya: Reimei, 1982).

18 Irie, *Nihon fashizumu-ka no taisō shisō* [The philosophy of physical education under Japanese fascism] (Tokyo: Fumaidō, 1986); Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron* [A theory of sport in the Shōwa period] (Tokyo: Fumaidō, 1991).

19 Kinoshita, *Heishiki taisō kara mita gun to kyōiku* [Physical education and the military from the perspective of military exercises] (Tokyo: Kyōrin, 1982); Okuno, *Heishiki taisō seiritsu-shi no kenkyū* [The history of military exercises] (Tokyo: Waseda, 2013).

and performative activity that symbolically represents the social order.²⁰ Susan Brownell, who analyzed the body culture in China, also argued that structured body movements may generate a moral orientation if they are assigned symbolic, moral significance and repeated frequently enough,²¹ whereas Wolfram Manzenreiter concluded that sports in Japan, like in other countries, expressed political ideals and supported state-sponsored nationalism.²² His argument resonates with that of the historian Maren Lorenz, who investigated the entangled relationships between bodily practices and national identity construction. She noted that the image of the national body was homogenized through military training and sports, not only in Germany but also in France and Italy.²³

The existing research on the history of the body and physical education has revealed the intentions of the nation-state behind the development of physical education. However, there has been little attention on how physical education was subject to examination by the nation-state or its political and ceremonial aspects. In this book, I focus on choreographed, trained marching to explore the practice of the “correct gait” in schools and its political meanings. I investigate how marching has functioned in school programs, both in physical education and in school ceremonies, as a process of constructing a social body that moves and reacts according to the existing social and political order.

Michel Foucault’s theory of discipline

Michel Foucault’s theory of discipline is a central reference for discussing marching as a set of disciplinary practices in schools, which were regulated and subject to inspection or examination by the nation-state. According to Foucault, mastery and awareness of one’s own body can be acquired only through the investment of power in the body, such as from gymnastics, exercises, or glorification of the

²⁰ Gebauer and Alkemeyer, “Das Performative in Sport und neuen Spielen” [The performative in sports and new games], *Paragrana. Internationale Zeitschrift für Historische Anthropologie* 10, no. 1 (2002): 365–96.

²¹ Brownell, *Training the Body for China. Sports in the Moral Order of the People’s Republic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 11–13.

²² Manzenreiter, “Performing the Nation: Discourses and Displays of Sporting Bodies in Modern Japan,” *Asiatische Studien: Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft* 58, no. 3 (2004): 761–82.

²³ Lorenz, *Leibhaftige Vergangenheit. Einführung in die Körpergeschichte* [The past and the corporeal: Introduction to the history of the body] (Tübingen: Diskord, 2000), 118.

beautiful body.²⁴ In analyzing the social and theoretical mechanisms behind the changes that occurred in Western penal systems during the modern age, Foucault introduced the idea of a new form of disciplinary power, which he observed was mainly developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because modern institutions required bodies to be individuated according to their tasks to enhance productivity, as well as for training, observation, and control. Foucault argued that discipline creates “docile bodies,” which function in an ideal way in factories, ordered military regiments, and classrooms of the modern industrial age, but disciplinary institutions must be able to constantly observe, examine, and mold the bodies they control, rather than using excessive force.²⁵ Furthermore, Foucault argued that examination, a technique by which the sovereign exercised their disciplinary power on their subjects, transformed the economy of visibility into an exercise of power.²⁶ The gaze of those in positions of power is an important technique of this modern power:

There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorizing to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself.²⁷

Traditionally, power was what was seen, shown, and manifested, while those on whom power was exercised generally remained in the shade. In the seventeenth century, for example, the king’s body was not a metaphor but a political reality, as its physical presence was necessary for the functioning of the monarchy.²⁸ Before the industrial revolution, a political ceremony was a stage for the sovereign’s ceremonial appearance. Disciplinary power, in contrast, imposes a principle of compulsory visibility on the subjects, while the power center remains invisible.²⁹

In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen, who have to stand under the spotlight, so that they are always ready to be controlled by the sovereign power. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection. The examination is the technique by which power, instead of emitting the

24 Foucault, “Body/Power,” trans. Colin Gordon, in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*, by Michel Foucault, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 56.

25 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 135–69, 170–94.

26 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187–88.

27 Michel Foucault. “The Eye of Power,” in Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 155.

28 Foucault. “Body/Power,” 55.

29 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 213.

signs of its potency, holds them in a mechanism of objectification. Disciplinary power essentially manifests its potency by arranging objects.³⁰

Foucault argued that reviews and parades are an ostentatious form of the examination of docile bodies, in which the “subjects” are presented as “objects” to the observation of a power. According to Foucault, in a modern disciplinary society, the subjects do not receive the image of the sovereign power directly; they only feel its effects on their bodies.³¹ Following Foucault, I would argue that political ceremonies in which students march together can also be regarded as a form of disciplinary examination—a manifestation of power in which bodies are “arranged” under the spotlight and observed, by not only politically high-ranking individuals but also other audiences and participants, including classmates and teachers.

1.2 Marching as Ritual

Theories of ritual

In order to explore how marching is examined and used in ceremonies, it is essential to consider ritual theories and the history of political and school rituals, which function in a similar way to political ceremonies. A part of human social life since ancient times, rituals became an object of scientific research for the first time in the nineteenth century and have since been intensively researched in different disciplines.

Émile Durkheim, who laid the foundation for the study of the social functions of religious rituals, posited that rites and rituals are a means by which the social group reaffirms itself periodically.³² He stated that collective thought required individuals to physically join together to create a common experience that was shared by the group. Certain behavioral patterns in rituals, such as uttering the same cry, pronouncing the same word, or performing the same gesture toward some special object, make the participants feel they are in unison—the homogeneity of movements leads to group consciousness, as individual minds cannot come into contact and communicate with each other except by movements of some kind, verbal or nonverbal.³³ Once this homogeneity is established and these

³⁰ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187.

³¹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187–88.

³² Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 387.

³³ Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 231.

movements have taken a stereotyped form, they serve to symbolize the corresponding representations.³⁴

Inspired by Durkheim's study of the social functions of rituals, sociologists and anthropologists investigated the political functions of rituals. The sociologist Erving Goffman, who studied symbolic interaction using dramaturgical analysis, defined ritual as a "modelled symbolic performance," which enables the sanctification and definition of an authority.³⁵ Moreover, the cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz studied cultural symbols and the frames of meaning through which each culture views the world. He argued that at the political center of any complex, organized society, a governing elite justifies their existence and orders their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtenances that they have either inherited or, in more revolutionary situations, invented.³⁶

Since political rituals take different forms and can be observed in different times and spaces, religious studies scholar Catherine Bell defined them as follows:

As a particularly loose genre, political rituals can be said to comprise those ceremonial practices that specifically construct, display and promote the power of political institutions (such as king, state, the village elders) or the political interests of distinct constituencies and subgroups.³⁷

After the emergence of modern nation-states, rituals remained one of the indispensable political tools that can display and even construct the political order as a natural matter of course.³⁸ Already in the eighteenth century, the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose political philosophy influenced the overall development of modern educational thought, emphasized the importance of the "festival" for building nation-states in his *Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles* (Letter on spectacles to M. D'Alembert).³⁹ As historian George L. Mosse explains, Rousseau described how ancient Greek theater and sport helped to foster national pride and awareness in the form of open-air patriotic ceremonies that gathered people around a monument to commemorate significant past achievements or events.⁴⁰

34 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 231, 419.

35 Goffman, *Interaction Ritual* (New York: Doubleday, 1967), 19, 22–23, 31–33; see also Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 141.

36 Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*, ed. Joseph Ben-David and Terry Nichols Clarke (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 153.

37 Bell, *Ritual*, 128.

38 Bell, *Ritual*, 128–35.

39 Rousseau, *Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles* (London: University of London, 1903).

40 Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen. Politische Symbolik und Massenbewegungen in Deutschland von den Napoleonischen Kriegen bis zum Dritten Reich* [The nationalization of the

In political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson's view, the nation is "an imagined community": the concept of the nation-state is abstract and invisible.⁴¹ Thus, the visual was of prime importance in national self-representation, providing the symbols that solidified national myths and aspirations. Indeed, emerging nation-states used visual means to present national images and at the same time control and discipline the appearance and behavior of the masses.⁴² The importance of the visual representation of nation-states was also noted by political theorist Michael Walzer, who argued that the state as an abstract idea is invisible: "it must be personified before it can be seen, symbolized before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived."⁴³ Similar observations were made by the anthropologist and political scientist Myron J. Aronoff, who noted that political rituals are more often observed in a state under a new regime dominated by a single party.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the anthropologist and historian David I. Kertzer, a specialist in the political, demographic, and religious history of Italy, noted that at the center of political rituals in a young nation-state one can often find a heroic personality who leads their people toward a bright future.⁴⁵

Political rituals connect the past, the present, and the future of the nation-state and give meaning to them so that participants may have a particular understanding of what is happening in front of their eyes (in a very simple form).⁴⁶ They cultivate cultural memory and give participants a new perspective of seeing and understanding a patriotic national history.⁴⁷ Although Émile Durkheim did not use the term "collective memory," he also noted that societies require continuity and connection with the past to preserve social unity and cohesion.⁴⁸ Eric Hobsbawm claimed that national histories are constructed to address present and future inter-

masses. Political symbolism and mass movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars to the Third Reich] (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1976), 91.

41 Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 1–7.

42 George L. Mosse, "Nationalism and Respectability: Normal and Abnormal Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, no. 2 (1982): 223.

43 Walzer, "On the Role of Symbolism in Political Thought," *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967): 194.

44 Aronoff, "Ritual and Consensual Power Relations: The Israel Labor Party," in *Political Anthropology: The State of Art*, ed. Seaton S. Lee and Henri J. M. Claessen (Hague: Mouton, 1979), 306.

45 Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 1–14.

46 Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*, 9–14.

47 Michael Mauer, "Einleitung" [Introduction], in *Festkulturen im Vergleich. Inszenierung des Religiösen und Politischen* [Comparing festival cultures: Staging of the religious and political], ed. Michael Mauer (Köln: Böhlau, 2010), 9–12.

48 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 375, 378.

ests and that commemorative activities contribute to stabilizing the power of the status quo, who chooses which events to be collectively remembered.⁴⁹

National ceremonies create a sensory space where the participants emotionally experience the significance of the nation-state. In extreme cases, it is presented as worth dying for.⁵⁰ In the modern era, emotions are generally regarded as something eminently private. However, just as certain religious practices were regarded as “secular” and even allowed or encouraged in public, the public display of certain emotions was also allowed and encouraged. Historian Dieter Langewiesche notes that even in the nineteenth century, Max Weber argued that feelings were the core of a nation-state.⁵¹ Shared feelings can shape a particular group of people who belong to a nation-state, while differentiating them from others.⁵² Yet feeling is an individual experience, and it is impossible to prove whether people experience the exact “same” feeling or not. Therefore, I understand “collective feeling” here rather as a feeling that individuals believe to be and experience as “shared.”⁵³

Studies of political and school ceremonies from a ritual perspective

Several scholars have researched political ceremonies in modern Germany and Japan from the abovementioned ritual perspective. George Mosse explored political ceremonies between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the German Empire, showing how symbols, ceremonies, and people were integrated into

49 Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, 20th ed., ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 12–13; see also Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), chap. 6.

50 Etienne Francois, Siegrist Hannes, and Jakob Vogel, “Die Nation. Vorstellungen, Inszenierungen, Emotionen” [The nation: Ideas, stagings, emotions], in *Nation und Emotion. Deutschland und Frankreich im Vergleich 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* [Nation and emotion: A comparison of Germany and France in the 19th and 20th centuries], ed. Etienne Francois, Hannes Siegrist, and Jakob Vogel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 25.

51 Langewiesche, “Gefühlsraum Nation. Eine Emotionsgeschichte der Nation, die Grenzen zwischen öffentlichem und privatem Gefühlsraum nicht einebnet” [Emotional space nation. An emotional history of the nation that does not erase boundaries between public and private emotional space], *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 15, no. 1 (2012): 200.

52 Langewiesche, “Gefühlsraum Nation,” 202.

53 Annette Schnabel and Alexander Knoth, “Wie sind geteilte Emotionen möglich?” [How are shared emotions possible?], in *Emotionen, Sozialstruktur und Moderne* [Emotions, social structure, and modernity], ed. Annette Schnabel and Rainer Schützeichel (Cham: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2012), 350.

the concept of the nation-state with the help of national myths.⁵⁴ More specifically, historian Fritz Schellack explored the emergence of the annual Day of Sedan ceremony in the empire, noting that the liberal protestant Bürger class tried to establish the ceremony in their own way, which caused tensions with the government (see Chapter 3).⁵⁵ Another historian, Jakob Vogel, analyzed military ceremonies in the German Empire and France after the Franco-Prussian War and interpreted marching as the official cult of the “armed Nation” (*Nation in Waffen*).

Indeed, since the mid-nineteenth century, the army started to become the central symbol of the nation-state in many European countries, and military parades aimed, not at demonstrating practical tactics, but rather at creating a festive space where the army and civilians could come into contact with each other.⁵⁶ Interestingly, theologian and historian Klaus Fitschen showed that the content of the official ceremonies in the Weimar Republic, such as mass marches and sports competitions, did not differ significantly from those in the German Empire.⁵⁷ Historian Christoph Kübberger showed that in the later eras of National Socialism in Germany and Fascism in Italy, the number of political school rituals almost doubled.⁵⁸

There is comparatively less research on rituals in schools, though school life is in fact full of rituals in which students learn and acquire body techniques. First of all, as sociologist Norbert Elias noted, the school is a place for learning a culturally encoded system of gestures and signals and the expected roles of the body.⁵⁹ Therefore, modern schools contributed not only to conveying modern knowledge

54 Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen*.

55 Schellack, “Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste” [Sedan and Kaiser birthday festivals], in *Öffentliche Festkultur. Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* [Public festival culture: Political festivals in Germany from the Enlightenment to the First World War], ed. Peter Friedemann Düding and Paul Münch (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1988), 280–81.

56 Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt: Der Kult der “Nation in Waffen” in Deutschland und Frankreich, 1871–1914* [Nations in lockstep: The cult of the “nation in arms” in Germany and France, 1871–1914] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 13, 17.

57 Fitschen, “Staatliche Verfassungsfeiern und ihre Resonanz in der Evangelischen Kirche der Weimarer Republik” [State constitutional celebrations and their resonance in the Protestant Church of the Weimar Republic], in Mauer, *Festkulturen im Vergleich*, 259–73.

58 Kübberger, “Vergleich in der europäischen Zeitgeschichte. Annäherungen über politische Feste in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts” [Comparison in European contemporary history: Approaches to political celebrations in the first half of the twentieth century], in Mauer, *Festkulturen im Vergleich*, 275–89.

59 Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchung* [On the process of civilization. Sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigation], vol. 2, *Wandlungen der Gesellschaft. Entwurf zu einer Theorie der Zivilisation* [Transformations in society. Draft of a theory of civilization] (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1997), 314.

to students but also to homogenizing their bodies by controlling the muscles and the emotions to behave properly in different contexts.⁶⁰ Marcel Mauss argued that the entire inventory of body movements is formed by education and contact with the social environment, and he named the knowledge of using one's body appropriately in one's society as the "technique of the body."⁶¹ He observed that once bodily techniques are acquired through lifestyle, one performs them without thinking and it is difficult to get rid of them.⁶²

At schools, in addition to minor daily rituals such as the beginning of classes and morning assemblies, there are also annual rituals that celebrate graduation or commemorate historic incidents such as the foundation of the nation-state. The social and political functions of such annual school rituals resemble those of the abovementioned political rituals, though we should not forget that they may come to have the character of social routines. The school activities involved in the transmission of values and norms are prone to ritualization, especially in countries with a single, explicitly political or religious ideology.⁶³ Ritual practices can be described as symbolic actions that link an individual with a social order (political system), strengthen an individual's respect for this system, and ensure its continuity, binding all members of the school staff and pupils together as a distinct collective.⁶⁴

Several scholars have researched school ceremonies in Japan. Educational scientist Yamamoto Nobuyuki and sociologist Konno Toshihiko analyzed historical sources from schools throughout Japan and found that school ceremonies from the Meiji era (1868–1912) to the Second World War contributed to the consolidation of the modern Japanese empire.⁶⁵ In this process, the Imperial Portrait played a significant role. As historian Ono Masaaki revealed, school ceremonies using the Imperial Portrait expanded over time, as the contents and procedures

60 Ulrike Mietzner and Ulrike Pilarczyk, "Gesten und Habitus im pädagogischen Gebrauch. Ein historischer Vergleich der Entwicklung von Gesten und Körperhabitus im Unterricht der DDR und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland seit 1945" [Gestures and habitus in pedagogical use: A historical comparison of the development of gestures and body habitus in post-1945 classrooms of West and East Germany], *Paedagogica Historica* 36 (2000): 473.

61 Mauss, *Die Techniken des Körpers* [Body techniques] (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1989).

62 Mauss, *Die Techniken des Körpers*, 197–220.

63 B. Bernstein, H. L. Elvin, and R. S. Peters, "Ritual in Education," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London: Series B, Biological Sciences* 251, no. 772 (1966): 429, 436.

64 Bernstein, Elvin, and Peters, "Ritual in Education," 431, 433.

65 Yamamoto and Konno, *Kindai kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogī*; Yamamoto Nobuyuki, *Gakkō gyōji no seiritsu to tenkai ni kansuru kenkyū* [Research on the establishment and development of school events] (Tokyo: Shihō, 1999).

of the rituals set in the Meiji era spread to almost all schools by the 1930s.⁶⁶ Another historian, Satō Hideo, collected a large number of government and school documents and conducted a robust analysis of extracurricular school activities such as sports festivals and school ceremonies from a cultural perspective, which highlighted their role in consolidating the modern Japanese state.⁶⁷

The importance of the body in rituals

As many scholars have already revealed, languages and symbols play an important role in rituals. In this book, however, I will mainly focus on bodily actions, since I regard physical activities and the image of bodies as indispensable for grasping the image of the nation-state. Rituals must be performed through bodies and cannot be carried out without the bodily presence of the participants.

The significance of the body and body culture (*Körperkultur* in German) was first discovered in the early twentieth century by sociologists and philosophers such as Norbert Elias, Marcel Mauss, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty.⁶⁸ Yet from the late 1970s and 1980s, the humanities and sociology developed a new and broader interest in the body. So-called body-culture studies explored bodily practices in the larger sociocultural context using anthropological, historical, and sociological approaches. These studies contributed to integrating research on sports into a broader historical and sociological discussion.

Along these lines, practice theorists started to focus on the bodily dimension of the social incidents, both in a material and symbolic sense.⁶⁹ Practice theory does not place the social in mental qualities, nor in discourse or interaction, but in “practices.” According to Andreas Reckwitz, a *Praktik* (practice) can be understood as a routinized bodily performance which consists of several elements interconnected to one another: modes of handling objects, talking, reading, writing, and even mental or emotional activities.⁷⁰ Moreover, as mentioned in the intro-

66 Ono, “Gakkō shitatsuke ‘goshin-ei’ no fukyū katei,” 58–72.

67 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, vol. 5; Satō Hideo, *Kyōiku no bunkashi*, vol. 1.

68 See, e.g., Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*; Mauss, “Body Techniques,” in Mauss, *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*, 97–123; Merleau-Ponty, *Phänomenologie der Wahrnehmung* [Phenomenology of perception], trans. Rudolf Boehm (Berlin: de Gruyter 1974).

69 Robert Schmidt, *Soziologie der Praktiken. Konzeptionelle Studien und empirische Analysen* [Sociology of practices. Conceptual studies and empirical analyses] (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2012), 38, 47.

70 Reckwitz, “Toward a Theory of Social Practices. A Development in Culturalist Theorizing,” *European Journal of Social Theory* 5, no. 2 (2002): 249–51.

ductory chapter, according to Judith Butler, the constructions of belonging have a performative dimension.⁷¹

The visual aspect of the body has also played an important role, since people could grasp the image of the nation-state through the image of their own body. The German word for embodiment, *Verkörperung*, began to be used in the eighteenth century and describes an act or a process in which the body is imbued with something incorporeal.⁷² The display of a collective body may represent the idea of unity and helps us to imagine the nation-state. In contrast to the mortal individual body, I believe the political body, which can be represented by collective bodies, was perceived as immortal by ritual participants, an idea implicit in the descriptions of the nationalistic concepts of *Volkskörper* (people's body) in Germany and *kokutai* (国体, literally "national body") in Japan, which I explicate in Chapter 4. Few ritual participants would have believed that the nation, as they understood it, would end. As such, this immortal body could give people a positive feeling of security.

However, I should note here that a collective body alone cannot accurately display a political idea. Compared to languages, the human body is a much less reliable medium.⁷³ Ulrike Mietzner and Ulrike Pilarczyk showed that West and East Germany did not differ significantly regarding ideal bodily expressions and depictions of students, despite their different political ideals in the postwar era.⁷⁴ They argued that in East Germany certain postures and depictions of the body alone were insufficient to portray the ideal "socialist student's personality" (*sozialistische Schülerpersönlichkeit*).⁷⁵ In order to convey a political message, images of students (as portrayed in textbooks, posters, etc.) had to be complemented with words. Their study suggests that with the help of words, similar physical images can convey different political messages.

In order to grasp the continuity (similarity) of political ceremonies, I will specifically focus on collective moving bodies in these ceremonies rather than symbols and languages. If a collective body, which can express modern discipline and a vague positive feeling of togetherness, is displayed with certain languages and symbols, it may be interpreted as a display of political ideals or embodiment of the nation-state. Therefore, I consider both the performative and symbolic aspects of a collective body in school rituals, and I explore marching parades as a practice that cultivates collective memories and constructs or strengthens the feeling of unity within the group, while creating a strong, coherent image to the outside.

71 Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution," 519–20, 524–28.

72 Fischer-Lichte, "Verkörperung," 379.

73 Fischer-Lichte, "Verkörperung," 379–80.

74 Mietzner and Pilarczyk, "Gesten und Habitus im pädagogischen Gebrauch," 473–97.

75 Mietzner and Pilarczyk, "Gesten und Habitus im pädagogischen Gebrauch," 482.

1.3 Knowledge Transfers

Reference societies and the process of knowledge transfer

The theory of “reference societies” is essential to transfer and comparative research. Sociologist Reinhard Bendix studied the transformation of political institutions from royal authority to a popular mandate on the basis of ideas from Max Weber. He conducted a comparative study on the process of nation-state building in Japan, Russia, Germany, England, and France, and suggested the concept of the “demonstration effect.”⁷⁶ According to Bendix, intellectual leaders referenced other societies either as a positive or negative model to drive social reforms in their own country, particularly when faced with foreign threats.⁷⁷ In a historical overview, educational scientist Sugimura Miki argued that comparative education in Japan originated from investigations of the role of education in the process of nation-state building in foreign states, which aimed to gain useful knowledge for educational reform in Japan.⁷⁸

Another educational scientist, Jürgen Schriewer, also emphasized that since the nineteenth century, intellectuals in Europe referenced reform experiences in other countries to provide practical guidance to the people in charge of building an educational system in their own country.⁷⁹ Schriewer developed the externalization theory, based on the ideas of the sociologist Niklas Luhmann and educational scientist Karl Eberhard Schorr, who argued that a social system can process internal problems by using external points of reference—examples in the social subsystem of education include values, organizations, or the principles and results of science.⁸⁰ Schriewer also proposed “externalization to the world situation,” such as

⁷⁶ Bendix, *Kings or People, Power and the Mandate to Rule* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1978), 596; see also Bendix, “Why Nationalism? Relative Backwardness and Intellectual Mobilization,” *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 8, no. 1 (1979): 8–13.

⁷⁷ Bendix, *Kings or People*, 595–99; see also Florian Waldow, “Undeclared Imports: Silent Borrowing in Educational Policy-making and Research in Sweden,” *Journal Comparative Education* 45, no. 4 (2009): 415.

⁷⁸ Sugimura, “Horon Nihon ni okeru hikaku kyōikugaku kenkyū no hōhōron o meguru giron” [Supplement: Discussions on the methodology of comparative education research in Japan], in *Hikakukyōiku kenkyū* [Comparative Education Research], ed. Mark Bray, Bob Adamson, and Mark Mason (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 2007), 290.

⁷⁹ Schriewer, *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990), 55–61.

⁸⁰ Luhmann and Schorr, *Reflexionsprobleme im Erziehungssystem* [Reflection problems in the education system] (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1988), 26–37.

other nation-states or international organizations, which may play a crucial role in knowledge transfers, especially as a legitimizing device.⁸¹

Scholars have suggested different approaches to the knowledge transfer process of ideas, policies, and organizational models from one political setting and time to another.⁸² In this process, referencing other nation-states can play an important role, such as legitimating the agendas of political actors.⁸³ The externalization theory also highlights the flexibility of the country of reception in which actors choose, filter, and evaluate international cases depending on the domestic social and political context.⁸⁴

In comparative education, the transfer process tends to be analyzed in terms of “lending” and “borrowing,” focusing on the origin and reception, respectively, of an idea, policy, or model that is transferred.⁸⁵ What is borrowed or lent may not necessarily be positive, as policymakers may implicitly refer to negative lessons in other countries or in other eras to justify their arguments or (de)legitimate political actors.⁸⁶ Moreover, in his analysis of the legitimization of educational discourses in Sweden, Florian Waldow has noted that there is also a process of “silent borrowing,” in which borrowing occurs but is unacknowledged.⁸⁷ In any case, models are often adjusted during the transfer process, so that a model can function in another cultural and political context. Thus, in this book, I will analyze Germany not only as a reference society for Japan but also as the object of comparison, to shed light

81 Schriewer, *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education*, 62–72; see also Waldow, “Standardisation and Legitimacy: Two Central Concepts in Research on Educational Borrowing and Lending,” in *Policy Lending in Education*, ed. Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Florian Waldow (London: Routledge, 2012), 420.

82 David P. Dolowitz and David Marsh, “Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy-Making,” *Governance* 13 (2000): 5; see also Waldow, “Standardisation and Legitimacy,” 411.

83 Bendix, *Kings or People*, 450–63; Gita Steiner-Khamsi, *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending* (Amsterdam: Teachers College Press, 2004).

84 Jürgen Schriewer, “Fortschrittsmodelle und Modellkonstruktionen. Formen der Internationalisierung pädagogischen Wissens” [Progressive models and model constructions. Forms of internationalization of pedagogical knowledge], in *Wissenschaftsgeschichte heute* [History of science today], ed. Jürgen Büschfeld et al. (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2001), 326.

85 Laura B. Perry and Geok-hwa Tor, “Understanding Educational Transfer: Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptual Frameworks,” *Quarterly Review of Comparative Education* 38, no. 4 (December 2008): 510; see also Waldow, “Standardisation and Legitimacy,” 411.

86 Oliver James and Martin Lodge, “The Limitations of ‘Policy Transfer’ and ‘Lesson Drawing’ for Public Policy Research,” *Political Studies Review* 1 (2003): 181; see also Steiner-Khamsi, *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*.

87 Waldow, “Undeclared Imports,” 487.

on the differences between the model that was referenced and what was actually occurring in each country.

In comparing Japanese and German marching ceremonies, I will refrain from using what Schriewer called “simple or uni-level techniques” that merely compare observable facts, such as specific cultural traits, classifications, features, or problems.⁸⁸ Rather, I have adopted what he called “complex or multilevel techniques,” which means starting with hypothetically assumed connections between different phenomena, variables, or systems, and then searching for historical data within various sociocultural contexts, before setting these into relation with each other.⁸⁹ Put into concrete terms, I will explore the relationship between three variables that are embedded in different social spaces but are interdependent: a) the individual marching body, b) gymnastics classes in schools, and c) political ceremonies in public spaces. Analyzing historical sources, I will first explore these variables in Tokyo and Berlin, and then put them into relation with each other to explore how Japan and Germany interacted in the process of molding and deploying individual bodies into a “docile body” for the consolidation of the nation-state.

Knowledge transfers between Germany and Japan

National educational systems did not evolve in isolation; rather, as Florian Waldow has pointed out, “looking abroad was instrumental in building a national education system.”⁹⁰ In the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), the French army, led by Napoleon III, was defeated at Sedan by the Prussian army, led by King Wilhelm I. This incident gave Japanese intellectuals the impression that the Prussian army was the strongest in the world and triggered their interest in Prussia. Between 1871 and 1873, leading Meiji-era statesmen and scholars embarked on the Iwakura Mission, a diplomatic voyage to the US and Europe. One of the aims of this mission was to study modern industrial, political, military, and educational systems in the West. In addition, the Meiji government sent almost 600 people abroad between 1868 and 1874, among whom 80 were dispatched to Germany, which was the third most popular destination after the US and Britain.⁹¹ Between 1873 and 1887, a total of 190 German teachers were invited to Japan from Germany, making it also the third

⁸⁸ Schriewer, *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education*, 31–37.

⁸⁹ Schriewer, *Theories and Methods in Comparative Education*, 31–37.

⁹⁰ Waldow, “Standardisation and Legitimacy,” 416.

⁹¹ Ishizuki Minoru, *Kindai Nihon no kaigai ryūgaku-shi* [History of study abroad in modern Japan] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1992), 204.

most popular country for inviting qualified teachers from, after the US (301 teachers) and Britain (211 teachers).⁹²

In 1881, politicians such as Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) and Inoue Kaoru (1835–1915), who supported modeling the new constitution on the German Constitution (1871), purged Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838–1922) and other politicians who favored the English Constitution. After this coup, the Japanese government started to base more of its programs and structures on Germany's. For instance, in the 1880s, the Japanese army was reformed and modelled after the Prussian army. Prussian intellectuals such as Herman Techow (1838–1909) also played an important role in establishing the Meiji Constitution, including the idea of a state religion for political ceremonies. Furthermore, between 1896 and 1912, the government sent 565 students abroad, 487 (circa 86%) of whom went to Germany.⁹³

As a result of multiple knowledge transfers from Germany to Japan, one can also observe similarities in religions and state ceremonies. In both countries, one religion (Protestantism in Prussia and State Shinto in Japan) was lifted to supreme religious status, ranked above all other religions. To unify the nation, certain religious values were portrayed as “secular” and used to form the base of a set of secular national values. This helped to legitimize the governments' aim of proselytizing all their citizens for national values and likely decreased resistance to participation in religious-like state ceremonies.⁹⁴

In the context of the Kulturkampf, power struggles between the young German Empire and the Roman Catholic Church, 22 laws were enacted from 1871 to 1876 in order to enforce the supremacy of the state over the church. One of the major Kulturkampf laws was the Prussian School Supervision Act (*Schulaufsichtsgesetz*), issued on March 11, 1872. The law aimed to abolish Catholic and Protestant oversight of the Prussian elementary school system, exclude the clergy from education, and eliminate its influence in curricular matters.⁹⁵ Therefore, from one perspective, it can be said that schools were partly secularized through this law. However, in the foundation process of the German Empire, the Prussian Protestant Church came to be identified with the empire and thereby became

92 Imamura, *Gakkō taiiku to supōtsu sokushin undō*, 13.

93 Hirata Yūji, “20-seiki shotō Doitsu ni okeru Nihon kyōiku no shōkai: Yoshida Kumaji no kyōiku chokugo kōen o jirei toshite” [How Japanese education was explained in early twentieth-century Germany: A case study of Yoshida Kumaji's lecture on the Imperial Rescript on Education], *Hikaku kyōikugaku kenkyū* 22 (1996): 172.

94 Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Kokka shintō* [State Shinto] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1970), 1.

95 Das Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten, “87 Ausführung des Schulaufsichtsgesetzes” [87 implementations of the School Supervision Act], *Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preußen* 14 (1872): 203–4.

part of the secular realm.⁹⁶ The king of Prussia was the emperor of the German Empire and also the head of the Lutheran Church. Thus, as historian Rebekka Habermas has noted, the schools were not simply secularized; rather, the Prussian Protestant Church and the state became jointly responsible for the education sector.⁹⁷

Similarly, there was a movement called “Haibutsu Kishaku” (廃仏毀釈) in Meiji Japan, regarded as a political measure of making one religion the main religion in order to consolidate a new state ideology.⁹⁸ Triggered by the official policy of separation of Shinto and Buddhism in 1868, Buddhist properties were destroyed on a large scale all over the country. According to religious studies scholar Murakami Shigeyoshi, after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the new government constructed “State Shinto” by combining Shinto with the imperial family’s tradition of ancestor worship. Based on its framing of State Shinto as secular, the government was able to legitimize its policy of proselytizing everyone.⁹⁹

Historian Yamaguchi Teruomi argued, however, that the process was much more complex than presented by Murakami—at least in the nineteenth century, the government aimed to dedicate itself to the emperor and to imperial ancestor worship, but did not aim to combine that with the existing Shinto religion.¹⁰⁰ For example, in the mid-1880s, not only Christians but also some non-Christian intellectuals claimed that Japan had to choose Christianity as its state religion.¹⁰¹ Even the prominent intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901), who had once advocated making Buddhism the state religion, wrote that it was politically important for Japan to Westernize its religion in order to remain independent among other “civilized” countries of the West.¹⁰² Although his idea was rejected by the imperial court and government officials,¹⁰³ Japanese intellectuals were very aware of the entanglement of Christianity with Western civilization, and they believed it im-

96 Habermas, “Piety, Power and Powerless: Religion and Religious Groups in Germany, 1870–1945,” in *Modern German History*, ed. Helmut W. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 453–80.

97 Habermas, “Piety, Power and Powerless,” 457.

98 Ozaki Teruhiko, *Kaizeru no hige* [The Kaiser’s beard] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 1968), 36.

99 Murakami, *Kokka shintō*, 1.

100 Yamaguchi, “Meiji kenpōka no jingikan setchi mondai: Seikyō kankei ni kansuru ichikōsatsu” [The restoration of the Department of Shinto under the Meiji Constitution. A study on the relationship between religion and the state], *Shigaku zasshi* 102, no. 2 (1993): 27–28.

101 Yamaguchi, “The Restoration of the Department of Shinto,” 40.

102 Fukuzawa, “Shūkyō mo mata seiyō-fū ni shitagawazaru o ezu” [Even religion must be Westernized], *Jiji shinpō*, June 6, 1884; see also Yamaguchi Teruomi, “Religion and the State in the Era of ‘Westernization’: Japan in 1884,” *Shigaku zasshi* 104, no. 11 (1995): 41.

103 Yamaguchi, “Religion and the State,” 65.

possible to exclude it from the process of Japanese modernization (Westernization).¹⁰⁴ After comparing Russia, England, the US, Prussia, and France, the Ministry of the Interior proposed a system similar to that of Prussia, which promoted one major religion while officially tolerating others.¹⁰⁵

Modelled after Prussian constitutional law, the Meiji Constitution was proclaimed in 1889 and secured the freedom of religion to some extent. In the same year, the government office in charge of religion was divided into the Shrine Office in charge of Shinto and the Religion Office in charge of Buddhism, Christianity, and other approved Shinto sects.¹⁰⁶ In other words, State Shinto was lifted up to a super-religious status, ranked above all other legal religions.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the Ministry of Education subsequently forbade religious education in all schools, though references to “religion” did not include State Shinto. The Imperial Rescript on Education, which was also issued in 1889 and remained as the basis of modern school education until 1945, included the ideas of State Shinto and combined the Confucian virtue of filial piety (obedience to one’s family, and respect for parents, elders, and ancestors) with loyalty to the emperor, his mythical ancestors, and the state.¹⁰⁸ It was not regarded as a religious text, but rather as “educational” and “ethical,” and thus a secular text.¹⁰⁹

Considering this historical context, in which the Japanese government invited a number of German experts as foreign advisers (known as *oyatoi gaikokujin*) in order to reference German social and political systems, it would be fruitful to compare the collective displays of the nation-state in both countries. Although several similarities can be observed—especially regarding the laws, the administrative structures, and the army—the relationship between political ceremonies and marching in these countries has not been sufficiently explored. While research on how political ceremonies spread within Japan exists, there is almost no research on their origins or commonalities with political ceremonies overseas. Therefore, I compare the marching performances in political ceremonies and the training for them in Japan and Germany to understand how these two countries, embedded in distinct cultures and traditions, deployed youth marching parades. Marching parades have been an integral part of political ceremonies all over the world regardless of the differences in their political, historical, and cultural back-

104 Yamaguchi, “Religion and the State,” 50, 65.

105 Yamaguchi, “Religion and the State,” 52.

106 Japanese Association for History Education, *Kyōiku-shi kenkyū no saizensen* [The forefront of educational history research] (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 2007), 3.

107 Murakami, *Kokka shintō*, 79.

108 Murakami, *Kokka shintō*, 140.

109 Japanese Association for History Education, *Kyōiku-shi kenkyū no saizensen*, 4–5.

grounds. Although each ceremony is strongly affected by the local cultural context, I will argue that they all share the same character, namely being organized from above for the consolidation of the existing political system.

1.4 A Focus on Capital Cities: Berlin and Tokyo (1873–1945)

In this study, I focus on the cities of Tokyo and Berlin. One reason is that shared time, which is important for group identity, was first introduced in these cities before the countryside. Moreover, as capital cities, Berlin and Tokyo represent their respective nation-states and house the most important organizations and institutions for knowledge transfer and national ceremonies. Importantly, by specifically comparing two cities, I am also recognizing the fact that countries cannot be simplistically regarded as monoliths and regional differences existed within each country, especially in the German Empire, where kings were still governing the federal states. For example, Bavaria took issue with celebrating the birthday of the German emperor (i.e., the Prussian king), as it might have competed with the birthday ceremony of the Bavarian king.¹¹⁰

The importance of shared time

According to Benedict Anderson, the shared feeling of time is also essential for nation-state building.¹¹¹ The sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel also argued that a sociotemporal order that is commonly shared by a social group, and unique enough to distinguish the group members from “outsiders,” contributes to the establishment of intergroup boundaries.¹¹² Sharing a time reference and taking part in events like rituals can strengthen the bonds between people. Annual national ceremonies can be implemented only if people in the country share the same time and calendar. Without them, it is impossible to conduct national ceremonies every year on the same day and, ideally, at about the same time.

Japan introduced the Gregorian calendar, which originated in Catholic states but became a major symbol of Western “civilization” in the nineteenth century, in 1872. This coincided closely with the first Japanese education law, the School Ordinance (*Gakusei*) of 1872. In the 1880s, the government introduced a new sociotem-

¹¹⁰ Schellack, “Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste,” 287.

¹¹¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 26.

¹¹² Zerubavel, *Hidden Rhythms. Schedules and Calendars in Social Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 64–69.

poral order to schools—a school calendar based on the Gregorian calendar and daily schedules based on Greenwich mean time (GMT)—though until 1910 official documents used both the new Gregorian and the old Chinese lunisolar calendars.

It is also significant that Berlin and Tokyo started using the clock as a reference for time earlier than the countryside. In Berlin, the first public clock was in the building of the Royal Prussian Academy of Science (Königlich-Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften, established 1700), in 1787, to demonstrate that the academy set the public time. Every Sunday, a clockmaker assigned by the city of Berlin would go to the timekeeping observatory to “fetch” the correct time and bring it back to set the public clock. He would do this by calibrating his accurate timepiece with the official clock at the academy and then using it to calibrate the public clock.¹¹³ In the mid-nineteenth century, the demand for precise time increased due to rapid industrialization, and by 1875 the city had installed six public clocks that were allegedly accurate to the nearest minute. In reality, however, the clocks were only accurate to within several minutes. Over time and thanks to the development of the telegram, clock accuracy improved, and the number of public and industrial clocks increased. For instance, the company Normal-Zeit GmbH (literally, “Normal Time Ltd”), controlled more than 5,000 clocks in Berlin in 1905 and more than 20,000 in 1926.¹¹⁴

In Japan, official or public time had previously been announced by big bells in temples and shrines, a highly unreliable method, because the person in charge often preferred to stay home rather than go up the mountain to ring the temple bell. From the late nineteenth century, the temple bell was gradually replaced by cannons in front of the city halls, starting in Tokyo in 1870.¹¹⁵ Blank rounds were fired at noon and at 6:00 p.m. for people who did not own mechanical clocks. In this manner, GMT began to regulate the daily life of ordinary people. There was also a Japanese temporal order prior to the introduction of the GMT, which referenced social and environmental factors like other people’s activity, the sun, and the sounds of frogs to find out when to work and when to have a break. These old time references were not abolished immediately, but in order to adapt to life in modern institutions like schools and factories, where schedules are strongly regulated by mechanical clocks, people had to orient themselves to modern time references.

113 Johannes Graf, “Uhren im Gleichtakt. Wilhelm Foster und de Zeit-Synchronisation in Deutschland” [Clocks in sync: Wilhelm Foster and time synchronization in Germany], in *Kultur-techniken der Synchronisation* [Cultural techniques of synchronization], ed. Christian Kassung and Thomas Macho (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), 164–65.

114 Graf, “Uhren im Gleichtakt,” 172–73.

115 *Tōkyō meisho zue* [Introducing famous places in Tokyo], vol. 6 (Tokyo: Tōyōdō, 1897), facsimile of the first edition (Tokyo: Mutsu Shobō, 1969), 190.

The capital city as a space for national ceremonies

The most important point for an examination of Tokyo and Berlin is, however, that capital cities of modern nation-states are closely connected to political events and can be regarded as privileged spaces for mass political rituals, filled with symbolic monuments and impressive architecture.¹¹⁶ From the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century, Berlin and other European metropolises were transformed with main streets and squares with historical monuments.¹¹⁷

In 1868, the city of Edo, which had been the seat of the Tokugawa government during the Edo period (1603–1868), was renamed Tokyo. In 1871, the system of feudal domains (藩 *han*) was abolished and a new system of prefectures was installed (廃藩置県 *haihan chiken*), depriving the feudal lords (*daimyō*) of their authority and contributing to the establishment of a new centralized government.¹¹⁸ Feudal domains were reorganized into urban prefectures (府 *fu*) and prefectures (県 *ken*), and Tokyo, as well as Osaka and Kyoto, became a *fu* that functioned as a metropolis. For the first two decades after the Meiji Restoration, however, intellectuals did not see Tokyo as the symbolic center of the nation-state because of the strong presence of Kyoto, which had been the capital city for over 1,000 years, with a myriad of temples, shrines, residences, and imperial graves. Moreover, as the emperor often traveled around Japan, the political elites regarded Tokyo as his temporary residence and had him stay in Edo Castle and later in a residence of a former federal lord instead of building a new palace.¹¹⁹

From the 1880s, the emperor travelled less frequently, partly because of the establishment of political symbols like the Imperial Portrait and the imperial edicts, which freed him from the necessity of constantly presenting himself in person as the leader of the nation state.¹²⁰ At the same time, Tokyo was rapidly transformed into a space for political ceremonies that would represent the present and future of the Japanese Empire, as seen by the construction of symbolic architecture like the emperor's palace.¹²¹ In 1888, the surrounding neighborhood was restructured and a big square emerged in front of the soon-to-be completed palace.¹²²

116 Fujitani Takeshi, *Tennō no pējento* [The emperor's pageants] (Tokyo: NHK, 2002), 40.

117 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 40.

118 *Han* is a historical term for the estate of a warrior. In early modern Japan, each *han* was ruled by a feudal lord and was defined in terms of projected annual income.

119 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 43–45.

120 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 40, 82.

121 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 73, 78.

122 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 78.

While Tokyo became the main space for state ceremonies, functioning as the de facto center to demonstrate the nation's modernity, Kyoto became the city that represented the sublime, long history of the Japanese Empire. Kyoto was the site for imperial enthronement and imperial funerals to reconfirm the continuity of this empire.¹²³ For instance, on September 13, 1912, the funeral of Emperor Meiji was held in Kyoto. Unlike other political ceremonies, all the attendants wore the traditional court dress, accompanied not by Western music but by ancient Japanese court music. The emperor's body was carried not by a Western-style coach but by a hearse made by Kyoto craftspeople.

Originally, Tokyo Prefecture (東京府 Tōkyō-fu) consisted of Tokyo City (東京市 Tōkyō-shi) and 14 districts in its suburbs. In 1932, it expanded by absorbing 20 neighboring districts. In 1943, after Japan entered the Second World War, the government abolished Tokyo City, merging it with Tokyo Prefecture to form the Tokyo Metropolis (東京都 Tōkyō-to). According to the then Minister of the Interior, the new administrative system was appropriate for the national character of Tokyo, which was to function both as the sole capital city of the Japanese Empire and as the model city for the whole of East Asia.¹²⁴ In 1872, the population of Tokyo Prefecture was approximately 860,000, but through continuous growth the population grew to 5,755,600 in 1932. By 1945, the expanded Tokyo Metropolis had a population of approximately 7,350,000.¹²⁵

Berlin, which was a model city for Tokyo, became the permanent residence of the Brandenburg electors of the Hohenzollerns in the fifteenth century. Members of the Hohenzollern family ruled Berlin until 1918, first as electors of Brandenburg, then as kings of Prussia, and eventually as emperors of the German Empire. In the eighteenth century, under the rule of Frederick II, known as Frederick the Great (1740–1786), Berlin became a center of the Enlightenment. In 1871, Berlin became the capital of the newly founded German Empire and expanded rapidly in the following years. After the First World War and the collapse of the empire in 1918, Berlin remained as the capital city in which new political ceremonies of the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) were held. In 1920, Berlin incorporated dozens of the cities, villages, and estates around it through the Greater Berlin Act. Berlin continued to be the capital city and served as a space for mass political ceremonies even after Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party came to power in 1933.

¹²³ Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 68, 83–84.

¹²⁴ Fukaya Seiji, *Tōkyō tosei kaisetsu* [The Tokyo metropolitan government] (Tokyo: Chūō, 1943), 1–6.

¹²⁵ Statistics Division, Bureau of General Affairs, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, “Jinkō no sui’i” [Population changes], last modified March 22, 2017, <http://www.toukei.metro.tokyo.jp/jugoki/2016/ju16q10000.htm>.

After the end of the Second World War in Europe in May 1945, the victorious powers divided the city into four sectors, and the sectors of the Western Allies later formed West Berlin, while the Soviet sector formed East Berlin. Since West Berlin was isolated within the territory of East Germany, it lost its position as the capital. The population of Berlin was approximately 900,000 in 1871 but reached about two million around the turn of the century, and grew to about four million in 1920 after the city's expansion.¹²⁶

1.5 Schools as a Space for Marching Practices: Gymnasium and Chūgakkō

In order to trace the entangled relationship between the symbolic body of the nation-state and the individual marching body, I will focus on elite male students in secondary schools, specifically, the German gymnasium (*Gymnasium*) and the Japanese chūgakkō (中学校 *chūgakkō*). Note that throughout this book, I use the term “secondary school” (*höhere Schule* in German) as the overarching term to refer to all the different kinds of secondary schools of this period, including the *Realgymnasium*, *Oberrealschule*, and *Oberlyzeum* in Germany; and the *kōtō jogakkō* (高等女学校 women's high school), *shihan gakkō* (師範学校 teacher's college), and *rikugun yōnen gakkō* (陸軍幼年学校 military preparatory academy) in Japan.¹²⁷

Gender and the nation-state

I focus on male students in this book because they were more strongly connected than female students were to the concept of the nation-state. Military marching represented modern masculinity, which connected individuals to the collective phenomenon of the nation-state. Generally, boys were regarded as future soldiers who would serve their nation, while girls were regarded as the future mothers of soldiers.

Moreover, various gender studies have shown that gender discourses in the modern era, partly supported by the sciences, such as biology and psychology,

¹²⁶ Statistisches Landesamt Berlin, *Berlin in Zahlen* [Berlin in numbers] (Berlin: Kulturbuch, 1947), 51. <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:kobv:109-1-10404578>

¹²⁷ The *Realgymnasium* was established in the mid-nineteenth century as an alternative to the gymnasium, with a greater focus on modern languages, math, and natural sciences. A similar school was the *Oberrealschule*, except that it did not teach Latin. The *Oberlyzeum* was a gymnasium for girls.

universalized the dualistic image of the male and female, regardless of social class.¹²⁸ Women were considered emotional, weak, passive, to be protected, and thus suited to become mothers, wives, and nurses, while men were considered rational, strong, active, and suited to be protectors and soldiers.¹²⁹ Especially in wartime, boys were more connected to duty and the future of the state, and binary gender differences were more emphasized.

The ideal gaits of women and men were also different, as noted in the Introduction. In particular, marching, which was associated with military service, was more strongly connected with male students than female students. Both boys and girls had to march, but they often did so separately. Furthermore, although being strong was an important goal for both boys and girls, the antipathy toward “weak boys” was obviously stronger than toward “weak girls.” For instance, Nazi Germany was an avowed “masculine state,” where existing views of masculinity were reinterpreted and antipathy toward weakness was strengthened.¹³⁰ Likewise, the Japanese army insisted that soldiers are “men among men.”¹³¹ For Japanese students, it was generally challenging to learn modern marching because, as explained in the Introduction, their way of walking had previously been influenced by their traditional clothes, shoes, and lifestyles. It was especially challenging for female students, whose work, lifestyle, and restricted clothing influenced their gait and made marching more difficult. Women only started marching in the late 1920s for the first time, after Western school uniforms had been introduced to female students.

Furthermore, in both countries, compulsory gymnastics classes, in which students practiced marching drills, were introduced much later for girls than for boys. In Prussia, they were initially introduced for male elementary school students in 1862, but only in 1894 for female secondary school students and in 1911 for other female students.¹³² In Japan, they were introduced to male and female

128 Nakamura Eri, “Nihon rikugun ni okeru danseisei no kōchiku” [The construction of masculinity in the Japanese army], in *Jendā to shakai: Dansei-shi, guntai, sekushuaritī* [Gender and society: History of masculinity, the military, and sexuality], ed. Kimoto Kimiko and Kidō Yoshiyuki (Tokyo: Junpōsha, 2010), 172.

129 Nakamura, “Nihon rikugun,” 173–76.

130 Christopher Dillon, “‘Tolerance Means Weakness’: The Dachau Concentration Camp S.S., Militarism and Masculinity,” *Historical Research* 86, no. 232 (2013): 384.

131 Nakamura, “Nihon rikugun,” 178–89.

132 Michael Fritz Krüger, *Einführung in die Geschichte der Leibeserziehung und des Sports*, vol. 2, *Leibeserziehung im 19. Jahrhundert. Turnen fürs Vaterland* [Physical education in the nineteenth century. Turnen for the fatherland], 177–81.

secondary schools in 1886 and 1895, respectively.¹³³ It is also important to mention that Japanese schools provided two types of gymnastics classes: *futsū taisō* (普通体操), which literally means “normal gymnastics,” and *heishiki taisō* (兵式体操), which literally means “military-style gymnastics.” The latter was only for male students and regarded as preparation for military service.

Unlike male secondary education, female education had not previously been regarded as a state issue. In 1908, the Prussian government stipulated for the first time that the state was obligated to provide female secondary education and open universities for women.¹³⁴ This situation is also reflected in the availability of historical sources: in Germany, gymnasiums started to submit their annual reports in 1824, but female secondary schools like the *Lyzeum* only started to do so from 1912. In Japan, with the exception of normal schools, which aimed to train female teachers for female schools, there were very few secondary schools for girls that were run by the state in the nineteenth century. The initial driving force to develop female secondary schools in Japan came from missionaries from Europe and North America.

The German gymnasium

Even today in Germany, a gymnasium has a strong emphasis on academic learning and provides advanced secondary education, preparing students for higher education. In early modern Europe, gymnasiums were schools teaching Latin and Greek and preparing students for universities. In the eighteenth century, they started to offer subjects such as the sciences and modern languages (mainly German and French). Under a regulation issued on November 12, 1812, *Gymnasium* became the official term in Prussia for a school preparing students for university entrance. It provided nine years of education and usually formed an institution with a preparatory school, called *Vorschule*, which provided elementary school education, especially for further education in a gymnasium. As preparatory schools charged tuition and were usually a prerequisite for gymnasiums, normally only students from the middle and upper classes attended a gymnasium.

At the end of the nineteenth century, responding to demands from the military and industry, the teaching of the sciences and modern languages were more encouraged. In 1900, the final exams of different kinds of secondary schools were

¹³³ Kawaguchi Hideaki, *Kaiseishintaisō yōmoku kaisetsu* [Comments on the revised guidelines for school gymnastics] (Tokyo: Meiji, 1936).

¹³⁴ Angelika Schaser, *Frauenbewegung in Deutschland 1848–1933* [The women’s movement in Germany 1848–1933] (Darmstadt: WBG, 2006), 24–37.

equalized, although the majority of university students still graduated from humanistic gymnasiums.¹³⁵ Between the 1870s and the 1920s, more and more students attended secondary schools, but the proportion of gymnasium students in each generation remained small.¹³⁶ For instance, only about 8% of male youths entered a gymnasium and other secondary schools in the German Empire, about 16% in the Weimar Republic, and about 14% in Nazi Germany.¹³⁷ It should be also mentioned that over time traditional humanistic gymnasiums attracted fewer students compared to other schools. By 1940, only about 10% of secondary schools were traditional humanistic gymnasiums. At the beginning of the German Empire, there were 11 humanistic gymnasiums in Berlin. Due to various factors such as the expansion of the city, the number increased to 25 in 1926 during the Weimar era and then decreased to 20 in 1937.¹³⁸

The Japanese *chūgakkō*

The Japanese secondary schools in my research period were called *chūgakkō*, which literally means “middle school.” Today, this term refers to Japanese junior high schools for students in the last three years of compulsory education (Years 7 to 9). Until 1947, however, *chūgakkō* had in fact referred to secondary schools, which were not compulsory and were attended by a small number of elite male students. The origins of this term lie in the School Ordinance of 1872, which divided schools into three groups: higher educational institutions (大学 *daigaku*), secondary schools (中学校 *chūgakkō*), and primary schools (小学校 *shōgakkō*). As such, *chūgakkō* was literally the middle school sandwiched between the primary and higher phases of education, and they were limited in number. To avoid confusion, I will use *chūgakkō* (singular and plural) to refer to secondary schools from 1872 to 1947, and “junior high schools” to refer to present-day *chūgakkō* in Japan.

135 Reinhard Bein, “Neue Wege, neue Schulen? Schulreformen im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik” [New paths, new schools? School reforms in the German Empire and the Weimar Republic], *Praxis Geschichte* 5 (1994): 17.

136 Fritz K. Ringer, “Bildung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1800–1960” [Education, economy and society in Germany 1800–1960], *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 6 (1980): 12.

137 Margret Kraul, *Das deutsche Gymnasium 1780–1980* [The German gymnasium 1780–1980] (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), 142–3, 170.

138 I derived this figure by counting the number of schools in Berlin that published annual reports (Jahresberichte) in these years, accessed in the Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung in Berlin.

According to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), the School Ordinance of 1872 aimed to establish 256 chūgakkō to prepare more students for university education to meet the increasing demand for public servants, military officers, business leaders, and specialists as a result of modernization efforts.¹³⁹ Entry was quite competitive, since there was only one chūgakkō for each educational district, each of which had about 210 primary schools on average.¹⁴⁰ It should be noted that *chūgakkō* was originally a general term for secondary schools and did not exclusively refer to schools for university preparation. It provided six years of education for male students aged 14 to 19. The number of public and private secondary schools increased rapidly and reached 187 schools with 12,256 students by 1880, but among them there were only five public female schools with a total of 286 students in 1882.¹⁴¹

In 1886, the Secondary School Ordinance (中学校令 *Chūgakkō-rei*) was issued. It redefined chūgakkō so that it was no longer a general term for secondary schools, but specifically for a secondary school that prepared students for university education. The ordinance stipulated that each prefecture establish one public chūgakkō to provide five years of education for middle- and upper-class male students older than the age of 12, who had graduated from elementary school.¹⁴² The best students of about 50 newly defined chūgakkō were allowed to attend two years of preparatory school (高等中学校 *kōtō chūgakkō*) for university entrance. When this ordinance was issued, it aimed to establish five preparatory schools for Tokyo University, which was the only university in Japan at the time.¹⁴³

The total number of public chūgakkō decreased dramatically after the limitations of the ordinance, though there was many more in big cities like Tokyo. In 1887, there were 48 chūgakkō with 10,177 students nationwide. Owing to growing public demand and changes to the ordinance, this number then increased and in 1910, toward the end of the Meiji era, there were 311 chūgakkō with 122,345 stu-

139 MEXT, “Chugakkōtō no fukyū” [The diffusion of chūgakkō], in MEXT, *Gakusei hyakunen-shi* [100-year history of the educational system] (Tokyo: Teikoku Chihō Gyōsei Gakkai, 1981), vol. 1, chap. 1, part 3, sec. 4, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317596.htm.

140 MEXT, “Chugakkōtō no fukyū.”

141 MEXT, “Chugakkōtō no fukyū.”

142 In 1886, this type of secondary school was called *jinjō chūgakkō* (尋常中学校), literally “normal middle school,” but it was renamed chūgakkō in 1899. MEXT, “Chūgakkōrei no kōfu to sono kaisei” [Promulgation of the Secondary School Ordinance and its amendments], in MEXT, *Gakusei hyakunen-shi*, vol. 1, chap. 2, part 3, sec. 1, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317626.htm.

143 In 1987, Kyoto University was established as the second state university in Japan. Until the Second World War, there were nine state universities in the Japanese Empire, including one in Taiwan and one in Korea.

dents. In the same year, there were only 193 female secondary schools (excluding vocational training institutions) with 56,239 students.¹⁴⁴ Between 1917 and 1936, the number of chūgakkō increased from 329 to 559 and that of students increased from 147,467 to 352,320—the number increased especially in the 1920s.¹⁴⁵ It continued to increase during the Second World War, reaching 727 with 607,114 students in 1943.¹⁴⁶ In Tokyo, according to a government report in 1900, there were three public and 20 private chūgakkō, with a total of approximately 10,000 students.¹⁴⁷

The symbolic meaning of marching in secondary schools

I focus on elite secondary schools in order to explore the symbolic and representative meanings of marching, even though students in elementary schools marched as well and, in terms of disciplinary training, it was much more important than in secondary schools. As historian Eugen Weber explored in his book *Peasants into Frenchmen*, modern state education contributed to transforming people into citizens of a specific country, and the nation-state became the framework of the citizens' collective actions.¹⁴⁸ In this context, elementary schools in the modern era aimed to discipline a mass of students and keep them under control. For instance, the German Volksschule, which approximately 93% of the population had attended or were attending by 1871, aimed to stabilize the social order via militaristic control and educate people as functioning subjects who are diligent, clean, orderly, disciplined, and obedient.¹⁴⁹

Secondary schools, conversely, aimed not merely to discipline students but also to construct a new ideal image of the citizen. According to Eric Hobsbawm,

144 MEXT, “Chūgakkō kōtōjogakkō no fukyū jōkyō” [The diffusion of chūgakkō and girls' secondary schools], in MEXT, *Gakusei hyakunen-shi*, vol. 1, chap. 2, part 3, sec. 4, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317631.htm.

145 MEXT, “Chūgakkō kōtōjogakkō no hatten” [The development of chūgakkō and girls' secondary schools], in MEXT, *Gakusei hyakunen-shi*, vol. 1, chap. 3, part 3, sec. 4, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317659.htm.

146 MEXT, “Chūgakkō seido no saihen” [Reorganization of the chūgakkō system], in MEXT, *Gakusei hyakunen-shi*, vol. 1, chap. 4, part 3, sec. 2, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317700.htm.

147 Tokyo Prefectural Government, *Meiji 33-nendo Tōkyō-fu kannai gakuji nenpō kōgōhyō* [Official classification of Tokyo prefectural school reports in 1900], p. 27. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives, 625. C2. 05., D062.

148 Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976).

149 Bein, “Neue Wege, neue Schulen?,” 17–18.

secondary schooling provided a broad criterion for membership in the middle class, a rapidly growing but numerically rather small group of elites who actually ran national affairs.¹⁵⁰ George Mosse argued that the triumph of the bourgeoisie and the rise of modern nationalism took place at the same time, and nationalism expressed ideals of restraint and control that were congenial to the bourgeois lifestyle.¹⁵¹ Secondary schools at that time aimed to educate a small group of elite students, who would not become infantry or factory workers but still had to be disciplined to function as model new citizens. Both in Japan and Germany, the marching of secondary school students itself was not a crucial component of mass political ceremonies until the First World War, but marching was still practiced in schools. Schools cancelled classes so that students could watch big military parades with their own eyes and become enthused by the army and the nation-state.¹⁵² Moreover, in the German Empire, gymnasium students were allowed to stand on the parade ground, which I will argue was a representation of the broader connection between the nation-state, soldiers, and male youths.

In contrast to elementary schools, where marching exercises were important for disciplinary training, in gymnasiums and *chūgakkō* they had an additional function of representing the ideals of the nation-state. Thus, in order to trace the entangled relationship between the symbolic body of the nation-state and the individual marching body, in the following chapters I will explore the history of marching exercises in these two types of secondary schools. Furthermore, through a complex comparative analysis of marching practices and their political and educational contexts, I will investigate not only the similarities and differences in marching ceremonies in both countries, but also a variety of knowledge transfers within the research framework.

1.6 Primary Sources and Archives

Before moving onto the following chapter, where I will explore how and why physical education developed as a part of school programs in Germany and Japan, and with which ideas state ideologies and political ceremonies were connected, I would like to explain the primary sources upon which I have drawn for my research. Since I am exploring marching in schools predominantly in the late nineteenth century, there is a lack of audiovisual material on marching. There-

¹⁵⁰ Hobsbawm, “Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914,” in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 294.

¹⁵¹ Mosse, “Nationalism and Respectability,” 223.

¹⁵² Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 76–77.

fore, this book relies on the school club magazines of Japanese *chūgakkō* (学友会雑誌 *gakuyūkai zasshi*) and the *Jahresberichte* (singular: *Jahresbericht*), the annual school reports of gymnasiums, as its main primary sources.

Owing to the Prussian administrative system and its archival culture, many German sources are available. In 1824, the Prussian Ministry of Spiritual, Educational, and Medical Affairs (Ministerium der Geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten; hereafter, Ministry of Education) stipulated that secondary schools had to publish their annual school reports.¹⁵³ At first the reports were called *Schulprogramme* (school programs), but at the end of the nineteenth century it was replaced by the term *Jahresberichte* (annual reports). The ministry also stipulated the content of the report: academic essays written by teachers; information about the school's curriculum like lesson hours, teachers in charge, textbooks, and teaching materials; orders from authorities; chronicles of the school such as patriotic festivals; and student statistics. Each *Jahresbericht* included activities from April to March of the following year and all the reports from 1825 to 1915 were collected in two libraries, the Royal Library in Berlin (Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin) and the Library of the Prussian Ministry of Education (Bibliothek des preußischen Kultusministeriums).¹⁵⁴

After 1915, publications of *Jahresberichte* were forbidden due to the paper shortage caused by the First World War, and it was only from the school year of 1921 that secondary schools started to publish *Jahresberichte* again and their statistical data was evaluated by the Ministry of Education.¹⁵⁵ In the chaotic aftermath of the First World War, not all reports issued in the 1920s survived. The *Jahresberichte* continued until 1940 when again, due to the lack of paper caused by the Second World War, they were cancelled.¹⁵⁶

For this book, I will mainly analyze *Jahresberichte* from the following 11 gymnasiums in Berlin that were established prior to the Franco-Prussian War to examine how they experienced the victory of Prussia over France and the foundation of the German Empire, and how they subsequently celebrated political ceremonies. As the school names have variant spellings, I have followed the spelling and hyphenation used in each school's *Jahresberichte* to avoid confusion.

153 Dietmar Haubfleisch and Christian Ritzi, "Schulprogramme: Zu ihrer Geschichte und ihrer Bedeutung für die Historiographie des Erziehungs- und Bildungswesens" [School programs: On their history and significance for the historiography of education], in *Bibliothek und Forschung. Die Bedeutung von Sammlungen für die Wissenschaft* [Library and research. The importance of collections for science], ed. Irmgard Siebert (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2011), 166.

154 Haubfleisch and Ritzi, "Schulprogramme," 204.

155 Haubfleisch and Ritzi, "Schulprogramme," 186, 204.

156 Haubfleisch and Ritzi, "Schulprogramme," 192.

- Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster (est. 1574)
- Joachimsthalisches Gymnasium (est. 1607)
- Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium (est. 1681)
- Französisches Gymnasium (est. 1689)
- Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium (est. 1797)
- Köllnisches Gymnasium (est. 1824)
- Friedrichs-Gymnasium (est. 1850)
- Wilhelms Gymnasium (est. 1858)¹⁵⁷
- Luisenstädtisches Gymnasium (est. 1864)¹⁵⁸
- Sophien-Gymnasium (est. 1865)
- Kaiserin Augusta-Gymnasium (est. 1876), which was located in Charlottenburg, a district that became a part of Berlin in 1920.

Jahresberichte from other gymnasiums, which were established after the foundation of the empire, will also be partly considered, including Askanisches Gymnasium, Humboldt-Gymnasium, Leibniz-Gymnasium, Lessing-Gymnasium, and Luisen Gymnasium. The annual reports are all archived on microfilm in the Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung (Research Library for the History of Education) in Berlin.

In Japan, from the 1880s, students of *chūgakkō* and other higher educational institutions organized sports and cultural club activities. The clubs were called *gakuyūkai* (学友会) or *kōyūkai* (校友会), which literally mean “school friend association” and “graduate association,” respectively, and they included students, teachers, and graduates.¹⁵⁹ They often issued magazines called *gakuyūkai zasshi*, which included reports of school events (political ceremonies, sport festivals, excursions, and military exercises), club activities, and lecture transcripts and essays by teachers, guests, alumni, and students.¹⁶⁰ Students wrote and edited

157 This school was originally called Progymnasium and renamed (königliche) Wilhelms Gymnasium in 1861, when King Wilhelm became its patron.

158 This school was renamed Heinrich-Schliemann-Schule, Gymnasium und Realgymnasium, Städtische Höhere Lehranstalt in 1928; Heinrich-Schliemann-Gymnasium in 1938; and Horst-Wessel-Gymnasium in 1939. In this chapter, however, I refer to it by its original name, Luisenstädtische Gymnasium, to avoid confusion.

159 Tomioka Masaru, “Jinjō chūgakkō no kōyūkai seiritsu ni kansuru kentoō kadai to hōhō” [Issues and methods to be considered regarding the establishment of school club associations for normal middle schools], *MISC* 16, no. 2 (2005), 35–49.

160 Andō Yoshinori, “Meiji-ki ni okeru chūgakkō kōyūkai no sōsetsu to hatten no gaikan” [Establishment and development of school club associations at boys’ secondary schools in the Meiji era], *Mukōgawa Joshidaigaku kyōiku kenkyū repōto* 39 (2009): 50–51.

articles, but since schools regarded the magazines as their official publications, the contents were censored before printing.¹⁶¹

For this book, I examined magazines from five chūgakkō in Tokyo that were founded in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Although each school has been renamed and restructured over the years, they continue to maintain archives of documents from the original chūgakkō:

- First Tokyo Secondary School (東京府立第一中学校 Tōkyō Furitsu Dai-ichi Chūgakkō, est. 1878), now Hibiya High School (日比谷高等学校)
- Second Tokyo Secondary School (東京府立第二中学校 Tōkyō Furitsu Daini Chūgakkō, est. 1900), now Tachikawa High School (立川高等学校)
- Third Tokyo Secondary School (東京府立第三中学校 Tōkyō Furitsu Daisan Chūgakkō, est. 1900), now Ryōgoku High School (両国高等学校)¹⁶²
- Fourth Tokyo Secondary School (東京府立第四中学校 Tōkyō Furitsu Daiyon Chūgakkō, est. 1888), now Toyama High School (戸山高等学校)
- Kaisei Secondary School (開成中学校 Kaisei Chūgakkō, est. 1871), now Kaisei High School (開成高等学校).¹⁶³

Except for Kaisei Secondary School, all these schools were public. As the publication of school club magazines was not compulsory, and many of the magazines were burned in the fires caused by the Great Kantō Earthquake (1923) and air raids during the Second World War, only a few schools preserved their magazines in their archives. In most cases, the magazines are not available in a complete series and only some issues are still preserved. I will mainly refer to those of the First and Third Tokyo Secondary Schools and the Kaisei Secondary School, which were founded in the Meiji era and were lucky enough to preserve all of their magazines.

I will also consider official documents and reports in various German and Japanese archives and libraries as follows:

- Bundesarchiv (The Federal Archives of Germany), which owns documents regarding political ceremonies and exchanges between Germany and Japan

161 Ichikawa Masami, “Kyūsei chūgakkō no kōyūkai ni okeru seitōjichi no sokumen: Kōyūkai kisoku no bunseki o chūshin ni” [Self-government by junior high school students in prewar Japan: An analysis of the rules of school club associations], *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, University of Tokyo* 43 (2003): 8.

162 The school was originally called Tōkyō-fu Dai-ichi Chūgakkō Bunkō (東京府第一中学校分校) and renamed the Third Tokyo Secondary School in 1901.

163 The school was originally called Kyōritsu Gakkō (公立学校) and renamed Kaisei Secondary School in 1895. Since its foundation in 1871, this private boys' secondary school in Tokyo has produced a large number of noted alumni. Kaisei High School is now famous for the number of its students admitted to the University of Tokyo.

- Landesarchiv Berlin (The State Archive of Berlin), which owns documents regarding gymnasiums and their sports classes in Berlin
- Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (Brandenburg Main State Archive, Potsdam)
- Universitätsbibliothek der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin (University Library of Humboldt University of Berlin)
- National Diet Library Japan
- The Tokyo Metropolitan Archives (東京公文書館 Tōkyō Kōbunsho-kan), which owns official documents and reports of Tokyo regarding political ceremonies in schools
- The Library of the Nippon Sport Science University (日本体育大学図書館 Nihon Taiiku Daigaku Toshokan), which owns historical sources and literature regarding the history of sport in Japan, sports class regulations, public mass gymnastics performances, and military exercises in school.

Chapter 2

Marching for the Nation-State

In the Introduction, I called into question the common understanding of upright walking as a crucial, ubiquitous feature of human beings. Individual gaits generally differ based on their cultural and biological backgrounds and, as scientific research in biology, biometrics, anthropology, and cultural studies shows, the human gait changes and has been changed depending on time, space, and culture. Moreover, various studies in sociology, anthropology, and cultural history show the connection between synchronicity and group coherence. According to Émile Durkheim, the essential point for group-building is that the individuals who compose the group are assembled together and take common action—it is not the action itself (as the action is not necessarily unique), but the sharing of a common action that is necessary for the emergence of group feeling.¹ Thus, very simple and ordinary movements like walking could also symbolize a certain group and contribute to the emergence of collective ideas and sentiments. A collective performance such as marching, however, requires practice, since it is neither the most comfortable nor the most natural way of walking. If so, how and through which exercises did modern nation-states manage to mold various individual gaits into one collective, synchronized, and ideal gait? And, in relation to this, how and to what extent were modern marching bodies connected to morality and the concept of the nation-state?

In this chapter, I will explore how and why physical education, including marching exercises, developed as a part of school programs in the German Empire (1871–1918) and Meiji Japan (1868–1912). I begin by outlining the German Empire’s development of physical education, followed by how the modernization of the Japanese army led to the modernization of Japanese gaits. I will trace the development of physical education in schools in both countries, especially in regard to military training and marching exercises for male youths. Subsequently, I will consider the influence of Germany on Japanese physical education, comparing the German model introduced in Japan with what was actually taking place in Germany. In relation to this, I will also explore the entangled relationships between the nation-state, bodily movements, and inner morality—I regard marching exercises as a program for making what Foucault calls the “docile body,” the

1 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 386–7.

body that obediently operates tasks with the techniques, speed, and efficiency expected by those in power.²

2.1 The Development of Turnen in the German Empire (1871–1918)

The Turnen movement in the early nineteenth century

In eighteenth-century Europe, travel was generally a luxury accessible only to the elites, whether for leisure or study. Their trips focused on the destination(s), rather than the means of transport. Tim Ingold has astutely pointed out how this relates to the value placed by Western tradition, since Plato and Aristotle, on the senses of vision and hearing over touch: “the actual process of travel, especially on foot, was considered a drudge—literally a travail—that had to be endured for the sole purpose of reaching a destination.”³ Nevertheless, among all forms of transport, walking was the least desirable and associated with “poverty, unrespectability and possible criminal intent.”⁴

Despite the negative associations of travelling on foot, some intellectuals were aware of the pedagogical value of walking. For instance, Jean-Jacques Rousseau appreciated walking experiences in his 1762 treatise *Émile, ou De l'éducation* (*Emile, or Education*), claiming that they could grant new knowledge and develop the aesthetic sensibility to savor nature.⁵ Inspired by the seventeenth-century ideas of John Locke, Rousseau conveyed the importance of the body, bodily experiences, and movement in human development by describing how a hypothetical boy in the countryside, Emile, is guided by a tutor to learn right from wrong by experiencing the consequences of his actions.⁶

Inspired by Rousseau, the German philanthropist and educator Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724–1790) carried out a philanthropic educational reform movement in German-speaking areas in the late eighteenth century. He introduced

2 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 38.

3 Ingold, “Culture on the Ground,” 321.

4 Jarvis, *Romantic Writing and Pedestrian Travel* (London: Macmillan, 1997), 23.

5 Rousseau, *Emile, or Education*, trans. Barbara Foxley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), Book 2; see also Andreas Mayer, *Wissenschaft von Gehen. Die Erforschung der Bewegung im 19. Jahrhundert* [Science of walking. The study of movement in the nineteenth century], Vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2013), 22.

6 In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Locke explained three distinct methods to educate the mind: the development of a healthy body; the formation of a virtuous character; and the choice of an appropriate academic curriculum. Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 26.

new teaching methods and materials to improve the quality of teaching. At the same time, he emphasized physical exercise such as fencing and dancing, which aimed to develop body control, virtue, respectable posture, obedience, discipline, and temperance in students.⁷ Though comparatively short-lived (until the early nineteenth century), Basedow's movement contributed to the development of physical education. For instance, inspired by the ideas of Rousseau and Basedow, Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths (1759–1839) developed systematic physical exercises. GutsMuths taught gymnastics in the Salzmannschule Schnepfenthal (Schnepfenthal Institution), founded by the philanthropist Christian Gotthilf Salzmann (1744–1811) in 1784. In *Gymnastik für die Jugend* (Gymnastics for youth, 1793), which is regarded as the first systematic handbook on gymnastics, GutsMuths combined ancient Greek gymnastics with his own ideas.⁸ Later, in *Turnbuch für die Söhne des Vaterlandes* (Turnen book for the sons of the fatherland, 1817), he described *Turnen* (physical education)—including climbing, dancing, jumping, military exercises, running, swimming, throwing, and walking—as an appropriate instrument for a holistic education, differentiating it from *Gymnastik* in terms of its aim to train defenders of the “fatherland,” who are obedient, orderly, and unified through collective (militaristic) exercises.⁹

In the nineteenth century, public transport became affordable for ordinary working people and walking in general became a matter of choice, rather than necessity, and the stigma of poverty formerly attached to its practitioners faded away.¹⁰ People who had the leisure to do so started to enjoy walking itself. It was also in the nineteenth century that the French concept of flaneur, strolling on the streets of Paris with a sense of curiosity and laziness, came into the limelight, as discussed in Chapter 1. In Germany, walking became a new cultural practice for the bourgeoisie, referred to as *Bürger* at the time,¹¹ and walking with an upright posture became a synonym for the self-consciousness of that class. Walking was proof of independence and an enterprising spirit (even though pedestrians were still sometimes regarded as beggars).¹² At least for the enlightened *Bürger* class, it was proper to favor their feet as a means of locomotion, take a walk every day,

7 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 30–32.

8 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 33.

9 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 34–35, 41–42.

10 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 17; John Urry, *Sociology beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2000), 51.

11 Bernd J. Warneken, “Bürgerliche Gehkultur in der Epoche der Französischen Revolution” [Bourgeois walking culture in the era of the French Revolution], *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 85 (1989): 177–87.

12 Mayer, *Wissenschaft von Gehen*, 29; Bernd J. Warneken, “Biegsame Hofkunst und Aufrechter Gang” [Flexible court art and the upright gait], in *Der Aufrechte Gang. Zur Symbolik einer Körper-*

and go on excursions. The proper upright gait also expressed inner discipline, reason, and self-governance over one's body and desires.¹³

Parallel to this new culture of gaits in the Bürger class, there were also changes in the military. Until the eighteenth century, soldiers in the battlefield lined up and marched in orderly formations toward the enemy. When two well-oiled enemy formations confronted each other, the formation that was able to kill more soldiers than the other won the battle. Even after the marching formation became obsolete with advances in firearms, marching did not disappear. On the contrary, armies and schools placed a high value on precise, synchronized marching, which would never be used on a battlefield. From the 1750s, as Philippe Ariès underscores, liberal and militaristic ideas intertwined in school education.¹⁴ Educators and military intellectuals started to define the “natural” and “good” gait, as well as ideal male bodily postures and movements, by considering their mechanical, aesthetic, and ethical aspects.¹⁵

Thus, the upright gait and posture were associated with two contradictory concepts in the nineteenth century: the independence of the Bürger class and the subordination of soldiers – disciplined postures and steps became an expression of military morals, and different types of military gaits became an object of scientific studies to control the marching tempo and the length of each step. This ambiguity remained in the field of education throughout the Wilhelmine era (1890–1918), that is, the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II in the German Empire.

Against this backdrop, the German gymnastics educator and nationalist Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852) opened a *Turnplatz* (sportsground) in Berlin in 1811 and started to teach sports regularly. While Gutsmuths is now regarded as the *Turngroßvater* (grandfather of Turnen), Jahn is the *Turnvater* (father of Turnen). From the beginning, Turnen was connected to Jahn's political ideals, which followed those of GutsMuths. For Jahn, the aim of Turnen was to protect youths from flabbiness and debauchery, as well as to prepare them both mentally and physically for the fight against Napoleon I.¹⁶ In the Battle of Leipzig, which was fought from October 16 to 19, 1813, at Leipzig, Saxony, the coalition armies of

haltung [The upright gait: On the symbolism of a posture], ed. Bernd J. Warneken (Tübingen: Tübinger Vereinigung für Volkskunde, 1990), 11.

¹³ Warneken, “Biegsame Hofkunst,” 17.

¹⁴ Philippe Ariès, *Geschichte der Kindheit* [History of childhood], trans. Caroline Neubaur and Karin Kersten (Munich: dtv, 1975), 381.

¹⁵ Mayer, *Wissenschaft von Gehen*, 41, 49, 56.

¹⁶ Hannes Neumann, “Leibesübungen im Dienste nationaler Bestrebungen: Jahn und die deutsche Turnenbewegung” [Physical exercise in the service of national aspirations: Jahn and the German gymnastics movement], in *Leibesübungen und Sport in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* [Physical exercise and sport in Germany from the beginnings to WWI], vol. 3, part 1

Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden decisively defeated the French army of Napoleon. Jahn and his dedicated students fought in this battle as part of the famous Lützow Free Corps, a volunteer force in the Prussian army.¹⁷ Victory in this battle gave credence to Jahn's Turnen movement, helping it to propagate rapidly after 1813.¹⁸ GutsMuths also suggested that youths should play war games (*Kriegsspiele*) on October 18 to commemorate this battle.¹⁹

Jahn came under the suspicion of authorities for advocating his own ideas for the unification of Germany, which were seen as a criticism of the Prussian authorities and army at the time. Moreover, the Turnen movement had close ties to the Burschenschaft student movement, a traditional fraternity founded in the early nineteenth century, whose members were university students inspired by liberal and nationalistic ideas. In 1819, the German dramatist and writer August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue was assassinated by a militant Burschenschaft member, who had taken part in Jahn's Turnen movement in Berlin. Consequently, Jahn and other members of the Turnen and Burschenschaft movements were arrested.²⁰ The Ministry of Education's attempt to introduce Turnen to school curricula that year failed due to this incident.²¹ Prussia officially forbade Turnen in 1820, although this measure aimed only to prevent collective physical activities in public spaces from being used to support and propagate Jahn's political objectives. In other words, it was still possible to continue such physical activities in closed rooms under the supervision of the authorities.²²

The introduction of Turnen classes in the mid-nineteenth century

Due to the influence of the academics Ignaz Lorinser and Friedrich Wilhelm Klumpp, who emphasized the importance of physical education not only for individuals but also for the entire society, the prohibition of Turnen became void

of *Geschichte der Leibesübungen* [History of physical exercise], ed. Horst Ueberhorst (Berlin: Bartels und Wernitz, 1980), 258.

17 Neumann, "Leibesübungen im Dienste nationaler Bestrebungen," 259.

18 Prominent educators, such as Johann Friedrich Herbart and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, supported the expansion of Turnen classes in some ways. Though not sharing Jahn's patriotic ideals, they recognized the importance of controlling and subserviating one's own body for intellectual development. Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 118–23.

19 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 41–2.

20 Neumann, "Leibesübungen im Dienste nationaler Bestrebungen," 263–64.

21 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 73.

22 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 71.

with the Royal Cabinet Order of June 6, 1842.²³ In his order, Friedrich Wilhelm IV recognized physical training as “a necessary and indispensable part of male education.”²⁴ Turnen was introduced to school curricula, first as an elective subject in gymnasiums in cities, and much later, from 1862, also in elementary schools (Volksschule).²⁵ The Minister of Education, Johann Albrecht Friedrich Eichhorn, issued an order on February 7, 1844, which mentioned that participation in Turnen classes was still at the discretion of students’ parents but did not specifically stipulate the syllabus of the classes.²⁶

Between 1860 and 1863, *Turners* (people who performed Turnen) in Berlin and members of the liberal opposition in the second chamber of the Prussian parliament (Preußisches Abgeordnetenhaus) came into conflict with Wilhelm I, the Prussian government, and aristocratic military officers. For the government, the crucial point was to drill soldiers to obediently follow their supreme commander, the king of Prussia. For this purpose, the government favored the rational and systematic physical gymnastics introduced by Hugo Rothstein (1810–1865), a Prussian officer who was a severe critic of the Turnen movement. In 1851, Rothstein became the principal of the newly founded Königlichen Central-Turnanstalt (Royal Central Turnen Institute; hereafter “Turnen Institute”) in Berlin, which trained gymnastics teachers for the military and schools in the Swedish style of gymnastics, under the supervision of the Ministries of War and of Education. As shown by the structure of the Turnen Institute and the official order of May 26, 1860, the government-promoted Turnen classes in schools were closely interrelated with the military training of the Prussian army:

Besides its pedagogical meaning, one must also recognize the military value of gymnastics exercises. Correct gymnastics exercises in schools can promote the military readiness of the people . . . Combine gymnastics exercises with games and patriotic holidays in an appropriate way, so that the public will understand the benefit of gymnastics exercises in relation to the defensive capability of the people. Consider that the appropriate physical training of the youth improves the moral behavior of the people [*Volkssitte*].²⁷

23 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 73–81.

24 Otto Kübler, *Geh. R. Dr. L. Wiese’s Sammlung der Verordnungen und Gesetze für die höheren Schulen in Preußen* [Privy Councilor Dr. L. Wiese’s collection of regulations and laws for secondary schools in Prussia] (Berlin: Wiegandt & Grieben, 1886), 222.

25 Michael Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung. Die Geschichte des Turnens in der Reichsgründungsära – eine Detailstudie über die Deutschen* [Physical culture and nation building. The history of gymnastics during the founding of the German Empire—a detailed study of the Germans] (Schorndorf: Karl Hofmann, 1996), 265; Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 81.

26 Kübler, *Geh. R. Dr. Wiese’s Sammlung der Verordnungen*, 224–25.

27 Circulated order from May 26, 1860, as cited in Kübler, *Geh. R. Dr. L. Wiese’s Sammlung der Verordnungen*, 226–27.

As Swedish gymnastics requires no parallel and horizontal bars, Rothstein removed them from his institute. His measure triggered the so-called Barrenstreit, a dispute over bars that was arguably the first major debate on the role of Turnen in Prussia and other German-speaking countries. During the Barrenstreit, the Turners discussed the values of Turnen—especially the improvement of health, preparation for military service, “harmonic development” of children, and fostering national identity—but they also started to restructure Turnen into a more orderly and disciplined form, in order to convince the government that it was an appropriate school subject. The ideal nation-state envisioned by the Prussian liberals consisted of disciplined individuals who were capable of maintaining order and protecting the nation-state.²⁸ Thus discipline, order, duty, and obedience were actually shared educational goals of both the Turners and the government.

The Barrenstreit ended in favor of the Turners. Due to the strong resistance of the liberal opposition and the Turners, Rothstein resigned, and parallel and horizontal bars returned to the Turnen Institute in Berlin. The crucial point for the government was to educate physically strong and obedient subjects through an inexpensive yet effective method, be it Swedish or German. Therefore, what convinced the government was not Jahn’s Turnen but Adolf Spieß’s *Schulturnen* (school Turnen), which was aligned with the spirit of discipline, order, military preparedness, and obedience. It provided a collective physical experience of obedience and subordination, without many of the original ideals of the revolutionary Turnen movement.²⁹

Adolf Spieß (1810–1858), whose father was an Evangelical pastor and acquaintance of GutsMuths, contributed to the development of school gymnastics both in Switzerland and Germany. Spieß learned Jahn’s Turnen, which was rather chaotic and wild, and developed it further by adding new groups of exercises and bringing order and structure so that Turnen could fit into the ordered school education system.³⁰ Spieß was aiming to promote the status of Turnen to equal that of existing school subjects. For this purpose, he advocated some indispensable conditions for Turnen classes, such as the compulsory participation of all (healthy) students, the testing of students’ physical ability, and the establishment of exercise rooms in each school.³¹ His ideas for physical education in schools were welcomed not only by schoolteachers and members of Turnen associations but also by the Prussian

28 Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 161–84.

29 Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 267.

30 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 115.

31 Heinz Denk, “Schulturnen: Leibesübungen im Dienste autoritärer Erziehung” [School gymnastics: Physical exercise in the service of authoritarian education], in Ueberhorst, *Leibesübungen und Sport in Deutschland von den Anfängen bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, 340.

authorities, who saw school education as an important instrument for stabilizing and sustaining the existing social order.³² As order, discipline, and obedience (*Ordnung, Zucht, und Gehorsam*) were key concepts of Spieß's physical education, he placed importance on ordered collective exercises.³³

In agreement with GutsMuths, Jahn, and the majority of Turners, Spieß saw Turnen in schools as a preparation for military service.³⁴ In fact, the marching exercises designed to inculcate amenability to order and discipline that he named *Ordnungsübungen*, differed little from military drills in that students followed the commands of their teacher and moved, marched, and lined up.³⁵ Spieß argued that these exercises improved the discipline and order of students, since they move collectively and learn how to handle themselves as part of the whole.³⁶ According to Spieß, *Ordnungsübungen* and what he called *Freiübungen* (free exercises), which required no sports equipment, should constitute the majority of a Turnen class.³⁷

Spieß also placed importance on the “correct” standing posture and gait, which he regarded as the foundation for all other physical movement, and despite accepting that individual human gaits varied, he still expected that students' gaits would become homogenized through Turnen classes.³⁸ Therefore, an important part of Spieß's Turnen classes was gait, such as exercising different styles of gaits and marching formations, as exemplified in the 1879 Jahresbericht of the Humboldt-Gymnasium.

Spieß encouraged Turnen teachers to use songs so that students could sing, experience enjoyment, and keep the rhythm while exercising.³⁹ Since ancient times, military music and songs have played an important role in war, giving soldiers signals and commands, encouraging fellow soldiers, discouraging enemies, celebrating victories, and comforting injured soldiers.⁴⁰ In the eighteenth century, as the line formation became a standard tactical formation, military music was useful for keeping marching rhythms and helping soldiers to practice the lock-

32 Denk, “Schulturnen,” 337.

33 Denk, “Schulturnen,” 337.

34 Denk, “Schulturnen,” 342.

35 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 117.

36 Adolf Spieß, *Turnbuch für Schulen: als Anleitung für den Turnunterricht durch die Lehrer der Schulen* [Gymnastics book for schools: As a guide for gymnastics lessons by schoolteachers], vol. 2, *Die Übungen höherer Altersstufen bei Knaben und Mädchen* [The exercises for older age groups of boys and girls] (Basel: Schweighauser, 1889), 131.

37 Denk, “Schulturnen,” 344.

38 Spieß, *Turnbuch für Schulen*, 2: 172.

39 Spieß, *Turnbuch für Schulen*, 2: 412–13.

40 Müller and Lachmann, *Spielmann – Trompeter – Hoboist*, 10.

step.⁴¹ Frederick II of Prussia also knew the importance of military music, as it could rhythmically lead drills and discipline troops' movements.⁴² After major changes in military tactics, however, military music gradually lost its role in battlefield. Instead, in the mid-nineteenth century, it took on a political role in Prussia, evoking the emotions of soldiers and other participants at parades and ceremonies such as funerals and anniversaries.⁴³

In 1862, the government published guidelines for Turnen classes in elementary schools, which were compulsory for all Volksschule and also used for the early stage of the implementation of guidelines in secondary schools.⁴⁴ These guidelines clearly articulated the aims, namely "for students to learn to be vigilant and pay strict attention to orders, to swiftly and accurately execute orders, exhibit self-control, and be subordinate to the objectives of a greater whole."⁴⁵ According to Karl Euler, the principal of the Turnen Institute and an expert on Spieß's Turnen, students can learn how to behave themselves through collective physical exercises, at first in their classroom and school and then later also in their community, nation-state, and the military.⁴⁶ This principle of the Turnen class basically did not change until the end of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

The 1862 guidelines pointed out the importance of awakening children's sense for keeping in time and rhythm.⁴⁸ It outlined exercises that aimed to eliminate faults and bad habits in the gait such as being bent, slanted or ungainly, or shuffling. The body should be upright yet not stiff, and the gaze fixed directly ahead, not on the ground. The arms should be allowed to hang unrestrainedly and swing to and fro while walking, without swinging too much or being too stiff. With each step, the legs should be lightly extended while the feet should be light and elastic, yet step down strongly (without stomping, creeping, or shuffling), and each step should not be too large.⁴⁹ Such gait exercises continued to be encouraged in the following decades.

41 Müller and Lachmann, *Spielmann – Trompeter – Hoboist*, 15.

42 Müller and Lachmann, *Spielmann – Trompeter – Hoboist*, 21.

43 Müller and Lachmann, *Spielmann – Trompeter – Hoboist*, 35.

44 Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 394.

45 *Leitfaden für den Turnunterricht in den Preußischen Volksschulen* [Guidelines for Turnen exercises in Prussian elementary schools] (Berlin: Wilhelm Herz, 1862), 5; see also Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 397.

46 As cited in Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 181–82.

47 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 164–65.

48 *Leitfaden*, chap. 29.

49 *Leitfaden*, chap. 14, pp. 29–30.

For instance, in 1889, Ferdinand A. Schmidt (1852–1929), a doctor, explained different types of gaits in detail, suggesting an ordinary speed and step length.⁵⁰ He later advised that the “natural gait”—a walking style in which one goes forward on flat ground with minimal effort and at a constant speed—was not the most efficient or effortless, compared to the “neither natural nor beautiful” Bow-Gait (*Beugegang*)—a walking style in which the ankle, knee, and hip joint are bent and the upper body bowing.⁵¹ Schmidt strongly recommended the practice of the “natural gait,” though he recognized that people’s gaits in daily life were different depending on their characters, education, occupations and lifestyles.⁵² In 1902, he also suggested that the “appropriate” step length depended on age.⁵³

Furthermore, in 1912, a gymnastics teacher called Weede inspected gymnastics classes of secondary schools in the province of Brandenburg and emphasized that all schools should precisely follow the instructions of the military-style *Ordnungsübungen*.⁵⁴ Weede noted that during gait exercises, or running and jumping exercises, older and taller students in a group must take extremely small steps, while younger and smaller students must take arduous big steps, and he advised teachers to pay more attention to the straight posture and smooth movements of students while walking and running.⁵⁵

State promotion of Schulturnen and marching exercises in gymnasiums in Berlin in the mid-nineteenth century

Because of the historical background of Berlin, where Jahn had opened his first Turnplatz, physical education was especially encouraged in the city. For instance,

50 F. A. Schmidt, *Turnsaal und Exerzierplatz* [Gym and parade ground] (Leipzig: Edward Strauch, 1889), 18–37.

51 F. A. Schmidt, *Unser Körper. Handbuch der Anatomie, Physiologie und Hygiene der Leibesübungen* [Our body. Handbook of the anatomy, physiology, and hygiene of physical exercises] (Leipzig: R. Voigtländer, 1899), 418.

52 F. A. Schmidt, *Unser Körper*, 430.

53 F. A. Schmidt, “Die Turnerische Behandlung des Schrittes” [The treatment of steps in gymnastics], in *Jahrbuch für Volks- und Jugendspiele* [Yearbook for folk and youth games], ed. Emil von Schenkendorff and Ferdinand A. Schmidt (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902), 95.

54 Der Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal- Angelegenheiten, U III B Nr. 6341. U II U II W. Berlin W. 8. den 10. Februar 1912. An das Königliche Provinzial-Schulkollegium. Rep. 34, Nr. 658, 236–242. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

55 Der Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal - Angelegenheiten, U III B Nr. 6341. U II U II W. Berlin W. 8. den 10. Februar 1912, An das Königliche Provinzial-Schulkollegium, Rep. 34, Nr. 658, 236–242. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

the Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium introduced Turnen classes in 1843, just after the Turnen prohibition was repealed. Other gymnasiums quickly followed: Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium in 1844, Johahimthalisches Gymnasium and Französisches Gymnasium in 1845, and Köllnisches Gymnasium in 1846. From the 1850s, newly established gymnasiums also commenced Turnen classes immediately after their foundation: Friedrich Gymnasium in 1850, Willhelms-Gymnasium in 1858, Sophien-Gymnasium in 1865, and Luisenstädtisches Gymnasium in 1869.⁵⁶

However, attendance rates show great discrepancy. For example, in 1869, the average attendance rate in Turnen classes at secondary schools in Berlin was 66% in the summer term and 49.5% in the winter term, but the figure was almost 90% in some (e.g., Joahimtahlisches Gymnasium, Köllnisches Gymnasium) and only about 40% in others (e.g., Französisches Gymnasium, Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium).⁵⁷ Though the principal of the Wilhelms Gymnasium deplored their low attendance rate,⁵⁸ attendance in Berlin was still higher than in other parts of Prussia, especially in the countryside. In 1873, almost all secondary schools in Berlin provided Turnen classes regularly, with senior classes being held three times a week and junior classes at least twice a week, a frequency that was unaffordable for schools in the countryside.⁵⁹ These statistics clearly contradict Hans-Georg Herrlitz, Wulf Hopf, and Hartmut Titze's book about German school history, in which lists of the curricula of gymnasiums between 1816 and 1924 did not appear to include physical education as a subject.⁶⁰ However, as I have shown above, at least in Berlin, there is clear evidence that gymnasiums had regularly provided Turnen classes since the mid-nineteenth century. The presence of Turnen may have been overlooked by historians, not only because of the past lack of research interest in the body, but also because it was listed on a separate page of the schools' Jahresberichte to that of other regular subjects such as mathematics or literature.

Turnen classes in Berlin were based on Spieß's proposals, as attested by the Jahresberichte of the Wilhelms Gymnasium (1862), the Sophien-Gymnasium (1867, 1869), and the Gymnasium zum Glauen Kloster (1888). In 1873, the Wilhelms Gymnasium enumerated its aims for Turnen classes, which were nothing other than a paraphrase of Spieß's guidelines, as follows: to learn mental and physical self-

56 The Gymnasium zum Glauen Kloster was an exception. It had been founded in the seventeenth century but introduced the Turnen class in 1857 for the first time. *Das Turnen in den Schulen der Mark Brandenburg*, 1869, A Rep. 020-01, Nr. 326, 132, p. 188. Landesarchiv Berlin.

57 *Das Turnen in den Schulen der Mark Brandenburg*, pp. 184, 213.

58 Message from the school principal, Kübler, in *Wilhelms Gymnasium, Jahresbericht*, 1873, 14.

59 Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 154–55.

60 Herrlitz, Hopf, and Titze, *Deutsche Schulgeschichte von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart* [History of schools from 1800 to the present] (Weinheim: Juventa, 1993), 68.

control, to subordinate oneself to the objectives of a greater whole and “belong” to it, and to learn to swiftly and punctually execute commands.⁶¹ Interestingly, the classes were also based on the aforementioned 1862 guidelines for elementary schools, as reported by the Luisen Gymnasium in its Jahresbericht of 1883. Thus, we can assume that the guidelines were applied not only to the Volksschule, but also to gymnasiums,⁶² which was rather exceptional because the differences between these institutions are clear in other subjects. The Volksschule were designed for ordinary people who lacked the means to attend a gymnasium and become part of the future elites. The similarity of physical education in these institutions therefore suggests that its aim was not to differentiate students from other youths but rather to provide the shared experience of physical training and unify all youths under the banner of the nation-state.

Turnen reforms and attendance rates from the 1880s

From the 1880s, German intellectuals who were inspired by English sports criticized the stiff and systematic nature of Turnen.⁶³ For instance, Emil Harwich criticized not only the imbalance between intellectual and physical education but also the existing exercises. The one-year volunteer service (*Einjährig-Freiwilligen-Dienst*), first introduced in 1814 in Prussia, was open to secondary school students who agreed to pay for their own equipment, food, and clothing in return for one year of active military service and the opportunity for promotion to reserve officers.⁶⁴ Citing statistics that 88% of candidates for this volunteer service and 45% to 50% of conscripts were incapable of military service, Harwich proclaimed the urgent need for physical education reform and, associating the decline of physical performance

61 Wilhelms Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1873, p. 14.

62 Also in 1897, based on the school inspections and examinations for Turnen teachers, the Ministry of Education reiterated that Turnen classes should be organized based on the teaching plan for secondary schools and the third edition (1895) of the abovementioned 1862 guidelines for elementary schools. Order of March 15, 1897 (VIII B 831 UII).

63 Even before the 1880s, some German intellectuals had promoted English sports games. For instance, the Minister of Education, Ludwig Wiese, recommended sports games in an 1852 speech for promoting students' independence and self-governance. The literary and political historian Georg Gottfried Gervinus criticized Turnen as mechanistic training in 1862, and promoted English sports games in which students move freely and independently. As cited in Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 166–67.

64 Christa Berg, *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte* [Handbook of the history of German education] (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1991), 4: 519–21.

with moral decline, he emphasized that physical education was crucial for individual health as well as for the whole nation and its military capability.⁶⁵

Turnen classes from the 1860s had not significantly improved the physical condition of children and youth, which helped to support the expansion of track and field and sports games.⁶⁶ Wilhelm II supported the Turnen reform in the Prussian School Conference (Reichsschulkonferenz) of 1890 by claiming that what he needed was not masses of short-sighted youths, but strong soldiers who could both defend their “fatherland” and contribute as intellectual leaders and public servants.⁶⁷ During this conference, the military also added to criticisms of the physical condition of secondary school students, who were candidates for the one-year volunteer service, as they showed the highest rate of ineligibility for military service.⁶⁸

From the 1880s, the Prussian government committed itself to improving the attendance rate in Turnen classes. In 1882, the Ministry of Education issued several ordinances relating to physical education in schools and started to encourage Turnen, sports games (*Turnspiele*), and long excursions (*Turnfahrten*) for strengthening and relaxing students’ bodies and minds.⁶⁹ The Minister of Education, Gustav Konrad Heinrich von Goßler, issued the Sports Game Order (*Spielerlass*), which encouraged schools to purchase sportsgrounds for more outside physical activities, while still valuing the existing Turnen.⁷⁰

On March 31, 1882, a revised teaching plan for secondary schools was introduced, stipulating compulsory Turnen classes for all students.⁷¹ The teaching plan required every student to attend at least two Turnen classes per week. It is notable that it was now not students’ parents but school principals who became authorized to exempt individual students from Turnen classes. If parents wished to

65 Harwich, as cited in Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 167–8.

66 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 170.

67 As cited in Christa Kleindienst-Cachay, *Die Verschulung des Turnens. Bedingungen und Folgen der Institutionalisierung der Leibesübungen in den öffentlichen Schulen* [The schoolification of gymnastics: Conditions and consequences of the institutionalization of physical exercise in public schools] (Schorndorf: Karl Hofmann, 1980), 214–15; see also Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 171.

68 Kleindienst-Cachay, *Die Verschulung des Turnens*, 214–15.

69 For instance, the order from October 27, 1882 *Zentralblatt* (VIII b 7145) claimed the necessity of establishing more sportsgrounds. As cited in Adolf Beier, *Die höheren Schulen in Preußen (für die männliche Jugend und ihre Lehrer). Sammlung der hierauf bezüglichen Gesetze, Verordnungen, Verfügungen und Erlasse nach amtlichen Quellen* [Secondary schools in Prussia (for male youth) and their teachers. Collection of the relevant laws, regulations, orders, and decrees from official sources] (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1909), 175–77.

70 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 168–69.

71 Kübler, *Geh. R. Dr. L. Wiese's Sammlung der Verordnungen*, 110, 117.

do so, they would generally have to submit a request with a medical certificate to the principal. Exemptions were generally only permitted for a maximum of half a year.⁷² In the summer term of 1882, approximately 10% of all students were exempted from Turnen classes, although the rate of exemptions showed a great discrepancy (0–42%) across institutions.⁷³

The Ministry of Education stipulated in July 1883 that medical certificates for exemption from Turnen classes should include a detailed description of the disease or illness and a doctor's declaration that physical exercises would certainly lead to the deterioration of the student's health.⁷⁴ Moreover, in 1891, the ministry ordered schools to tackle the misuse of the exemption system and, in 1895, argued that reasons for the exemptions were not convincing and provided an exemption form, ordering school principals to verify that the doctor who wrote the certificate knew enough about Turnen classes; that the doctor had personally examined the student before writing it; and that the certificate described the symptoms of the students in detail and explained how long and from which exercises they should be exempted.⁷⁵

State inspections of Turnen classes from the 1890s

In the 1890s, the main aim of physical education continued to be the improvement of students' military abilities. Not only the attendance rate but also the content of Turnen classes came under state control. In 1894, the Ministry of Education ordered that the Turnen class should be inspected like other subjects.⁷⁶ The Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium reported on the inspection of the Turnen class in 1896 as follows:

On May 21 his Excellency, the Minister of Education Mr. Dr. Bosso, accompanied by senior civil servant Mr. Dr. Köpke inspected our Turnen class and the Turnen grounds in Hasenheide. The school principal introduced Professor Wagner, who is experienced in teaching the Turnen class for upper-grade students, so that he could inform the Minister about our Turnen class. The Minister took note of sports games, Turnen, marching exercises of students including the performances of the drummer and wind instrument corps, and also the

⁷² Beier, *Die höheren Schulen in Preußen*, 179–81.

⁷³ Kübler, *Geh. R. Dr. L. Wiese's Sammlung der Verordnungen*, 238.

⁷⁴ Order from July 30, 1883 (UII 3488/82), as cited in Beier, *Die höheren Schulen in Preußen*, 177–79.

⁷⁵ Ministerial order from February 9, 1895 (UII 283 M). Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

⁷⁶ Order from June 7, 1894 (UII 1389 UIIB), as cited in Beier, *Die höheren Schulen in Preußen*, 181–82.

apparatus for gymnastics. He eventually expressed his satisfaction with all he had observed, especially with the active use of the spacious Turnen grounds.⁷⁷

The revised guidelines for Turnen classes issued in 1895 retained the detailed instructions for walking from 1862, with some additional remarks. For example, in the younger year levels, especially at the beginning, one cannot demand that all students march exactly in time, so they should just start by walking in time first. Students should take 110 to 120 steps a minute and the length of one step should be approximately two feet.⁷⁸

The Prussian authorities also tried to increase the time spent on physical activities in schools. The Ministry of Education encouraged schools to play sports games in addition to the compulsory Turnen classes, though it provided no financial support for this.⁷⁹ More and more schools started to organize so-called “sports game afternoons” (*Spielnachmittags*) for students to have the option to play games for a couple of hours.⁸⁰ For instance, sports games were played on a nearby parade ground from the 1890s, as attested by the *Jahresberichte* of the Sophien-Gymnasium (1891) and the Luisen Gymnasium (1896). Moreover, the new teaching plan for secondary schools introduced in 1901 stipulated three Turnen classes per week and encouraged track and field, sports games, and long excursions, while still imposing basic *Ordnungsübungen* for all students.⁸¹

In the Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium’s *Jahresbericht* of 1905, the principal reported that many of his students increasingly enjoyed the Turnen, sports games, and other exercises and that these activities increased their physical strength. At the same time, it was a tragedy for him that a great number of his students stayed away from Turnen classes just because of small physical issues or weaknesses. In the school’s 1908 *Jahresbericht*, he deplored parents who often prevented their children from taking part in extracurricular physical activities, which fostered both students’ health and friendships, and blamed the parents for the students’ poor physical condition. The *Jahresberichte* of the Leibniz-Gymnasium (e.g., 1895–1902, 1914, 1915) also illustrate its continuous efforts to convince parents to let their children take part in sports activities.

77 Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1897, p. 21.

78 *Leitfaden*, chap. 21.

79 Order from March 1, 1895 (UII 5311), as cited in Beier, *Die höheren Schulen in Preußen*, 181–82.

80 See, e.g., Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1895.

81 Das Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten, “Neue Lehrpläne und Lehraufgaben für die höheren Schulen in Preußen,” *Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preußen* 43, no. 5 (1901): 392–6; no. 6/7 (1901): 471–544. Some gymnasiums had already started to teach three Turnen classes a week from 1893. See, e.g., the 1893 *Jahresberichte* of Lessing-Gymnasium and Luisen Gymnasium.

In a monthly Turnen magazine, *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen*, experts of physical education also discussed this issue of how to treat so-called “weak children” (*schwache Kinder*) in the Turnen class. Richard Zander, a medical professor in Königsberg, claimed that physically weak children should also take part in the Turnen class to develop their muscles, though free exercises and apparatus gymnastics were not appropriate for them; rather, he recommended continuous exercises (*Dauerübungen*), such as walking, jogging, and swimming, and advised that *Ordnungsübungen* should be simple and easy so that those children would not be too stressed.⁸² Zander also emphasized the importance of exercising the “natural” gait, especially for physically weak children:

Besides the “natural” gaits, students practice a number of “artificial” gaits meant to strengthen each muscle group and train graceful movements . . . They are, however, less meaningful for strengthening hearts and lungs. A strenuous “natural” walking style is, on the contrary, valuable for one’s life as it more or less improves unaesthetic and nonchalant gaits in day-to-day life. Besides, it is also valuable for strengthening one’s body . . . Regularly practicing a flexible gait with big steps and good posture is also an excellent way to strengthen weak students. Jogging can improve the performance of hearts and lungs faster than marching. Even so, marching has the advantage that children do not become tired quickly. Thus, marching is also suitable for weak children, who cannot tolerate jogging. Weak children should practice exercises with a simple and taut gait in each Turnen class so frequently that their blood circulation and breathing is stimulated and improved.⁸³

Zander also encouraged physically weak children to join the long excursions with marching (*Turnmärsche*), which had been stipulated by the new teaching plan. He argued that during the excursions students would not become as fatigued because of the beauty of nature, the marching songs, the cheerful mood, and the rhythmical repetition of the movements.⁸⁴

At the turn of the twentieth century, gait exercises were still an important part of Turnen classes and an object of state inspection. For instance, a report of the Turnen class inspection in Berlin noted that the gaits of Leibnitz Gymnasium students were lethargic and should be lighter and more flexible.⁸⁵

⁸² Richard Zander, “Wie sollen schwächliche Knaben und Mädchen im Turnunterricht behandelt werden?,” *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* [How should weak boys and girls be handled in Turnen classes?] 25, no. 2 (1906): 41.

⁸³ Zander, “Wie sollen schwächliche Knaben und Mädchen im Turnunterricht behandelt werden?,” 40.

⁸⁴ Zander, “Wie sollen schwächliche Knaben und Mädchen im Turnunterricht behandelt werden?,” 40.

⁸⁵ Diebow, “Bericht des Direktors der Königlichen Turnlehrer-Bildungsanstalt. Dr. Diebow über Revisionen des Turnunterrichts an Unterrichtsanstalten in Berlin,” January–February 1907, *Ab-schrift zu U III B. 263. U II. Rep. 34, Nr. 658, 117-121*. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

Regarding the attendance rate, the Französisches Gymnasium, the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, the Sophien-Gymnasium, the Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, and the Leibniz-Gymnasium, still had a high rate of exemptions from the Turnen class (around 20%), while others (e.g., Askanisches Gymnasium, Friedrichs-Gymnasium, Humboldt-Gymnasium, Köllnisches Gymnasium, Lessing-Gymnasium) had an exemption average of 10%, based on my review of their Jahresberichte of 1905.

Besides the physical condition of students, the shortage of gymnastics halls hindered participation in Turnen classes. For instance, as the Sophien-Gymnasium shared a gymnastics hall with two other schools, it was difficult to obtain enough time for all the Turnen classes it was obligated to provide. According to the 1910 Jahresbericht of the Köllnisches Gymnasium, some students could not attend Turnen classes as they overlapped with elective subjects, and the school allowed them to attend Turnen classes at other gymnasiums from 1909. In 1908, a newspaper reported that at a gymnasium in Berlin, 61.2% of the students skipped their Turnen classes. It criticized secondary schools for putting less importance on physical education, resulting in a large percentage of candidates for one year of active military service who were physically unfit for it.⁸⁶ In response to this article, the Ministry of Education ordered the Provincial School Council (königliche Provinzial-Schulcollegium) to investigate gymnasiums.⁸⁷ The investigation again showed a great discrepancy among schools in their Turnen attendance rates, and the council reminded schools of the order of 1895 and demanded that they tackle their low attendance rates.⁸⁸

In 1913, the Ministry of Education asked the Provincial School Council to again investigate gymnasiums regarding their Turnen classes. This time, the ministry criticized some by name – such as the Joachimsthalisches Gymnasium, Luisenstädtisches Gymnasium, Wilhelms Gymnasium, and Sophien-Gymnasium, where approximately 14% to 24% of the students absented themselves from Turnen classes, as well as the Lessing-Gymnasium, whose rate of exemption increased from about 2% to 10% from 1891 to 1911 – and also demanded schools not let their

⁸⁶ “Unser Wehrkraft in der Schule,” *National Zeitung*, January 14, 1908.

⁸⁷ Der Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichtes- und Medizinal - Angelegenheiten. U II Nr. 184 U III A. U III B. Berlin W. 64. den 1. Februar 1908. An das Königliche Provinzial-Schulcollegium. Rep. 34, Nr. 658, 115. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

⁸⁸ Der Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichtes- und Medizinal - Angelegenheiten (1908b). U II Nr. 954. U III B. Berlin W. 64. den 9. April 1908. An das Königliche Provinzial-Schulcollegium. Zu dem Bericht vom 9. März d. Js. - I. 1496-. Rep. 34, Nr. 658, 115. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

Turnen classes overlap with any elective subjects, even if temporarily.⁸⁹ In the following year, the principal of the Royal State Institute for Physical Education (königliche Landesturnenanstalt), Diebow, inspected Turnen classes in boys' schools in Berlin by order of the ministry. After the inspection, the ministry emphasized again that schools had to avoid scheduling sports classes and other classes simultaneously. Mentioning the high exemption rate of the Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, the Ministry of Education forbade schools from letting their students miss Turnen classes for the sake of other subjects.⁹⁰ Thus, with pressure from the authorities, more and more students took part in Turnen classes, and the absenteeism in Berlin decreased to an average of only 7% to 9% by the beginning of the First World War.

Direct military involvement in Turnen from 1914

In December 1909, the Ministries of War and Education encouraged schools and army command centers to cooperate with each other to maintain the “healthy military mental state” (*gesunde militärische Sinn*) of youths and boost their military power—their suggestions included letting students observe military parades and maneuvers from better seats so that they could learn about military exercises or encouraging officers to take part in youth sports festivals to inspire and motivate them.⁹¹

The connection between gymnasiums and the military became more obvious after the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, as the Ministries of War and of Education began urging schools to organize youth companies to prepare youths for military service. Students who were older than 16 years of age and had a medical certificate proving their health was appropriate for the training could join

⁸⁹ Der Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichtes- und Medizinal - Angelegenheiten (1913). U II Nr. 2741 Berlin W. 8. den 23. Januar 1913. An das Königliche Provinzial-Schulkollegium in Berlin. Rep. 34, Nr. 658, 264. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

⁹⁰ Der Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichtes- und Medizinal - Angelegenheiten (1914). U III B Nr. 6828 U III A. Berlin W. 8. den 11. Mai 1914. An das Königliche Provinzial-Schulkollegium in Berlin. Rep. 34, Nr. 659, 3. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

⁹¹ Königliches Provinzialschulkollegium (1909). III. Nr. 6153. Berlin, den 15. Dezember 1909. W. 9. Linksstrasse 42. Der Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichtes- und Medizinal - Angelegenheiten. U III A Nr. 3255 U III B., Berlin W. 64. den 2. Dezember 1901. Kriegsministerium. No. 476/8. 09. A. 2. Berlin W. 66. den 21. 10. 1909. An Alle Herrn Direktoren der sämtlichen höheren Lehranstalten (für die männliche Jugend) des Amtsbezirks. Jugenderziehung. Rep. 34, Nr. 1002. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

them.⁹² Many Jahresberichte mention guidelines issued by the Ministry of War, which stipulated that the instructors should be Turnen teachers and other school-teachers, sometimes also assisted by noncommissioned officers, and that the training should be periodically inspected by major generals and generals. For example:

- The Friedrichs-Wedersches Gymnasium formed the school company No. 59, consisting of about 30 students. According to its Jahresbericht of 1915, they trained twice a week, for three- to four-hour sessions, and marched with a school flag made by a mother of one of the students.
- The Leibniz-Gymnasium organized the youth company No. 84 together with the Luisenstädtisches Gymnasium, which did not have enough members to conduct exercises on its own. The 1915 Jahresberichte of these schools note that at the end of February, the company consisted of 73 students from the former and 25 students from the latter.
- The Sophien-Gymnasium organized the youth company No. 117 and undertook several long marches to harden students' bodies. According to its Jahresbericht of 1915 (p. 16), besides a variety of physical training, it also provided lectures on the German, French, and Russian armies, the Eisernes Kreuz (Iron Cross)—a military decoration in the kingdom of Prussia, and later in the German Empire and Nazi Germany—and military services such as semaphore, bivouacs, and healthcare.

During the war, it became difficult to maintain any school classes, but the authorities tried to continue physical education. For instance, in December 1916, together with the Ministry of War and the Provincial School Council, the Ministry of Education decided to send soldiers and officers who were not capable of serving at the front to schools whose Turnen classes had been canceled or restricted due to a lack of teachers.⁹³

Sports festivals, the military, and the nation-state

As mentioned, the Turnen movement was a part of political movements aiming to establish a unified German nation, and physical activities were thus strongly connected with national ceremonies. Over time, physical education in gymnasiums,

⁹² Order from August 16, 1914, B1426, as cited in Friedrichs-Wedersches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1915, p. 13.

⁹³ Königliches Provinzialschulkollegium (1917). Nr. IV. 1635. Berlin, SW. 68, den 2. Juni 1917. An die Herren Direktoren der höheren Lehranstalten für die männlichen Jugend unseres Amtsberichts. Rep. 34, Nr. 659, 33. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

the military, and the nation-state became more intertwined, and school ceremonies related to Turnen highlighted this connection. The patriotic character of Turnen was slightly modified and emphasized after the foundation of the German Empire. For instance, in August 1871, a monument in memory of the “father” of Turnen, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, was erected. At the unveiling ceremony, a senior civil servant called Kerst gave a speech underscoring Jahn’s achievements, such as his patriotic contribution for revitalizing German national sentiment and strengthening the power of the people (*Volk*).⁹⁴

According to its *Jahresbericht* of 1873, the Wilhelms Gymnasium also celebrated Jahn’s achievements and the Day of Sedan with collective gymnastics. The Französische Gymnasium organized a student performance of collective gymnastics (*Schauturnen*), on September 2, 1886. After students marched, exercised, played games, and sang the patriotic “Die Wacht am Rhein” (The watch on the Rhein), the principal gave a speech to explain the patriotic meaning of the Day of Sedan and Turnen.⁹⁵ The Luisenstädtisches Gymnasium organized a preliminary celebration for the 90th birthday of Wilhelm I on March 18, 1887. Students formed the figures “W” and “90” while marching and singing “Die Wacht am Rhein.” According to the newspaper *Vossische Zeitung*, the participants cheered the emperor and the celebration ended impressively with great excitement.⁹⁶

Joint sports festivals, which started from the late 1890s, highlighted the connection (between physical education in gymnasiums, the military and the nation-state) further. Notable examples include:

- The Central Committee for Promotion of Youth’s and People’s Sports Games in Germany (Zentralausschuß zur Förderung der Jugend und Volksspiele in Deutschland) established the Bismarck Games in 1896, which became one of three regular school sports events held in Berlin in the period leading up to the First World War.⁹⁷ The committee donated the Bismarck Plate (Bismarckschild) so that the best school would receive the honor of keeping it as a trophy for one year. That year, 16 secondary schools (including 11 gymnasiums) took part in the Bismarck Games. In the following years, more and more schools participated, competing for the prestigious Bismarck Plate.⁹⁸ In 1901, 56 secondary

⁹⁴ Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1872, p. 22.

⁹⁵ As cited in *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 4, no. 2 (1887): 55–57.

⁹⁶ *Vossische Zeitung*, April 7, 1887, as cited in *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 4, no. 5 (1887): 154–55.

⁹⁷ The Bismarck Games continued at least until 1914. See, e.g., Wilhelms Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1914.

⁹⁸ K. Koch, “Die Wettkämpfe des Jahres 1896” [The competitions of 1896], in Schenckendorff and Schmidt, *Jahrbuch für Volks- und Jugendspiele 1897*, 152–53.

- schools participated in the games at a large drill ground in Moabit, which began and ended with a cheer for the German emperor in front of government officials such as the Minister of Education and a representative of the Minister of War.⁹⁹
- In 1909, 17 secondary schools in west Berlin and a number of officials, including representatives of the Ministry of War, attended another joint sports festival called the Turn und Spiel Fest (Turnen and Games Festival), which was subsequently organized every two years on September 2 to celebrate the Day of Sedan.¹⁰⁰
 - On September 8, 1912, yet another annual joint sports festival was organized by the Association of Turnen teachers and the city of Berlin for the first time on the sportsground in Treptow Park, and attended by 29 secondary schools (28 public and 1 private).¹⁰¹ On August 30, 1913, 1,200 students from 33 secondary schools participated in the second festival in Treptow.¹⁰² This was reported, for example, in the 1914 Jahresberichte of the Askanisches Gymnasium and the Humboldt-Gymnasium.
 - Furthermore, on June 8, 1914, in order to celebrate the inauguration of the new sports stadium, a mass sports event called Kaiser Turnen was held in Berlin, which was apparently the first time for the German emperor (*Kaiser*) to officially observe such an event. Aristocrats, the Ministers of Education, War, and Agriculture, and other high-level officials were also present. Almost 10,000 people, including youths and women, participated in this event.¹⁰³

Next, let us explore the entangled relationship between physical education in secondary schools, the military, and the nation-state in Japan.

99 M. Goepel, “Bismarckspiele der höheren Lehranstalten Groß-Berlins 1909” [Secondary schools and the Bismarck Games in Greater Berlin 1909] *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 28, no. 8 (1909): 315–18.

100 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1910, pp. 12–13; 1912, p. 15; 1914, p. 21. The sports festival was held in 1909 on the newly established sportsground in Eichkamp. In 1911 and 1913, it was held in Zehlendorf.

101 *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 31, no. 10 (1912): 361–62.

102 W. Ruhnke, “Bericht über das zweite Turnen und Spielfest der höheren Lehranstalten Berlins” [Report on the gymnastics and sports games festival of secondary schools in Berlin], *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 32, no. 10 (1913): 393–94.

103 H. Schröer, “Das ‘Kaiser Turnen’ im Berliner Stadion und unsere Hoffnung” [The “Emperor Gymnastics” in Berlin Stadium and our hope], *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 33, no. 7 (1914): 258–62.

2.2 Marching Exercises and the Challenge of Modernizing Students' Bodies in Meiji Japan (1868–1912)

One never sees people keeping step in walking, neither men, women, nor children. Sometimes two men will hold hands, or one will have an arm flung over his companion's shoulder. The absence of rhythm in their walk is noteworthy, as even the school-children of our people keep step in walking. One realizes at once that the Japanese never dance together as we do. The waltz, the polka, and other old-fashioned dances requiring absolute rhythm in their movements, and the school drill of marching out of school to the music of a piano, all contribute to the marching habit.¹⁰⁴

This observation of people on the streets of Tokyo in 1883 was made by the US zoologist Edward S. Morse. People in premodern Japan occasionally walked in procession, but they did not have a custom of keeping step with others. As I will explore in this section, modernization spurred changes in the Japanese gait in the Meiji period, and at the same time physical education classes were introduced to schools, especially for male youths.

Military reforms and the modernization of the gait from the mid-nineteenth century

In general, it is assumed the premodern Japanese gaits were distinctly different from those of Europeans. Though there were different types of gaits depending on social and regional context, more than 90% of the population at the time were peasants whose lives and livelihoods revolved around rice cultivation. The theater and film director Takechi Tetsuji called the premodern walking style *nanba*, which can be observed in traditional dances and theaters today, and insisted that the gait had its origin in rice cultivation.¹⁰⁵ In order to maintain stability on muddy rice paddies, the knees were generally not fully extended. The right foot and the right hand (or the right half of the body) were thought to move forward together, and people walked without swinging their arms.¹⁰⁶ While walking, people did not twist their body and the center of the gravity was over the front half of the feet. This type of gait prevented traditional clothes from becoming un-

¹⁰⁴ Edward S. Morse, *Japan Day by Day, 1877, 1878–79, 1882–83* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917), 2: 414.

¹⁰⁵ Takechi, *Dentō to danzetsu*, 32.

¹⁰⁶ Matsunami, "Hitei sareru karada / Kindaika sareru karada," 157; Takechi, *Dentō to danzetsu*, 27.

tidy.¹⁰⁷ According to Takechi, people in cities developed different types of gaits, but they still did not swing their arms while walking.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, worn regardless of social class, traditional footwear was shaped like flip-flops, such as the flat *zōri* (草履), wooden clogs called *geta* (下駄), and *waraji* (草鞋) sandals made from straw rope. Coinciding with modernization, including the introduction of mandatory military service and compulsory education, this traditional style of walking disappeared. Instead, the bodies of farmers were transformed into the bodies of soldiers and factory workers and, correspondingly, the nanba gait was transformed into a marching gait.¹⁰⁹

After Commodore Perry of the US Navy arrived on Japanese shores in 1853, some feudal domains started to Westernize their military. The Tokugawa government invited the French to reform the army and the English to establish a navy. Following the Meiji Restoration, one of the most urgent and important issues for the new Meiji government was to study the military in Europe and the US in order to strengthen and modernize its own military power. Already from 1869, the government started to send young talent overseas. In February 1869, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (外国官 Gaikokukan) suggested that the Dajō-kan (太政官), the highest organ of government at that time, send exchange students to Russia and Prussia as secret agents.¹¹⁰ This suggestion reflected the Japanese government's suspicions that Russia and Prussia were both aiming to colonize parts of Japan. Indeed, during the Boshin War (1868–1869),¹¹¹ secret negotiations took place for an agreement between the representative of the Prussian Minister to Japan, Maximilian von Brandt, and the Aizu and Shōnai domains, which fought on the side of the Tokugawa. According to a letter from Brandt to the Foreign Minister, Otto von Bismarck, by providing military support for these domains, Prussia could buy a part of Hokkaido Island, which was part of the Aizu and Shōnai territories at the time.¹¹² More-

107 Yano Tatsuhiko, *Nanba noshintai-ron* [The body theory of nanba] (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 2004), 17, 155.

108 Takechi, *Dentō to danzetsu*, 28.

109 Takechi, *Dentō to danzetsu*, 27–34; Miura, *Shintai no reido*, 140.

110 Ishizuki, *Kindai Nihon no kaigai ryūgaku-shi*, 17–8. The Dajō-kan had briefly been restored to power after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, but was replaced by the Cabinet in 1885.

111 The Boshin War was a civil war in Japan, between forces of the Tokugawa government and those seeking to return political power to the Imperial Court. The war completed the military phase of the Meiji Restoration, establishing imperial rule over the nation.

112 Hakoishi Hiroshi, “Boshin sensō to Puroisen” [The Boshin War and Prussia], in *Nichidoku kōryū hyakugojūnen no kiseki* [150 years of Japanese-German relations], ed. Nichidoku Kōryū-shi Henshū-iinkai (Tokyo: Yūshōdō Shoten, 2013), 39–45.

over, the Prussian-born Edward Schnell, who had worked as Brandt's secretary, served the Aizu domain as a military instructor and procurer of weapons.¹¹³

To what extent the new government knew about the secret treaty is unknown, but through caricatures drawn by a British journalist at the time, we can assume that it was well known that Prussia supported the Tokugawa in the Boshin War.¹¹⁴ It is thus understandable that the new Japanese government tried to investigate Prussia as soon as possible after the defeat of the Tokugawa. The Ministry of the Army ordered Ōyama Iwao (1842–1916) and Shinagawa Yajirō (1843–1900) to go to Europe and report back on the Franco-Prussian War, namely about the conditions of the battles, the strategic profits and losses, the ability of soldiers and weapons, and the influence of the war on politics and the military.¹¹⁵ From 1868 to 1874, the government sent almost 600 people abroad. After North America (301 teachers) and England (211 teachers), Germany was the third most popular destination and about 80 people headed there.¹¹⁶ At the same time, 190 German teachers were invited to Japan between 1873 and 1887.¹¹⁷

The Satsuma Rebellion (西南戦争 *Seinan Sensō*) in 1877, a revolt of disaffected samurai, also made the new imperial government realize the urgent need for improving the quality of infantry. Thanks to the latest firearms, the government managed to quell the rebellion. However, most of the government's soldiers were peasants who had been conscripted under the 1873 Conscription Ordinance (徴兵令 *Chōheirei*) and still shockingly incapable of basic modern military movements such as marching, running, or turning around in a group.¹¹⁸

Moreover, as each domain had had military advisors from different European countries, the early Meiji army was a mixture of French-, Dutch-, and British-style troops.¹¹⁹ The Army War College (陸軍大学校 *Rikugun Daigakkō*) was founded in 1882 in Tokyo to train staff officers and modernize the army. French officers lectured there at first, since the Ministry of the Army had originally decided in 1870 to use the French army as a model, and almost all senior officers at that time had studied in French. From 1872, commissioned and noncommissioned

113 *Asahi Digital*, "Ishin-ki no Aizu Shōnaihān gaikō ni katsuro" [The Aizu and Shōnai domains during the Meiji revolution: A way forward with diplomacy], July 7, 2011, http://www.asahi.com/culture/news_culture/TKY201102070075.html

114 Hakoishi, "Boshin sensō to Puroisen."

115 Ishizuki, *Kindai Nihon no kaigai ryūgaku-shi*, 188.

116 Ishizuki, *Kindai Nihon no kaigai ryūgaku-shi*, 204.

117 Imamura, *Nihon taiiku-shi*, 13.

118 Takechi, *Dentō to danzetsu*, 8–21.

119 Jōhō Yoshio, *Rikugun daigakkō* [The Army War College] (Tokyo: Fuyō Shobō, 1978), 307–12.

French officers came to Japan to modernize the army. At the same time, they contributed to unifying the style of the army.

In 1878, Katsura Tarō (1848–1913), who had lived in Germany for almost six years, returned to Japan and started to reform the army, modelling it after the Prussian army. In 1884, 14 individuals, including Ōyama, who was now the Minister of the Army, were sent to Europe in order to gain the latest military knowledge. During this trip, Ōyama was able to invite General Jakob Meckel (1842–1906) to serve as a foreign adviser to the Japanese army.¹²⁰ Meckel had graduated from the Prussian Army Staff College (Kriegsakademie) in 1867 and had been decorated with the Iron Cross due to his distinguished service in the Franco-Prussian War. Helmuth von Moltke the Elder, who had led Prussia to victory in that war, recommended Meckel as a foreign adviser to Japan's Army War College. Thus, the college was reformed based on the Prussian Army Staff College, due to the efforts of pro-German ministers and army officers.

With the arrival of Meckel in 1885, the Army War College became a modern institution for the training of general staff. Before that, there were no staff who could teach or research military tactics, strategies, and history.¹²¹ The reforms made the training more systematic, and subjects like history and tactics became compulsory. The most important change, however, was a greater focus on practical exercises such as exercise trips, tactics, war history, war geography, and war games.¹²² Furthermore, this college played an important role in reforming the Japanese army into a Prussian-style force—by 1891, almost the entire army had been transformed, including the laws, manuals, and duty orders.¹²³ Similarly, the Toyama Army Academy (陸軍戸山学校 Rikugun Toyama Gakkō), which was founded in 1874 to train officers as instructors for shooting, bayonet drills, and gymnastics, dismissed all its French instructors in 1889 and oriented itself to Germany, modeling its gymnastics classes on Jahn's Turnen.

By 1894, four German officers had served as head of the Army War College. At the same time, its best students were sent to Prussia for further study.¹²⁴ Cadet schools remained in the French model for a while, but more and more students started to learn German and study in Germany. Together with the introduction of Western clothes (uniforms), shoes, and gymnastics exercises, this “Germanization” of the Japanese army improved the marching skills of soldiers to a certain

120 Ōta Rinichirō, *Nihon kindai gunpukushi* [History of modern Japanese military uniforms] (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1972), 216–17.

121 Jōhō, *Rikugun daigakkō*, 102.

122 Jōhō, *Rikugun daigakkō*, 116–41.

123 Jōhō, *Rikugun daigakkō*, 265–66.

124 Jōhō, *Rikugun daigakkō*, 58.

degree. Ottmar von Mohl (1846–1922), who worked as a government advisor from 1887 to 1889, described a parade of the Garrison of Tokyo on November 3, 1887. Citing comments of Prussian officers who observed the parade, Mohl noted that, as non-Europeans, the garrison marched quite well, the cavalry rode passably, while the artillery marched the best.¹²⁵

Conversely, Japanese officers were quite dissatisfied with the marching skills of the army. In 1908, Ōba Jirō (1864–1935), who had studied at the Army Staff College and lived in Germany from 1895 to 1900, wrote a commentary on the gaits and shoes of Japanese soldiers in *Kaikōshakiji*, a magazine issued by Kaikōsha, an organization founded in 1877 exclusively of active-duty commissioned officers and warrant officers in the army for mutual aid, friendship, and academic research. According to Ōba, the majority of Japanese soldiers had not worn Western shoes prior to joining the army. They were used to wearing traditional sandals and wooden clogs and thus, they walked in quick, small steps. This walking habit could not be changed just by wearing Western shoes instead. They kept walking quickly in small steps, ignoring the prescribed marching tempo and breaking formation. In short, they were incapable of marching in a solemn and orderly way.¹²⁶

Even in 1922, an instructor of the Toyama Army Academy, Oka Chikamatsu (1878–1942), complained in his book that only a few army recruits were capable of standing and marching in the “correct” way—he regarded the Japanese gait as uncontrolled, unrhythmical, ugly, and better suited for carrying or towing than walking.¹²⁷ He emphasized the importance of improving the Japanese gait, insisting that one could distinguish people in “first-class countries” (一等国 *ittō koku*) and “second-class countries and below” (二等国以下 *nitō koku ika*) by their gaits, which symbolized their national spirit—people in the former walked vigorously while those in the latter did not; disorderly gaits led to inefficient work, and thus people’s gaits coincided with the rise and fall of their nation-state.¹²⁸ Both army officers and physical education specialists pointed out the problem of the Japa-

125 von Mohl, *Am japanischen Hofe [1887–1889] Kammerherr Seiner Majestät des Kaisers und Königs Wirklicher Geheimer Legations-Rat* [At the Japanese court (1887–1889), Chamberlain of His Majesty the Emperor and King Actual Privy Legation Counsellor] (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1904), 130–31.

126 As cited in Yoshida Yū, *Nihon no guntai* [The Japanese army] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2002), 24.

127 Oka Chikamatsu, *Kokka oyobi kokumin no taiiku shidō* [Physical education instruction for the state and its citizens] (Tokyo: Rikugun Toyama Gakkō, 1922), 248, 250–52.

128 Oka, *Kokkakokumin no taiikushidō*, 250–52.

nese shuffling gait as “unnatural,” and advocated the “natural” and “normal” gait with swinging arms.¹²⁹

This reform and modelling of the Japanese army after Germany not only brought about a new image of gaits, but also a new concept of discipline, which played an important role in education. Discipline had been an integral part of the premodern culture of the samurai class, but the modern terms *gunki* (軍紀, military discipline), *fūki* (風紀, discipline in society), and *kiritsu* (規律, discipline and order) were all created with the introduction of the Western military system. Lieutenant General Tōjō Hidenori (1855–1913), who had studied under Jakob Meckel at the Army Staff College and lived in Germany from 1888 to 1891, published an essay on discipline in *Kaikōshakiji* in 1892. He praised the strict discipline of the German army, while criticizing the discipline of the Japanese army, comparing it to a “rock made of paper, which could be easily blown away by winds and broken by rains,” as well as the Japanese people for not understanding the importance of discipline in society.¹³⁰ According to Tōjō, discipline was indispensable in Europe, not only for the military, but also for society as a whole, including the public sector, private sector, and families. Especially in schools, students “practiced discipline” strictly, and thus all individuals who had gone to school knew discipline before they joined the army.¹³¹ What exactly Tōjō meant by “practicing discipline” is not clear, but his essay implies that the heads of the army at the time saw the urgent need for disciplining the entire nation, not only soldiers, through school education.

Ugaki Kazushige (1868–1956), who had also graduated from the Army Staff College and lived in Germany as military attaché (1902–1904, 1906–1907), made a similar argument. According to Ugaki, the German social system and military system were close to each other, and there was no great difference between ordinary German life (including food, clothing, and housing) and life in the German military. While he valued the fact that male students already learned how to become soldiers in German schools, he criticized Japanese education for being far behind that of Germany.¹³²

¹²⁹ Matsuda Masanori, *Futsū taiiku-ron* [General physical education] (Nagoya: Kawase Daisuke, 1896), 92–93; Kawase Genkurō and Kawase Fumiko, *Eisei biyōjutsu* [Hygiene and beauty techniques] (Tokyo: Dainihon, 1902), 64–65.

¹³⁰ As cited in Yoshida, *Nihon no guntai*, 10.

¹³¹ As cited in Yoshida, *Nihon no guntai*, 10.

¹³² Yoshida, *Nihon no guntai*, 8–9.

The introduction of physical education (1872) and military gymnastics (1880s) to schools

With the introduction of the first education law, the School Ordinance in 1872, physical education officially became a part of school curricula. There were, however, no institutionally trained teachers for gymnastics classes. As such, in some schools, teachers let students do physical exercises in classrooms between classes with the help of instruction manuals. The US educator David Murray (1830–1905), who was Superintendent of Educational Affairs in the Ministry of Education from 1873 to 1879, is regarded as being the first to introduce the concept of physical education to Japan. In his report to the ministry in 1873, Murray emphasized the pedagogical importance of physical education, namely improving students' health and building up their physical strength through exercises.¹³³

At first, physical education was translated as “education regarding the body” (身体に関する教育 *shintai ni kansuru kyōiku*) or “education of the body” (身体の教育 *shintai no kyōiku*), and in the second half of the 1870s the word “physical education” (体育 *taiiku*) was coined.¹³⁴ *Taiiku* is the term used to refer to physical education in Japan today. However, in this book, I will use the term “physical education,” rather than *taiiku*, as an umbrella term to refer to the various types of gymnastics and physical exercises that emerged since the mid-nineteenth century in Japan, although I will also refer to specific terms when relevant.

Tanaka Fujimaro (1845–1909), a statesman and educator in Meiji Japan, lived in the US from 1874 to 1877 to study the school system there. After his return in 1878, he established the first gymnastics school as Deputy Minister of Education.¹³⁵ During his tenure, the US medical doctor and pedagogue George Adams Leland (1850–1924) was invited by the Japanese government to teach in the newly established gymnastics school, where he trained teachers from 1878 to 1881 in physical education involving the use of dumbbells and introduced sports like croquet, cricket, and baseball. He also introduced marching to Japanese physical education, but it was just walking in step, probably without music, and forming lines in order to start exercises.¹³⁶

After Leland returned to the US, Tsuboi Gendō (1852–1922), who had originally been an English-Japanese interpreter for Leland, took over his position and became the first Japanese gymnastics teacher. Referencing English literature, Tsu-

¹³³ Kinoshita, *Nihon taiiku-shi kenkyū josetsu*, 35.

¹³⁴ Kinoshita, *Nihon taiiku-shi kenkyū josetsu*, 279–80.

¹³⁵ Satō Tomohisa, *Nihon taisō jitsugi-shi no kenkyū*, 42.

¹³⁶ Murayama Shigeyo, *Meiji-ki dansu no shiteki kenkyū* [Historical studies of dance in the Meiji period] (Tokyo: Fumaidō, 2000), 86.

boi published gymnastics manuals, in which he introduced figure marching to train students for disciplined collective marching.¹³⁷

In the 1880s, together with the reform of the Japanese army (modelling it after Germany), military gymnastics was also introduced to secondary schools, including the aforementioned Toyama Army Academy. Responding to the problem of training the infantry, the Ministry of Education also started to place importance in physical education. Yet in 1882, the ministry noted that gymnastics classes were still not held in many schools due to the lack of understanding and practical knowledge necessary to teach gymnastics.¹³⁸ William Smith Clark, the president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, introduced military drills to Sapporo Agricultural College (札幌農学校 Sapporo Nōgakkō) in 1876, and from 1882 some normal schools and secondary schools introduced infantry drills, aiming to improve the physical fitness of students.¹³⁹ The Tokyo Normal School (東京師範学校 Tōkyō Shihan Gakkō), which had been set up by the Ministry of Education as the first national normal school,¹⁴⁰ introduced an infantry drill in 1883, which was supervised by a lieutenant in active service from 1884.¹⁴¹ However, its students were far from disciplined, according to Mori Arinori, the Minister of Education between 1885 and 1889.¹⁴²

In 1879, Mori had already criticized Japanese bodies as unhealthy, weak, ugly, and untrained.¹⁴³ This strong opinion likely served as an impetus for one of his most important reforms in 1886: the introduction of “marching exercises” (隊列運動 *tairetsu undō*)—renamed “military gymnastics” (兵式体操 *heishiki taisō*) two years later—for male students older than 10 years of age. Mori is regarded as the first official to aim at molding the Japanese body into what would later be described by scholars as the “Foucaultian docile body.”¹⁴⁴ Mori regarded military gymnastics as an important part of a moral education that aimed to foster three temperaments: obedience, affection, and dignity. Although some schools had al-

137 Murayama, *Meijiki dansu no shiteki kenkyū*, 87–88.

138 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 264.

139 Andō Yoshinori, “Shintai kunren (heishiki taisō) ni yoru ‘kokumin’ no keisei—Mori Arinori ni chūmoku shite” [Making “nation” through physical training (military drills): Focusing on Arinori Mori], *Mukōgawa Joshidai kiyō (jinbun shakaikagaku) = Bulletin of Mukogawa Women’s University, Humanities and Social Science* 50 (2002): 89–90; Okuno, *Heishiki taisō seiritsu-shi*, 237–41.

140 The US educator Marion McCarrell Scott became foreign adviser to this school and introduced a mass teaching method. Inagaki Tadahiko, *Meiji Kyōju riron-shi kenkyū* [Research on the history of Meiji pedagogy]. (Tokyo: Hōronsha, 1995), 51–53.

141 Okuno, *Heishiki taisō seiritsu-shi*, 250–53; Satō Tomohisa, *Nihon taisō jitsugi-shi*, 43.

142 Okuno, *Heishiki taisō seiritsu-shi*, 276–77.

143 Taki Kōji, *Tennō no shōzō* [The emperor’s image] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2002), 130–31.

144 Andō Yoshinori, “Shintai kunren,” 85.

ready introduced military exercises, Mori was the first official who aimed to cultivate a disciplinary spirit through military training.¹⁴⁵ According to historical research, Mori's aspiration to cultivate an ideal national character through military gymnastics was influenced by several factors: his education in his hometown (studying and practicing martial arts to become a disciplined samurai); his experience in the US of a hardworking and disciplined lifestyle in Thomas Lake Harris's religious community; his observation of school military drills in Boston, which had been introduced during the American Civil War; and Herbert Spencer's thoughts on intellectual, moral, and physical education.¹⁴⁶

Indeed, from the 1880s, the concept of *taiiku* started to also imply moral education thorough military gymnastics, while in the 1870s *taiiku* had implied only hygiene and exercise.¹⁴⁷ Insisting that teachers should also serve their nation, Mori started by restructuring the Tokyo Normal School. He then founded the Tokyo Higher Normal School (東京高等師範学校 *Tōkyō Kōtō Shihan Gakkō*) for training secondary school teachers in 1896. Its first principal was the infantry colonel Yamakawa Hiroshi. Directly supervised by the Minister of Education, the school was transformed into a patriotic boarding school where students had to live a military-like lifestyle. Mori did not regard teachers as identical to soldiers, but he emphasized the importance of militaristic discipline and order to cultivate the ideal temperament for teachers.¹⁴⁸ For other normal schools and secondary schools, Mori had initially planned to send army officers on active service to teach military gymnastics. As the army declined his plan due to the lack of human resources, from 1885 the Ministry of Education started to train retired officers, generally those who had retired from active service less than a year prior, as teachers for military training.¹⁴⁹

Initially, the Ministry of Education did not regulate the military exercises for *chūgakkō* in detail. The military training was compulsory only for the fourth- and fifth-grade *chūgakkō* students, and what they did in these two years was less than

145 Shingyōji and Yoshiwara, *Kindai Nihon taiiku-shi*, 96.

146 Andō Yoshinori, "Shintai kunren," 89–90.

147 Kinoshita, *Nihon taiiku-shi kenkyū josetsu*, 281–85. Kobayashi Terurō, who began a journey in 1911 to study educational and social science in England, Germany, France, and the US, also encouraged gymnastics classes, as they taught children discipline and politeness. Kobayashi, *Ōbei kyōiku no inshō* [Impressions of European and North American education], Vol. 4 of *Kokumin kyōikuka shūyō sōsho* [National educators' training series] (Tokyo: Ikuei-shoin, 1916), 184–95.

148 Okuno, *Heishiki taisō seiritsu-shi*, 273.

149 Okuno, *Heishiki taisō seiritsu-shi*, 292–95. In 1891, it became possible for graduates of Rikugun Kyōdōdan, the army school to train noncommissioned officers, to become military exercise teachers without any examination. Satō Tomohisa, *Nihon taisō jitsugi-shi*, 60.

what infantries went through in the first three months of their training.¹⁵⁰ Students of normal schools, on the contrary, had to go through military exercises in earnest. The mandatory curriculum corresponded to the first six months of infantry training. In other words, normal school graduates could theoretically be sent to battle at any time after the completion of training. Thus, the insufficient military gymnastics for chūgakkō students at the time can be regarded rather as an excuse to exempt them from military service.¹⁵¹

By the beginning of the twentieth century however, the military gymnastics of chūgakkō became identical to those of normal schools. Following the advice of General Meckel, a system of one-year volunteer service similar to Germany's was introduced in 1889, enabling chūgakkō graduates to volunteer for military service for one year. In this context, the chūgakkō military exercises had to match the expectations of the army.¹⁵² However, there were criticisms that military gymnastics were merely formal, focusing too much on the aesthetic appearance of the movements.¹⁵³ There were also criticisms that children were treated as soldiers and their feelings were not considered.¹⁵⁴ Even though military exercises were supported by the popularity of Social Darwinism after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), in relation to a plan to shorten the period of military service from three to two years, the army demanded schools practice military drills under the supervision of officers. An article of the magazine *Taiiku* in 1905 argued that in order to expand the army without increasing the national budget, following Germany's example, physical education should be promoted for people and the period of military service shortened. Military exercises were increasingly encouraged and remained in school curricula until the end of the Second World War.¹⁵⁵

It should be noted that so-called normal gymnastics was also taught in schools. In the early twentieth century, US-trained gymnasts like Kawase Genkuro and Iguchi Aguri started to spread Swedish gymnastics in Japan. At the end of 1905, Nagai

150 Kinoshita, *Heishiki taisō kara mita gun to kyōiku*, 110–11.

151 Kinoshita, *Heishiki taisō kara mita gun to kyōiku*, 110–11; Okuno, *Heishiki taisō seiritsu-shi*, 297–98.

152 Kinoshita, *Heishiki taisō kara mita gun to kyōiku*, 125–33.

153 Kimura Kichiji, “Gakkō taisō kyōju yōmoku no seitei katei ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu” [A study on the process of formulating instructional guidelines for school gymnastics] *Chūkyō taiikugakuron* 6, no. 1 (1964): 63–65.

154 Irie Katsumi, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (1, 2)” [A study on the thought and practice of modern physical education in Japan, 1 and 2], *The Journal of the Faculty of Education, Tottori University, Educational Science* 26 (1984): 190.

155 Irie Katsumi, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (4)” [A study on the thought and practice of modern physical education in Japan, 4], *The Journal of the Faculty of Education, Tottori University, Educational Science* 27 (1985): 157–58.

Dōmei, who had studied under Tsuboi Gendō, was sent by the government to study physical education in the US, England, Sweden, Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, not only in schools but also in society. The government, especially the Minister of Education, aimed to establish an institution for research on physical education like that in Berlin. This aim was not implemented, but Nagai authored a comprehensive syllabus for physical education after his return in 1909.

The introduction of Western uniforms in the late nineteenth century

Mori also introduced Western school uniforms for male students in secondary schools, normal schools and universities, since Japanese traditional clothes were impractical for the newly introduced military gymnastics. Based on the Western combat uniform worn by sergeants,¹⁵⁶ this male uniform spread across the country with little resistance. For instance, when the Tokyo First Secondary School was founded in 1878, the students' clothing styles were quite diverse and included Japanese and Western clothes, navy or German army caps, Western shoes, and Japanese sandals (some were barefoot), but in response to the Education Ministry's Regulations for Secondary School Teachers on School Uniforms (中学校師範学校制服規定 Chūgakkō Shihan Gakkō Seifuku Kitei) in 1887, the school introduced a uniform, which included a German military-style cap, the following year.¹⁵⁷

The introduction of Western clothing in Japan started with the introduction of mandatory military service. In 1873, the army introduced French-style uniforms and provided four pairs of military shoes to each soldier per year.¹⁵⁸ If we consider that in 1901 only one in 25 households in the international port city of Yokohama owned Western clothes or a pair of Western shoes, we can understand how unusual it was to own Western shoes and clothes in nineteenth-century Japan—in fact, it was only after the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923 that Western shoes spread rapidly among citizens.¹⁵⁹ In the 1870s, Western uniforms had already been introduced to the army, the navy, and government officials, as they

156 Satō Hideo, *Gakkō kotohajime jiten* [Encyclopedia of modern schools] (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1987), 136–37.

157 Hibiya High School, *Hibiya kōkō hyakunen-shi* [Hibiya High School: A 100-year history] (Tokyo: Hibiya High School, 1979), 15.

158 The military provided rural youth with the most Westernized lifestyle at the time: beds, stoves, uniforms, meat, and Western marching music. In other words, through military service, the culture of metropolises, including the standard Japanese language and Westernized lifestyle, spread to the countryside. Yoshida, *Nihon no guntai*, 11, 29, 33–36.

159 Yoshida, *Nihon no guntai*, 37, 42.

were more convenient for modern military training. Conversely, by wearing them, members of the new Japanese government could visibly differentiate themselves from the former samurai, who represented the past political power.

In 1879, the first state textile factory to provide military uniforms was established. The first factory manager was Inoue Shōzō (1845–1886) who had lived in Prussia from 1871 to 1877. Originally he planned to study the military, but after a year he became greatly interested in the textile industry. According to his biography, Inoue he moved to the city of Sagan in Prussia (now in Poland) and started training in a textile factory called Carl Ulbricht, and he even canceled his engagement in Japan to marry a German woman in order to learn the dyeing technique, an industrial secret at the time, from her father.¹⁶⁰ If we consider how valuable Western textiles and clothing in the Meiji era were, it is understandable that only certain men were able to wear Western clothing, including the imperial family, teachers, members of the military, and the small number of male students who were able to go to secondary schools, normal schools, and universities. This was part of a wide range of government reforms to make Japan appear as “civilized” as the Western powers so that it would be taken seriously by them.¹⁶¹ Wearing Western clothing enabled these male elites to demonstrate that they were the new leaders sustaining the modern nation-state. In this sense, Western clothing, including male school uniforms, could be regarded as a representation of the new political power and public duty.

German influence on physical education

Besides intellectuals and military officers, German experts in Japan also encouraged physical education and the appropriate clothes for it. The German doctor Erwin von Bälz (1849–1913) was a personal physician to the Japanese imperial family and co-founder of modern Western medicinal practices in Japan. When he started to teach medicine at Tokyo University in 1876, he was quite shocked by the physical condition of his students. In his words, they studied too much, lacked sleep and sports, and were so physically weak that a number of them would die from tuberculosis

¹⁶⁰ Kishiro Shūichi, *Inoue Shōzō-den* [Biography of Inoue Shōzō] (Tokyo: Inoue Shōzō Kinen Jigyō Iinkai, 1938), 64–74.

¹⁶¹ Nanba Tomoko, *Gakkō seifuku no bunka-shi* [The cultural history of school uniforms] (Osaka: Sōgensha, 2012), 37–38.

and typhus every year.¹⁶² During his 27 years in Japan, Bälz continuously promoted physical education and contributed to its development in Japan.

Hermann Techow, a German adviser to the Japanese government from 1884 to 1887, also emphasized the importance of physical education.¹⁶³ In 1885, Techow gave a speech in front of members of the Great Japan Education Association (大日本教育会 *Dainihon Kyōiku-kai*), and criticized the physical state of Japanese youth, the formalized and individualistic gymnastics, and the knowledge-centered education at the time. According to Techow, Japanese youths had bad posture, looked tired, weak, and delicate, and their physical and mental state became worse as they grew older; therefore, instead of the existing exercises, he encouraged team sports so that they would become active, strong, and healthy, and be able to contribute to Japan's economic, cultural, and military development.¹⁶⁴

Furthermore, the German legal expert Georg Michaelis (1857–1936), who worked as a law professor between 1885 and 1889 in Japan, emphasized the importance of physical education as pre-military training in schools. In his speech in 1887, which was translated and printed in the newspaper *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun*, Michaelis argued that the strength of Prussia stemmed from its compulsory education and mandatory military service.¹⁶⁵

Supported by these foreign intellectuals and the Japanese authorities, physical education including marching exercises seems to have spread slowly in Japanese schools. Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904), an English teacher best known for his publication of Japanese legends and ghost stories, wrote notes on marching children he saw in 1890 in western Japan:

I often see a pretty spectacle on my way home from the school, when I take the short cut through the castle grounds. A class of about thirty little boys, in kimono and sandals, bare-headed, being taught to march and to sing by a handsome young teacher, also in Japanese

162 Erwin von Baeltz, “Über körperliche Erziehung (1898)” [On physical education], in *Erwin von Baeltz und die körperlichen Übungen* [Erwin von Baeltz and physical exercises], ed. Heiko Bittmann (Ludwigsburg: Heiko Bittmann, 2010), 147.

163 Paul-Christian Schenck, *Der deutsche Anteil an der Gestaltung des modernen japanischen Rechts- und Verfassungswesens: Deutsche Rechtsberater im Japan der Meiji-Zeit* [The German contribution to modern Japanese law and the Japanese constitution: German legal advisors in Meiji Japan] (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997), 291.

164 Irie, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (1, 2),” 155.

165 As cited in Shingū Jōji, *Doitsugaku kyō kaigakkō no kenkyū* [Research on the German Studies Association Schools] (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 2007), 120–28. In 1910, Japan had to decide which gymnastics, German or Swedish, to orient itself toward. To this end, a doctor visited the Royal Turnen Institute in Berlin by order of the Japanese government on February 11, 1910. The general implementation of Swedish gymnastics, however, was much later. “Turnen in Japan,” *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 29, no. 3 (1910): 12.

dress. While they sing, they are drawn up in line; and keep time with their little bare feet. The teacher has a pleasant high tenor: he stands at one end of the rank and sings a single line of the song. Then all the children sing it after him.¹⁶⁶

Inoue Kowashi (1844–1895), who was the Minister of Education between 1893 and 1894, also encouraged gymnastics classes. While Mori focused on the development of a disciplined personality through gymnastics, Inoue focused more on the actual improvement of physical strength.¹⁶⁷ Inoue also encouraged teachers to use military songs during the military exercises, as he believed it could boost children's competitive spirit.¹⁶⁸ In 1901, Tsuboi was sent by the Ministry of Education to Europe and the US to study gymnastics,¹⁶⁹ after which he translated German gymnastics manuals such as *Regeln für das Schulturnen* (Rules for Schulturnen) into Japanese. Tsuboi also introduced German *Gangübungen* (literally, “gait exercises”), which consisted of different marching and dancing steps, and the aforementioned *Ordnungsübungen*, which consisted of collective dances using these steps. These marching exercises spread rapidly within Japan and can be regarded as the origin of its school dance classes.¹⁷⁰

This orientation toward Germany can be observed in the following decades. For instance, even as late as the 1920s, two Japanese books on physical education noted the lack of relevant research on marching in Japan and cited data on average marching steps from German literature instead.¹⁷¹

The school club magazine of the Third Tokyo Secondary School in 1910 provides an example of how not only intellectuals but also schools compared the Japanese and European gaits and emphasized the importance of marching exercises. According to one of its articles, marching is the basis of all other military training, because it fosters the necessary concentration and discipline. Interestingly, the article also regards marching as a representation of school discipline.

Japanese people tend to walk in small steps and stoop; they are unable to stride like Europeans do . . . Through marching exercises, however, students can alter this bad habit . . .

166 Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan (Two Volumes in One)* (New York: Cosimo, 2011), 447.

167 Irie, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (1, 2),” 170.

168 Maeda Kōji, *Meiji no ongaku kyōiku to sono haikai* [Music education and its background in the Meiji era] (Osaka: Chikurinkan, 2010), 152.

169 Government of Japan, *Kanpō* [Official gazette], no. 5280 (February 12, 1901); Government of Japan, *Kanpō*, no. 5707 (July 14, 1902); see also Murayama, *Meiji-ki dansu no shiteki kenkyū*, 106.

170 Murayama, *Meiji-ki dansu no shiteki kenkyū*, 108–9.

171 Suzuki Ryōtarō, *Taisō gakuri ippan* [General sports theory] (Tokyo: Tomurayuidō, 1920), 120–21; Ishimaru Setsuo and Komori Konosuke, *Gakkō taisō kyōzai no gakuri-teki kaisetsu* [A theoretical analysis of school teaching materials for physical education] (Kagawa: Tomurayuidō, 1924), 814–15.

The new habit can also make them more lively and prompt in other daily activities . . . As is already very well known, when one can march perfectly in step with others, it is stirring and lifts the spirits. This simple action of walking in step with others cultivates a brave spirit and a collective feeling of unity in our imperial military, who indomitably fight against the enemy in the face of all odds. At the same time, this simple action maintains discipline in the military and in schools. Beautifully marching students represent their active engagement in school life and the solemn discipline of the school. Conversely, uncontrolled marching of students reveals that the entire school is undisciplined. Thus, students should never spare any efforts in improving their marching skills and cultivating their discipline.¹⁷²

Despite the efforts of the military and pedagogues, it seems to have taken a long time to change the gait of Japanese. In 1912, when Japan took part in the Olympic Games for the first time, Japanese intellectuals still criticized the marching of their national team as less unified and disciplined compared to other countries. At any rate, the struggle for improving the gaits of children continued until the end of the Second World War. In general, there was less resistance to male uniforms and male gymnastics, probably because they were associated with masculinity, the new political power, and public duty. Conversely, the introduction of school uniforms and gymnastics for female students triggered huge public debates, since the new type of clothing and movement were not at all compatible with contemporary ideals for womanhood.¹⁷³

Excursions and physical education

Marching exercises were mainly conducted in physical education classes, but students also marched outside of schools, namely during excursions and sports festivals. In premodern Japan, teachers had taken their students to view the annual cherry blossoms. Such events continued to be held after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and can be regarded as the origin of modern school excursions and sports

172 Third Tokyo Secondary School, “Sokuho kōshin to heishiki kyōren to no kankei” [Relationship between marching and military training], *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 15 (1910): 48.

173 Kobayashi Ami, “Die Konstruktion einer neuen Geschlechterrolle und die Eliminierung alter Geschlechterdifferenz. Turnunterricht und Schuluniform in Japan (1870–1945)” [The construction of a new gender role and the elimination of old gender differences. Physical education and school uniforms in Japan (1870–1945)], in *Bildung und Differenz. Historische Analysen zu einem aktuellen Problem* [Education and difference: Historical analyses of a current problem], ed. Carola Groppe et al. (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien, 2016), 139–60.

festivals.¹⁷⁴ For instance, the excursion of the Kaisei Secondary School in 1894 aimed to view Japanese apricot blossoms.¹⁷⁵

Conversely, excursions and sports festivals in the modern era developed under Western influence. The first modern sports festival for students was held in 1874 at a naval academy under the guidance of English military officers. Other sports festivals in the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s were also directed by foreign advisers. Thus, sports festivals at the time were de facto exclusive events for elite male students. From the 1880s, the graduates of the first Japanese sports college started to spread school sports festivals across Japan, at first among secondary and normal schools, and then among elementary schools.¹⁷⁶ Due to the lack of sportsgrounds, several schools would gather and hold a joint sports festival together. Students formed lines and marched to the sportsgrounds and played games, exercised, and performed normal and military gymnastics. In 1891, the Regulation for Ceremonies on Public Holidays in Elementary Schools (小学校祝日大祭日儀式規定 *Shōgakkō Shukujitsu Daisaijitsu Gishiki Kitei*) was issued, which encouraged physical activities on public holidays to cultivate students in body and mind, especially their patriotic feelings.¹⁷⁷ As a result, some schools started to hold their sports festivals on national holidays like the Emperor's Birthday.¹⁷⁸ From the 1900s, with the expansion of schoolyards, more and more schools started to hold their sports festivals in their own schoolyards and consequently sports festivals and excursions became separate events.¹⁷⁹

Mori aimed to cultivate patriotic feelings through military exercises.¹⁸⁰ The school documents I analyzed show to some extent the connection between physical activities, the nation-state, and the military. In 1895, the Tokyo First Secondary School organized a sports festival to celebrate Japan's victory of the First Sino-Japanese War. The festival reflected the political situation and the aggressive, nationalistic mood at that time. Besides athletics activities like footraces there was an attempt to create a racist and cruel game called "pig chase." Comparing the

174 Yoshimi Shunya, "Nēshon no girei toshite no undōkai" [Sports festivals as a form of national ceremony], in *Undōkai to Nihon kindai* [Sports festivals in modern Japan], by Yoshimi Shunya et al. (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 1999), 16.

175 Kaisei Secondary School, *Dōhōkai zasshi*, no. 2 (1894): 4.

176 Irie Katsumi, "Kindai no tennōsei to Meiji jingū kyōgi taikai" [The modern emperor system and the Meiji Shrine Games], in Yoshimi et al., *Undōkai to Nihon kindai*, 161–62.

177 Irie, "Kindai no tennōsei," 161–62.

178 Yoshimi, "Nēshon no girei toshite no undōkai," 39–47; Hirata Munefumi, "Waga kuni no undōkai no rekishi" [The history of sports festivals in Japan], in Yoshimi et al., *Undōkai to Nihon kindai*, 110–12.

179 Yoshimi, "Nēshon no girei toshite no undōkai," 29–38.

180 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 266.

pig’s tail to the “queue” hairstyle of Chinese men—the hair on top is grown long and often braided, while the front of the head is shaved—all the students present chased and kicked the pig, which ran across the schoolyard. According to its 1929 school club magazine (pp. 68–69), students were supposed to kick the pig until it could no longer move, but since some students took pity on the pig and begged for the game to be stopped, the pig managed to survive.

From the second half of the 1890s, excursions, school trips, and sports festivals became militaristic. For instance, the Kaisei Secondary School started to hold athletics meets in 1893 during which they hoisted the school flag and the national flag. They marched with flags and sang military songs, and children on the street mistook the students as soldiers.¹⁸¹ Interestingly, however, sports festivals in Meiji Japan lacked a few key patriotic elements. For instance, the Kaisei Secondary School sang the national anthem in a sports festival for the first time in 1925, although they had held sports festivals since 1893. The Tokyo Third Secondary School held its first athletics meets in 1903. They did sing songs but not the national anthem. At sports festivals, excursions and school trips students cried “Banzai!” three times, but they cheered not for the empire or the emperor but for their own school.¹⁸²

2.3 How “German” Was Physical Education and Marching in Japan?

Next, I will compare the development of Turnen in Germany and physical education in Japan and consider the following questions: What are the similarities and differences between the two countries? Did Germans really stride as Japanese intellectuals believed? Were German students really as disciplined as Japanese intellectuals reported?

If we compare the development of physical education in both countries, especially from the 1880s, some similarities become obvious. Military exercises, which the Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, had introduced, had much in common with Spieß’s Schulturnen. Both exercises aimed to improve students’ discipline and morals and served to enhance their patriotic feelings. Though the Japanese school club magazines do not give the impression that physical activities and the idea of the nation-state were strongly connected in the Meiji era, Mori did try to

¹⁸¹ See the Kaisei Secondary School club magazines, nos. 14 (1898), 27, 29 (1902), 34 (1904), 85 (1925). Kaisei High School archives.

¹⁸² Tokyo Third Secondary School, “Shūki undōkai no ki,” *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 10 (1906).

attach an ethical and patriotic meaning to physical education. Both Mori and Wilhelm II claimed that they needed a new generation of strong soldiers who could defend their fatherland while also contributing to it as intellectual leaders and public servants.¹⁸³

In Prussia, the military criticized the physical condition of secondary school students during the School Conference of 1890, as these students showed the highest rate of ineligibility for military service.¹⁸⁴ From 1889, Japan's system of one-year volunteer service, modeled on Germany's, was used to legitimize the government's argument for military gymnastics in secondary schools.¹⁸⁵ The main aim of these systems was, however, not to train active officers but rather to anchor middle-class youths into the nation-state and to promote the militarization of the society.¹⁸⁶ As I showed in this chapter, walking and marching exercises were an integral part of the school program both in the German Empire and Meiji Japan. These repetitive exercises of disciplined movements were associated with both moral behavior and military capability. Though sports games and light athletics were encouraged from the 1880s, gait exercises remained indispensable for all students, including physically weak students. While marching was intended to improve students' health and physical performance, keeping in step with others was also regarded as a very simple but powerful way of training students to give priority to the "whole" rather than themselves.

These similarities are most probably the result of a number of exchanges between Germany and Japan. For instance, a speech by the German advisor Hermann Techow, which was held in front of members of the Great Japan Education Association in 1885, resembles the arguments of Georg Gottfried Gervinus, who had criticized not only the imbalance in intellectual learning and physical education, but also the existing exercises in Germany in the 1860s.¹⁸⁷ Interestingly, in 1890, it was reported that the new teaching plan of a secondary school in Yamaguchi Prefecture, Japan, recommended the German Turnen to encourage physical education and reevaluate its ethical and patriotic meaning.¹⁸⁸ The German educator Emil Hausknecht, Mori Arinori, and a number of intellectuals who had close links to Germany were involved in the reform of this school.

183 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 171; Kleindienst-Cachay, *Die Verschulung des Turnens*, 214–15; Kaimon Sanjin, *Mori Arinori* (Tokyo: Minyusha, 1897), 82–83.

184 Kleindienst-Cachay, *Die Verschulung des Turnens*, 214–15.

185 Kinoshita, *Heishiki taisō kara mita gun to kyōiku*, 125–33.

186 Berg, *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. 4, 520.

187 Irie, "Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (1, 2)," 155.

188 R. Drebelow, "Leibesübungen in Japan" [Physical exercise in Japan], *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 9, no. 2 (1890): 37–39.

Furthermore, the Japanese author Iwaya Sazanami and Tsuboi Dōgen, a gymnastics teacher at the Tokyo Higher Normal School at that time, visited a sports festival on April 21, 1901, at the largest gymnastics field in Berlin. About 200 men, between 12 to 30 years of age, and 40 or so 18-year-old women took part in the festival. It started with marching exercises and music and ended with music, songs, and marching. Iwaya noted that the city of Berlin encouraged sports and there were a number of gymnastics fields where people could exercise to strengthen their body and to cheer up (refresh) their mind. He wrote that it was deplorable that there were not enough places for gymnastics exercises in Japan.¹⁸⁹ Iwaya also visited the Kaiser parade at Tempelhof in Berlin on May 31, 1901. Though he saw no major differences between the marching of the Japanese and German armies, he was quite impressed by the dazzling uniforms of the German army, which were colorful, gorgeous, and partly comical. Regarding the parade of the cavalry, in which horses of the same color galloped synchronically, he admitted that the German cavalry paraded far better than the Japanese cavalry.¹⁹⁰

After its victory in the Russo-Japanese War, Japan drew attention from all over the world. As a consequence, the German major general A. von Janson introduced Japanese traditional physical education (especially jujitsu) and the ethical code of the samurai in the magazine *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen*. He also reported that students at the cadet school in Tokyo were trained well and had gymnastics facilities as good as those in Germany.¹⁹¹ Rudolf Gasch also noted that aspects of German Turnen was introduced to Japan, while jujitsu, a Japanese traditional martial art, was introduced to Germany.¹⁹²

There were, of course, various differences, such as the type of sports games and martial arts that students practiced. Due to a lack of statistical data, it is difficult to determine whether the Japanese government was troubled by attendance rates, but presumably less so than the Prussian government, as gymnastics classes were compulsory from the outset in Japan and parents had no right to intervene in this issue. Moreover, physical education was more deeply embedded in the concept of the nation-state in Prussia than in Japan. As the Turnen movement was a part of political movements that aimed to establish a unified German nation, physical education was strongly connected to patriotic ceremonies from the beginning in Germany. Though Mori tried to attach an ethical and patriotic mean-

189 Iwaya, *Yōkō miyage*, 190–94.

190 Iwaya Sazanami, *Yōkō miyage* [Souvenirs from a journey to the West] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1903), 200–204.

191 von Janson, “Ritterliche Leibesübungen der Japaner” [Noble physical exercises of the Japanese], *Jahrbuch für Volks- und Jugendspiele* 15 (1906): 68–75.

192 Gasch, *Geschichte der Turnkunst*, 101–3.

ing to physical education in Japan, the school club magazines do not give us the impression that physical activities and the idea of the nation-state were strongly connected in the Meiji era. This is likely because there was less connection between the image of the body and the concept of the nation-state in Meiji Japan—the term *kokutai*, literally “national body,” had merely meant “state system” in pre-modern times.

In Germany, the image of the body was already used as a metaphor for the nation-state in the political and academic discourse in the nineteenth century, and the concept of the “organic state” was introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century: the *Volkskörper*, or “people’s body,” highlighted the interdependency between different social groups in the nation-state and the indispensability of the “organic whole” for individual existence. Though the term *Volkskörper* had not been used in the *Jahresberichte* I analyzed, the aim of the *Ordnungsübungen*, to move collectively and to learn how to handle oneself as part of the “whole,” resonated with this idea of an organic state.¹⁹³ In this sense, as Marcelo Caruso argues, the experience of moving one’s body parts and having control over one’s own body was essential for students to grasp the image of the nation-state.¹⁹⁴ Through moving one’s body, one can experience the interdependency of each body part and the indispensability of the head. Without the head, all body parts are unable to function. Thus, while representing the active participation of youths in the politics of nation-state, physical education in Germany highlighted the hierarchical concept of the organic body.¹⁹⁵

Having explored the development of German Turnen and Japanese physical education, I will now focus on the relationship between school and military, which was closer in Germany than in Japan, as attested by Lieutenant General Tōjō above.¹⁹⁶ In Germany, on an administrative level, the Ministry of Education cooperated with the Ministry of War in developing physical education programs, and on a practical level, students often used nearby military fields to play sports games and officials were invited to youth sports festivals.

While the military space and pedagogical space (schools) to some extent overlapped, whether they were really well disciplined and capable of marching is a different question. As I have shown, the Prussian government continuously en-

193 Spieß, *Turnbuch für Schulen*, 2: 131.

194 Caruso, “Der Turnunterricht in den Volksschulen des königliches Bayern. Die zweite Verschulung des Leibes” [Physical education in the elementary schools of the Bavarian kingdom. The second schooling of the body], *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 69, no. 2 (2006): 672–73.

195 Caruso, “Der Turnunterricht in den Volksschulen des königliches Bayern,” 672–73.

196 Yoshida, *Nihon no guntai*, 10.

couraged Turnen classes since the 1840s, but it was a long, slow process. Even in the twentieth century, some gymnasiums still had a high rate of exemptions and low rate of attendance. If we consider that so many students were absent from Turnen classes and incapable of military service at the time, it is difficult to argue that students were as disciplined as the teaching plan stipulated. Hence, we may better interpret Tōjō’s words as his attempt to put pressure on Japanese intellectuals to improve public order rather than an exact and literal depiction of German society at the time.

Physical education and marching exercises can be regarded as a program of making the “docile body,” the body that obediently operates tasks with the techniques, speed, and efficiency expected by those in power.¹⁹⁷ However, the “docile bodies” of secondary school students were not placed in factories or barracks. Instead, they functioned as the new elites, a model of the disciplined society. The disciplined upright gait could represent the armed nation-state and marching could represent abstract ideas such as the unity and strength of the nation-state. Since psychological research implies that altering the walking style may create a stronger outward image of a group, I would argue that a synchronized gait may hide the physically weak individuals within the group and create a stronger outward image of the group. It was probably the reason why German authorities persistently encouraged physically weak children to participate in walking exercises. At the same time, marching promotes interaction between people within the marching group. It evokes a sense of togetherness and helps to build group coherence. As explained in earlier chapters, specific repetitive practices that link individual and collective behavior are crucial for the construction and reproduction of identity narratives and of attachment,¹⁹⁸ and such kinesthetic undergirding is likely essential for large, complex human societies to maintain themselves over time.¹⁹⁹

In order to unify students’ gaits despite the diversity of individual gaits, the ideal gait was framed by modern scientific knowledge. One way of walking was stipulated as “natural,” “correct,” and even as the embodiment of discipline and fighting spirit. Norbert Elias mentioned that the ideal of a “natural” upright gait is infused with moral and political values.²⁰⁰ Together with the introduction of the compulsory military service, at least on the ideological level, all children were considered future soldiers who should be disciplined, trained, and able to march. To make students master the ideal gait, compulsory physical education was intro-

197 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138.

198 Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution,” 519–20, 524–28.

199 McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*, 152.

200 Elias, as cited in Mayer, *Wissenschaft von Gehen*, 12.

duced, attendance rates were controlled, and sports festivals were encouraged. According to Foucault, hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and examination are indispensable instruments for sustaining discipline.²⁰¹ The medical professor Richard Zander argued that to define “weakness” (*Schwächlichkeit*) one should consider the body size and physical performance, instantaneous muscular strength, and stamina.²⁰² This implies that over time, not only the bodies of soldiers, but also those of students, came to be measured, observed, and examined.

Mathematical and objective measurements also contributed to the legitimization of physical training. For instance, the *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* argued in 1910 that the improvement of German marching performance owed much to the development of Turnen classes, claiming that Germans could march longer with heavier baggage compared to 50 years prior.²⁰³ Moreover, P. G. Schäfer suggested in the same magazine that students’ performance in track and field should be measured individually and the best, the average, and the lowest score should also be calculated. According to Schäfer, teachers should give individual scores for the Turnen class based on the measurements and they should be “purely mathematical, purely objective, and universally valid.”²⁰⁴ Schäfer also advocated that every term Turnen teachers should measure the height and weight of their students to understand their physical development. Showing examples, Schäfer explained how to measure individual height and weight; how to calculate individual growth in height and weight; how to calculate mean values of their students’ height, weight, and increase in height and weight; and how to compare the data of individual students with those of others.²⁰⁵

In Japan, the Ministry of Education introduced a regular physical examination in 1888, though it only dealt with the static body: height, weight, chest size, and so on.²⁰⁶ The regular examination of the moving body and track and field

201 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 38.

202 Zander, “Wie sollen schwächliche Knaben und Mädchen im Turnunterricht behandelt werden?,” 33.

203 “Deutsches Turnen und militärische Marschleistung” [German Turnen and military marching] *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 29, no. 9 (1910): 354–57.

204 Schäfer, “Die meßbaren Leistungen aller Alterstufen der höheren Schulen Deutschlands in den volkstümlichen Übungen, ihre einheitlichen Zielsetzung und Umwertung in eine Zensur mit objektiver Gültigkeit” [The measurable achievements of the popular exercises of all age groups in the German secondary schools, the uniform objective and how to convert the achievements into objective grades], *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 39, no. 3 (1910): 83–86.

205 Schäfer, “Cm- und kg- Zunahme der Turnschüler” [Increase in height and weight of Turnen students], *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 30, no. 8 (1911): 293–98.

206 Government of Japan, *Kanpō*, no. 1661 (1889).

was officially introduced to schools much later in both countries.²⁰⁷ There had been, however, another form of examination to monitor moving bodies. According to Foucault, disciplinary power, which imposes on subjects a principle of compulsory visibility, has its own type of examination, namely ceremony.²⁰⁸ The Turnen classes did not have examinations, but still there were opportunities like gymnastics performances or sports festivals, at which students’ bodily performances were observed by teachers and parents. In the nineteenth century, only alumni and students’ families were spectators at such school events. In the beginning of the twentieth century, however, students’ sports events became more public and political. A number of secondary schools held sports festivals together in Germany, at which representatives of government ministries were present. They were often combined with patriotic ceremonies like the Emperor’s Birthday and the Day of Sedan. The Japanese government also tried to connect physical activities and patriotic feelings, and encouraged sports festivals on political holidays. However, as I mentioned, Japanese sources do not show a strong connection between political ceremonies and sports festivals at the school level.

This chapter illustrated the intertwined relationship between physical activities and the idea of the nation-state in both the German Empire and Meiji Japan. In regard to military exercises in school, the Japanese authorities referenced the German (Prussian) army as their model, since the Japanese army was reformed based on the Prussian army in the 1880s and German experts in Japan also contributed to the development of school physical education. In the next chapter, I will explore political school ceremonies in both countries, how these ceremonies were constructed, and whether they provided a space to display and spotlight disciplined collective movements and their connection to the nation-state.

²⁰⁷ In 1888, the Minister of Education Gossler already promoted the medical inspection of school children. Hideharu Umehara, *Gesunde Schule und gesunde Kinder. Schulhygiene in Düsseldorf 1880–1933* [Healthy schools and healthy children. School hygiene in Düsseldorf, 1880–1933] (Essen: Klartext, 2013), 36. The system of the “school doctor” (*Schularzt*) was introduced to Berlin at the end of the nineteenth century, but it targeted mainly Volksschule students.

²⁰⁸ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187–88.

Chapter 3

Space for Marching? Political Ceremonies and Physical Activities in the German and Japanese Empires

As discussed in Chapter 1, modern rituals function as an indispensable tool to display and even construct the political order as a matter of course.¹ These rituals, which visualized the “imagined community” of the nation-state through symbols, languages, and collective moving bodies, targeted not only adults but also children, who were expected to sustain the political system in the future. In nineteenth-century Germany and Japan, educational institutions like schools became important spaces for ceremonies, which I defined as a form of ritual. In particular, highly structured settings like political ceremonies offered frameworks for practicing appropriate behavior in relation to the nation-state. Of course, physical performances can also be seen in other rituals, such as church services that involve standing up or kneeling down together or festive processions on religious holidays. Over time, however, rituals of a political nature gained more prominence and importance in German and Japanese society. In the 1930s and 1940s, there were numerous grand political ceremonies in which marching played a central role in representing the unity of the nation-state.

As clarified in Chapter 2, the physical activities of students were associated with political ceremonies in the late nineteenth century, such as the Day of Sedan in the German Empire. In this chapter, I will explore political ceremonies in schools, which I regard as an important framework for marching. If we regard marching as a choreographed way of walking, then sports classes would be the rehearsal and school ceremonies would be the space where the results are displayed under the spotlight and where the bodies of marching students were seen not only by teachers but also by people from outside of the school. Starting with gymnasiums in Berlin, followed by *chūgakkō* in Tokyo, I will explore the development of political school ceremonies, how students celebrated political events, and when those ceremonies became connected to physical activities like marching. I will then discuss whether Japanese school ceremonies were modeled after those in Germany and, if so, to what extent. In so doing, I will also discuss if the school ceremonies in both coun-

1 Bell, *Ritual*, 72–83.

tries were newly “invented” in Hobsbawm’s sense, that is, grafted on other older rituals or devised by borrowing from other religious, political, and folkloric rituals.²

3.1 School Ceremonies and the Foundation of the German Empire

The Day of Sedan as a symbol of German unity

On September 1, 1870, during the Franco-Prussian War, the French army led by Napoleon III fought in Sedan against the German army led by King Wilhelm I of Prussia and his chief of staff, Helmuth von Moltke the Elder. The German army consisted mainly of Prussian soldiers, but it also included armies from Bayern, Baden, and Württemberg. The Battle of Sedan resulted in the capture of Napoleon III and decided the war in favor of Prussia. On September 2, Napoleon III personally surrendered, and two days after that the news hit Paris that the Second French Empire (1852–1870) had collapsed. On December 10, 1870, the North German Confederation was renamed by the Reichstag (lower house) as the German Empire.

Although the German Empire was officially founded on January 18, 1871, when Wilhelm I was proclaimed emperor, this day was not celebrated in the following years. This was probably because the Day of Proclamation was not welcomed by all, such as the other German royal houses that lost their political power as a result.³ A collective remembrance of the emperor’s proclamation was deemed insufficient for nation-state building. Instead, the Day of Sedan became a symbol of German unity, celebrated annually on September 2 until 1919, especially by patriotic citizens, aristocrats, and military and Prussian officials.

According to the historians Etienne Francois, Hannes Siegrist, and Jakob Vogel, people need to remember the soldiers who died for the nation-state because only then can they confirm the value of the nation-state, for which they should sacrifice themselves.⁴ Annette Maas explained that rituals for fallen soldiers not only honored them but also accentuated national strength and unity, and the duty of living people.⁵ The death of soldiers became a public issue. By

² Hobsbawm, “Introduction,” 6.

³ Jan N. Lorenzen, *Die großen Schlachten: Mythen, Menschen, Schicksale* [The great battles: Myths, people, fates] (Frankfurt: Campus, 2006), 180–81.

⁴ Francois, Siegrist, and Vogel, “Die Nation,” 25.

⁵ Annette Maas, “Der Kult der toten Krieger. Frankreich und Deutschland nach 1870/71” [The cult of the dead warriors. France and Germany after 1870/71], in Francois, Siegrist, and Vogel, *Nation und Emotion*, 226.

giving patriotic meaning to their deaths, the grief and pain were compensated, and at the same time soldiers who had sacrificed themselves for the nation-state became role models for youth.⁶ The Day of Sedan celebrated not only the military victory against France but also the foundation of the empire, and it glorified the self-sacrifice of individuals for the nation-state. Soldiers from Sachsen, Bavaria, Thüringen, Württemberg, Westfalen, and Prussia had fought together in the Battle of Sedan, and the memory of the battle and deaths was much more emotionally charged than the proclamation.

Protestant churches organized memorial services for fallen soldiers from the early nineteenth century. They helped to comfort the grieving families by honoring their sacrifice, encouraged families to cherish surviving family members, and importantly helped to popularize the ideal of patriotic national masculinity.⁷ In September 1870, soon after the Battle of Sedan, a Protestant priest called Jacob Kradolfer in Bremen made the suggestion to celebrate the victory annually. While it was not his intention to sanctify the war and support militarism, he was aware that the day of the Franco-Prussian War peace agreement lacked “poetic and dramatic affections.”⁸ A liberal Protestant group that belonged to the so-called Kulturprotestant movement organized a national ceremony on the Day of Sedan.⁹ They believed religious reformation, social rebirth, national unification, and personal moral improvement were all inextricably connected.¹⁰ In 1871, another pastor, Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, suggested a detailed plan for the ceremony, including a bonfire, bell-ringing, parades, church service (songs, prayer, and sermon) and cheering for the war heroes.¹¹ Another pastor called Schürmann also stressed at a Protestant assembly in 1871 that schools should tell youths the story of what he called “the great deed.”¹²

6 Maas, “Der Kult der toten Krieger,” 223–26.

7 Karen Hagemann, *Männliche Muth und deutsche Ehre: Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preußens* [Manly courage and German honor: Military and gender in the Prussian War against Napoleon] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002), 505.

8 As cited in Schellack, “Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste,” 280–81.

9 Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen*, 93; Schellack, “Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste,” 278–84.

10 Hartmut Lehmann, “Friedrich von Bodelschwingh und das Sedanfest. Ein Beitrag zum nationalen Denken der politisch aktiven Richtung im deutschen Pietismus des 19. Jahrhunderts” [Friedrich von Bodelschwingh and the Sedan festival. A contribution to the national thinking of the political German Pietism movement in the nineteenth century], *Historische Zeitschrift* 202, no. 1 (December 1966): 561.

11 As cited in Schellack, “Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste,” 280–81.

12 As cited in Lehmann, “Friedrich von Bodelschwingh und das Sedanfest,” 552.

School ceremonies on the Day of Sedan

In 1873, the emperor decided to celebrate the inauguration of the national memorial, Siegestsäule, on the Day of Sedan and started to hold a military parade every year close to or on the day. The Day of Sedan was thus an official day to commemorate the war and the foundation of the empire, even though neither the emperor nor the parliament declared it a national holiday. Due to an order from the Ministry of Education, schools and universities continued to celebrate the day until the end of the empire,¹³ but there is little research on how they actually celebrated it or to what extent the ceremony involved physical activities. Therefore, I will explore how gymnasiums in Berlin celebrated the Day of Sedan each year, by examining their *Jahresberichte*, archived in the Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung, as well as documents of the Provincial School Council, archived in the Landesarchiv Berlin and the Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (see Chapter 1).

First, it should be mentioned that there were already school ceremonies related to wars prior to the Franco-Prussian War. For example, according to the 1867 *Jahresbericht* of the Sophien-Gymnasium, the school celebrated the return of victorious Prussian troops after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. In the following year, it also celebrated the first anniversary of the victory at Königsgrätz, the decisive battle in this war, through excursions, sports games, and patriotic songs.¹⁴ During the Franco-Prussian War, schools celebrated Prussian victories, such as those in Metz on August 20, 1870, and in Sedan on September 2, 1870.¹⁵ In 1871, a number of school events were organized to celebrate the Prussian victory in this war. An official public ceremony for the returning army was held on June 16 in which students also took part. Each school also organized a ceremony a few days before or after it. For example, according to the 1872 *Jahresbericht* of the Köllnisches Gymnasium, its students went on an excursion on the day after the public ceremony. Moreover, when the teachers and students who had gone to war returned, a school ceremony was held, where the students sang songs and a teacher emotionally shared his own experiences in the war. Other gymnasiums also celebrated the return of troops through songs, declamations, patriotic poems, and speeches.¹⁶

On May 16, 1872, the Ministry of Education and the Provincial School Council recommended schools to organize outside summer festivals on “great memorial

¹³ Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 144.

¹⁴ Sophien-Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1868.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Wilhelms Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1871.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1872.

days of the German people [*Volk*],” in order to inspire patriotism among youths.¹⁷ At first, the council did not nominate any specific days such festivals. About three months later, however, it authorized school principals to cancel classes on September 2 to organize ceremonies for keeping the memory of the “glorious victory of the Franco-Prussian War” and the (re)unification of the German Empire alive among youths.¹⁸ According to the 1873 *Jahresbericht* of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, its principal gave a lecture on September 2, explaining the deep significance of the day and thanking God for peace, after which the students and teachers went on an excursion and played outside. The Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium mentioned in its 1873 *Jahresbericht* that it organized a series of patriotic ceremonies in 1872, both inside and outside the school, to “keep the memory of the great events and deeds of German people [*Volk*] alive among youths.” It celebrated the peace agreement of the Franco-Prussian War in May and the victory at Metz in August, through excursions, sports games, and patriotic songs, and its main celebration was a school ceremony on the Day of Sedan.

The following year, the government declared that among a number of memorial days related to the Franco-Prussian War, the Day of Sedan was chosen for which schools would cancel classes and organize patriotic ceremonies. It did not stipulate the exact contents of the ceremony but stressed that through the ceremonies “love to the near (neighbouring) and the far (greater fatherland), devotion to the Emperor and the nation, and thankfulness to God, who blessed us with glorious successes” should be kept alive in the hearts of youths.¹⁹

Speeches of school principals also stressed the patriotic significance of the day. In 1872, the principal of the Kaiserin Augusta-Gymnasium described the feeling on the day as follows:

It is the most beautiful thing for a human being when he is able to say “I’ve achieved this by myself,” after finishing his work. For the people [*Volk*] as well, this legitimate self-satisfaction, this strong feeling of independence, is the greatest reward for all our efforts. It is the source for developing our strength further. After many years of insecurity and dependence, the Day of Sedan resurrected these feelings in the German people’s awareness. The Day of Sedan showed clearly how mighty the German people are in their unity. The Day of Sedan proved that our ideals can be fulfilled. The Day of Sedan is the birthday of [our] reclaimed self-awareness as the German people [*Volksbewusstsein*] . . . If you may name that which you

¹⁷ As cited in Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1873, p. 31.

¹⁸ Ministerial order on August 13, 1872, as cited in Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1873.

¹⁹ Königliche Regierung. Abteilung für Kirchen- und Schulwesen. An sämtliche Herren Superintendenten und Kreisschulinspektoren, so wie an sämtliche Magistrate. Potsdam, den 28 Juli 1873. Rep. 34, Nr. 988, Brandenburgisches Landesarchiv.

have received from your forefathers as your property, you shall acquire the spiritual and physical power on which the feelings of national belonging [*Nationalbewusstsein*] are based.²⁰

In 1877, a teacher at the same school gave a speech that could easily be mistaken for a patriotic speech during the Nazi regime:

The future is in your hands, great duties are awaiting you. Take care of yourselves so that the fatherland can count on you in happiness and disaster, in peace and in war. Be ready to do honest work and devote your life to the fatherland, but be also glad to sacrifice yourself if the trumpet calls you, if it calls you, then think of the days of Sedan, think of the heroes, who fought and bled there, think of your venerable leader [*Führer*], think especially of these great words: “Germany, Germany above all, above everything in the world!”²¹

Although there was no regulation requesting schools to hold a ceremony on the Day of Sedan, the *Jahresberichte* I analyzed show that, in general, all gymnasiums celebrated the day annually from the 1870s.

The *Jahresberichte* also show that visual materials like pictures, books, and memorial tablets played a role from the beginning. For example, at several gymnasiums, a book about the Franco-Prussian War and images of the new German Empire were given to select students on the Day of Sedan in 1873. The book and pictures visualized the abstract idea of the empire, and the ceremony created a space where students could feel honored. Moreover, the 1874 *Jahresbericht* of the Köllnisches Gymnasium reported that a memorial tablet bearing an inscription of the names of alumni who died from 1864 to 1871 was also inaugurated on that day. The tablet was decorated with a laurel wreath and flowers and the principal commented that his students who were faithful to the school would be faithful to the fatherland in the future, like the fallen soldiers.²² In its *Jahresbericht* of 1913, the school reported that for the centennial anniversary of the German Campaign of 1813, a memorial tablet for alumni “heroes of 1813/1815.” Thus, pictures, books, and tablets served to visualize not only the connection between schools, war, and the nation-state, but also between students, alumni, and soldiers.

According to a survey by the Ministry of Education in 1880, schools also celebrated the birthday of the German emperor in a similar way to the Day of Sedan.²³ The Prussian king’s birthday had been celebrated in gymnasiums prior to the foundation of the German Empire, but after 1871 Wilhelm I was revered not only as the king of Prussia but also as the emperor who had brought the different states to-

²⁰ Kaiserin Augusta-Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1872, p. 27.

²¹ Kaiserin Augusta-Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1878, p. 24.

²² A similar tablet was inaugurated in 1880 at the Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, according to its *Jahresbericht* of 1881.

²³ Kübler, *Geh. R. Dr. L. Wiese’s Sammlung der Verordnungen*, 251.

gether and established “the Great Empire.”²⁴ As his birthday was March 22, occasionally it was celebrated together with the students’ graduation.²⁵

Over time, descriptions of the Day of Sedan in the Jahresberichte became less detailed. Instead, many gymnasiums simply reported that they celebrated the Day of Sedan “in the usual way,” except for 1887 and 1888. Around 1887, when the 90th birthday of the emperor was celebrated, the gymnasiums started to end their ceremonies with an enthusiastic cheer for the emperor (*Kaiserhoch*), “hurrah! hurrah! hurrah!” and the national anthem. The next year, on March 9, 1888, schools received the news that the emperor passed away. Classes were immediately canceled and a school ceremony was held that day or on the next day. On March 16, the day of the emperor’s burial service, school classes were canceled again and students stood along the streets to pay their respects. On March 22, on his birthday, schools held a memorial ceremony. About three months later, on June 15, the newly enthroned Emperor Friedrich passed away. Schools canceled their classes again and held a ceremony on that day or on the next day. On June 30, an official commemoration was held, and on October 18, on Friedrich’s birthday, schools held a memorial ceremony.²⁶

During the reign of Wilhelm II, who ascended the throne in June 1888, the Day of Sedan became more official, nationalistic, and military-oriented. At the 1890 School Conference, Wilhelm II criticized German schools for lacking the foundation necessary to establish a national spirit. Until then, humanistic gymnasiums had a long tradition of placing more importance on classical languages such as ancient Greek and Latin, but Wilhelm II believed that the German language should be the basis of education in gymnasiums, since Germany should foster young Germans, not young Greeks or Romans.²⁷ After the conference, German schools started to prioritize German language, literature, and history, and any other subjects profitable for industry and the military.

Wilhelm II also tried to construct the myth of Wilhelm I as a heroic emperor (*Heldenkaiser*), who was responsible for victory in the Franco-Prussian War and

24 For example, according to the Jahresbericht of the Sophien-Gymnasium in 1868, the school started to celebrate the birthday of Wilhelm I from that year.

25 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Askanisches Gymnasium, 1880, 1885, 1886; Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1872, 1882, 1885, 1886; Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1883, 1911; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1884, 1911; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1897; Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1898.

26 See, e.g., the 1889 Jahresberichte of Lessing-Gymnasium and Luise Gymnasium.

27 Heinz-Joachim Heydorn and Gernot Koneffke, *Zur Bildungsgeschichte des deutschen Imperialismus: Einleitungen zur Neuherausgabe der Preußischen Schulkonferenzen 1890/1900 und der Reichsschulkonferenz von 1920* [On the educational history of German imperialism: Introductions to the new edition of the Prussian School Conferences 1890/1900 and the Reich School Conference of 1920] (Glashütten im Taunus: Auvermann, 1973), 10.

for the foundation of the empire. As one of his first steps, Wilhelm II ordered schools to organize patriotic ceremonies to commemorate the birthdays and deaths of Wilhelm I and Friedrich.²⁸ Along these lines, in 1895, the 25th anniversary of the victory at Sedan was celebrated in a special way. Each gymnasium organized its own celebration, including school rituals, theater performances, sports activities, and excursions. In addition, on September 1, specially selected gymnasium students also took part in a public ceremony celebrating for the inauguration of the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church. The 1896 *Jahresberichte* of the Humboldt-Gymnasium and the Wilhelms Gymnasium reported that their students lined up with the school flags, sang, and hailed the emperor.

In a school ceremony on September 2, the 1896 *Jahresbericht* of the Lessing-Gymnasium reported that copies of Theodor Lindner's book *Krieg gegen Frankreich* (War against France) were given to certain students to praise their "diligence" (*Fleiß*) and "good behavior" (*Wohlverhalten*). At the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, according to its 1896 *Jahresbericht*, students gathered in the school hall at 8:00 a.m. for the Sedan ceremony. A teacher spoke about his personal experience in the Battle of Sedan and the sustained effect of the battle on Germany. The participants hailed the emperor (Kaiserhoch) and sang the national anthem. At 10:00 a.m., 200 students and a music band, led by school flags, marched to the palace to line up and greet the emperor, along with students from other gymnasiums.²⁹ The principal of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium wrote in the *Jahresbericht* that the students were overjoyed to greet and pay obeisance to the emperor, who had returned from a big parade amid blaring fanfare, and he added that these moments would surely be forever etched in their memory as a source of pride and happiness.³⁰ At 4:00 p.m., the students played sports outside and then performed the play *Sedan*, written by Georg Thouret (1855–1924), on a stage in front of their families. At 6:00 p.m., they marched around the neighborhood.

As Bismarck died in 1898, the Day of Sedan in that year was combined with the Bismarck Festival. Many speeches referred to Bismarck as a mentor and educator of the German people.³¹ In the twentieth century, the Sedan ceremony gained a more militaristic character, and at the same time started to include more citizens and students. Since the beginning of the empire in 1871, the emperor had inspected the parades of the elite Prussian battalion annually in both

²⁸ As decreed by the Royal Ministry of Spiritual, Educational and Medical Affairs on July 23, 1888. Beier, *Die höheren Schulen in Preußen*, 367.

²⁹ See, e.g., the 1896 *Jahresberichte* of Friedrichs-Gymnasium, Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, Humboldt-Gymnasium, Lessing-Gymnasium, and Wilhelms Gymnasium.

³⁰ Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1896, p. 26.

³¹ See, e.g., the 1899 *Jahresberichte* of Kaiserin Augusta-Gymnasium and Sophien-Gymnasium.

spring and autumn, and since 1873 the autumn parade had generally been held close to or on the Day of Sedan.³² According to Vogel, from 1903 in Berlin, “by order of the Emperor,” all school classes were canceled to enable students to watch the autumn parade, and in 1905 secondary schools honored “the best students” (*die besten Schüler*) with free tickets for the gallery overlooking the spring parade.³³ Presumably, the aim was to energize students by allowing them to see the emperor and marching troops with their own eyes, and make them enthused with the army and the monarchy.³⁴ Moreover, from 1907, groups of male secondary school students lined up on the parade field.³⁵ Whereas Vogel argues that this could be understood as an advertisement of the military and monarchy for middle- and upper-class youths,³⁶ I understand it as a representation of the connection between the nation, soldiers, and male youths.

Shortly before the First World War, personal experiences in the Franco-Prussian War became a topic of the speeches again. In 1910, 40 years after the Battle of Sedan, teachers presented their own experiences during that war.³⁷ Furthermore, besides the Day of Sedan and the Emperor’s Birthday, other patriotic memorial days were also celebrated. For example, the Provincial School Council ordered in 1909 that schools should celebrate the 150th birthday of the poet Friedrich Schiller in German classes on November 10. In 1911, the 200th birthday of Friedrich the Great was celebrated together with the birthday of Wilhelm II.³⁸ In 1913, the German poet and soldier Theodor Körner’s memorial day was also celebrated. Körner had composed fiery, patriotic lyrics during his time as a member of the Lützow Free Corps in the German uprising against Napoleon. He became a hero after dying in battle. In the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, he served as a role model for youths and was mentioned in speeches on the Day of Sedan.³⁹ Al-

32 Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 47–48, 144–45, 153.

33 Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 76–77.

34 Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 76–77.

35 For example, the following schools, based on a study of their Jahresberichte in the years listed: Französisches Gymnasium, 1914; Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1908–1911, 1914; Luisen Gymnasium, 1907, 1910; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1914.

36 Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 76–77.

37 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1911; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1911; Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, 1915; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1910; Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1911.

38 See, e.g., Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1912, p. 15.

39 Nikolas Immer and Maria Schultz, “Lützows wildeste Jäger. Zur Heroisierung Theodor Körners im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert” [Lützow’s wildest hunter. On the glorification of Theodor Körner in the 19th and 20th centuries], *helden. heroes. héros. E-Journal zu Kulturen des Heroischen* 2 (2014): 79; see, e.g., Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1903;

though local communities showed less and less interest in the Sedan ceremony, schools and armies continued to celebrate it.⁴⁰

During the First World War, some school buildings, such as those of the Friedrichs-Gymnasium, were used by the Prussian army.⁴¹ The impacted gymnasiums had to switch buildings, and change lesson plans and schedules, and they were no longer able to organize conventional ceremonies. In 1914, schools cancelled many classes to celebrate the army's victories in the ongoing war. To prevent further cancellation of classes, the Provincial School Council ordered schools not to hold the Sedan ceremony, arguing that it had become dispensable because celebrations of current victories could replace it in maintaining and enhancing students' patriotism.⁴² School principals, however, insisted on the importance of keeping up conventional school events in times of crisis and celebrated the Day of Sedan. As a result, in 1915 and 1916, the council approved schools canceling classes and celebrating the day, if desired.⁴³ Speeches made connections with the Franco-Prussian War to lift students' spirits, and some gymnasiums celebrated both victories together.⁴⁴ At the same time, students cheered not only for the emperor but also for the heroic army and President Hindenburg.⁴⁵

The basic characteristics of German school ceremonies

During the German Empire, the most basic form of the school ceremonies on the Day of Sedan and the Emperor's Birthday consisted of patriotic songs and speeches, including declamations, examples of which can be found in books and manuals for teachers.⁴⁶ Articles on speeches and songs for those ceremonies can be found in vari-

⁴⁰ Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 160–61.

⁴¹ Friedrichs-Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1915.

⁴² Provinzial-Schulkollegium, Nr. VI. 5083. Berlin 26. 08.1914. An die Leiter und Leiterinnen sämtlicher Unterrichtsanstalten des Amtsbereichs. Rep. 34, Nr. 922, Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

⁴³ Das Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten, U III A Nr. 879 U II 1, An die Königlichen Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen, Berlin W 8, 26.08.1915. Rep. 34, Nr. 922, Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv; Das Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten, U III A Nr. 968 U II 1, An das Königliche Provinzial-Schulkollegium, Berlin W 8, 24.08.1916. Rep. 34, Nr. 922, Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1914; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1914; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1915.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., the 1914 *Jahresberichte* of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium and Sophien-Gymnasium.

⁴⁶ See, e.g., Ernst H. Bethage, *Feierstunden der Jugend!* [Youth celebrations] (Leipzig: Arwed Strauch, 1910); Friedrich A. Block, *Feierstunden der Schule* [School celebrations] (Wittenberg:

ous contemporary pedagogical magazines.⁴⁷ According to the 1888 Jahresbericht of the Askanisches Gymnasium, a teacher composed a long text by himself for the Day of Sedan and let his students read it out. Many such texts glorified the victory in the Franco-Prussian War, the unity of the German Empire, German patriotism, self-sacrifice, and readiness for battle. For example, in the declamation “Der Schmied von Sedan” (The smith of Sedan), students cry together, “The smith of Sedan, remember, should be the Emperor of the German Empire!” and “Hurray, hurray! Germany stands great and unified!”⁴⁸

Regarding speeches, the Jahresberichte show a wide variety of topics, although the most common topic was still the Day of Sedan and the fostering of German patriotic sentiment. Some speeches referred to each battle in the Franco-Prussian War, such as the Battle of Spicheren in 1870, the second of three critical French defeats, and the Battle of Sedan. Others referred to the historic meaning of the Day of Sedan, for instance, as the Prussian unification of Germany or as a milestone on the path to German power and the birthday of the united German Empire. There were speeches about German history (mainly about military victories), the national anthem, German literature, the emperor, and other heroes, including the Hohenzollern family as the leader and educator of Germany, Friedrich Wilhelm I as the founder of the State of Prussia and the emperor’s heroism in the Franco-Prussian War.⁴⁹ The Prussian statesman Otto von Bismarck and the army chief of staff, Helmuth von Moltke the Elder, who both helped to unify the states into a powerful empire, were also mentioned in speeches.⁵⁰

Besides nobles, politicians, and generals, patriotic writers and poets were also mentioned in school ceremonies. For instance, there were speeches about pa-

R. Herrosé, 1884); J. Ziesenitz, *Sedanfeier für Deutschlands Schulen* [Sedan celebrations for Germany’s schools] (Quedlinburg: Ehr. Frdr. Bieweg, 1880).

47 See, e.g., “Zur Sedanfeier” [On the Sedan celebration], *Schulblatt für die Provinz Brandenburg* 39 (1874): 334–58; “Zur Sedanfeier. Eine Ansprache an die Kinder” [On the Sedan celebration: A speech for children], *Evangelisches Schulblatt und deutsche Schulzeitung* 19 (1875): 269–72; “Ansprache an die Oberklassen einer mittleren Bürgerschule bei der Sedanfeier” [A speech to the higher classes of a middle-class school on the Day of Sedan], *Allgemeine deutsche Lehrerzeitung* 29, no. 35 (1877): 295–96; Hermann Gehrig, “Zur Sedanfeier” [On the Sedan celebration], *Rheinischer Schulmann* 2, no. 15 (1884): 394–96; Hugo Göring, “Zur Sedanfeier” [On the Sedan celebration], *Deutsche Blätter für erziehenden Unterricht* 12, no. 34 (1885): 277–79; “Zur Sedanfeier” [On the Sedan celebration], *Evangelisches Monatsblatt für deutsche Erziehung in Schule, Haus und Kirche* 9, no. 8 (1889): 263–64.

48 Bethage, *Feierstunden der Jugend*, 86.

49 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Sophien-Gymnasium, 1894; Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1889.

50 See, e.g., Wilhelms Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1894.

triotism in Schiller's dramas,⁵¹ and poets such as Emanuel Geibel and Ernst Moritz Arndt were also mentioned.⁵² Geibel was one of the important poets who welcomed the establishment of the German Empire. Arndt fought against Napoleonic dominance over Germany and he was one of the main founders of German nationalism and the movement for German unification. Arndt's song "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?" (What is the German's fatherland?) served as an unofficial national anthem. In this song, Arndt states that the "German's fatherland" is not a region like Prussia or Bavaria, but where "the German accent rings" and "every Frank held a foe."⁵³

As John L. Austin remarked, spoken sentences both describe and construct a social reality.⁵⁴ In this sense, a student's declaration about the unity of the German Empire in a school ceremony in the 1870s, I would argue, was not merely a description of the empire (as the German Empire at that time did not yet have a distinct social identity), but also a performative act that aimed to construct their social reality. Furthermore, William M. Reddy, who investigated history of emotion, noted that "singing a given phrase with a certain kind of melody is similar to stating it with certain facial expressions, or qualifying its statement with an emotion term."⁵⁵ In school ceremonies, the principal gave a speech, students sang patriotic songs, declaimed patriotic texts, and cheered for the emperor. If the school ceremonies had not had this spoken component, they would probably not have been as emotionally charged.

The basic components and character of school ceremonies have much in common with the Protestant church service. As I mentioned previously, a liberal Protestant group had played an important role in organizing the annual national Sedan ceremony. Pietists such as Friedrich Jahn and Ernst Arndt had already promoted memorial ceremonies for the German Campaign of 1813. Friedrich Schleiermacher also supported Prussian churches in holding a church service every year for those who died in the campaign.⁵⁶ The service comforted bereaved families by honoring their sacrifice and encouraged church members to support them. Furthermore, they popularized the ideal of a patriotic national masculinity.⁵⁷ In the nineteenth century, national ceremonies in Germany stood very close to the Christian tradi-

51 See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Sophien-Gymnasium, 1875, 1878.

52 See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Sophien-Gymnasium, 1897; Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1880.

53 William C. Wilkinson, *German Classics* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1900), 155–56.

54 Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Barakaldo Books, 2000), Lecture 1.

55 William M. Reddy, "The Logic of Action: Indeterminacy, Emotion, and Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 40, no. 4 (2001): 25.

56 Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen*, 97.

57 Hagemann, *Männliche Muth und deutsche Ehre*, 505.

tion, as they borrowed the Christian liturgy and included prayers.⁵⁸ Though Prussian gymnasiums had already been under the supervision of the state, school ceremonies on Reformation Day (Reformationstag; a religious holiday on October 31, celebrating the onset of the Protestant Reformation, when Martin Luther nailed his *Ninety-five Theses* on the door of a church in Wittenberg in 1517), the king's birthday, and some military memorial days included a prayer until the 1860s.⁵⁹ In the 1850s, the Prussian government ordered that the king's birthday ceremony should start and end with a prayer and include singing Christian and patriotic songs, a teacher's speech, and an excursion with students' parents and neighbors—all in order to arouse patriotism and respect for the dynasty among children.⁶⁰ In some cases, students and teachers attended a mass in church together.⁶¹

After achieving formal unification in 1871, Bismarck devoted much of his attention to national unity. On one hand, he aimed to make ordinary Germans—not just the Junker elite—more loyal to the state and the emperor. His strategy was to forge a bond between workers and the state by granting them social rights, maintaining the traditional relations between social and status groups and restraining the modernist forces of liberalism and socialism.⁶² On the other hand, Bismarck opposed conservative Catholic activism and emancipation, especially the powers of the Vatican and working-class radicalism. As discussed in Chapter 1, one of the laws enacted during the Kulturkampf to enforce the supremacy of the state the Prussian School Supervision Act of 1872. We can observe the separation between church and school to some extent, as the “prayer” (*Gebet*) on political holidays was gradually replaced by “patriotic poems” or “declamations” in the *Jahresberichte* of the 1870s.⁶³ The Prussian Protestant Church and the state, however, became jointly responsible for the education sector, resulting in the secular and the religious (Protestantism) becoming closely intertwined in schools.

58 Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen*, 96.

59 See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1867–70; Joachimsthalisches Gymnasium, 1860; Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1860–1868; Luisen Gymnasium, 1865.

60 Schellack, “Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste,” 287.

61 See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1861, 1869; Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1862–1870; Luisen Gymnasium, 1869.

62 Kees Van Kersbergen and Barbara Vis, *Comparative Welfare State Politics: Development, Opportunities, and Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 38.

63 All schools continued to celebrate Reformation Day, and some schools started and ended their semesters with a prayer.

The system of strict government supervision of schools was applied only in Catholic areas.⁶⁴ For instance, schools continued to celebrate Reformation Day every year. Therefore, it is no surprise that Prussian school ceremonies resembled Protestant church services, even after the Kulturkampf. Just as Protestant ceremonies aimed to build a group and cultivate affiliation to the church and the nation, school rituals aimed to build a group and cultivate affiliation to the school and the nation.

Additionally, on the level of practices, what the participants of church services and school ceremonies did was basically the same. Whether we call it “prayer,” “poetry,” or “declamation,” what students did was chant together. Whether we call it “sermon” or “speech,” what students did was collectively listening to someone talk. The difference between the two types of rituals lay in the physical activities. Occasionally, church rituals were combined with processions. For political ceremonies, as I will show in Chapter 4, marching and other sports activities gained more importance over time.

The Day of Sedan and physical activities

From the 1870s, excursions were one of the most common extracurricular activities on the Day of Sedan, though the frequency of excursions varied depending on schools. With the exception of 1892, when all excursions were canceled in response to the spread of cholera, many of the gymnasiums in Berlin I analyzed organized excursions to nearby forests on the Day of Sedan.⁶⁵ For instance, the Friedrichs-Gymnasium organized an excursion every year on the Day of Sedan, though in some years its Jahresbericht reported that the excursion had been canceled due to circumstances of the preceding year (bad examination results in 1878, cholera epidemic in 1892). At the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, students formed lines and marched with music holding their school flags and classroom flags. After arriving in a nearby forest, students sang patriotic songs and the principal explained the significance of the day. Then the students played sports, did military exercises, played a war game, and reenacted scenes of historic battles like the Battle of Cunaxa, fought between Cyrus the Younger and his elder brother Arsaces of Persia in

⁶⁴ Habermas, “Piety, Power and Powerless,” 457; Marjorie Lamberti, “Religious Conflicts and German National Identity in Prussia, 1866–1914,” in *Modern Prussian History: 1830–1947*, ed. Philip G. Dwyer (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 177.

⁶⁵ The Wilhelms Gymnasium did not use the term *Ausflug* (excursion) in its Jahresberichte, but as the students performed *Schauturnen* (collective gymnastics) in the forest, I counted these as excursions.

401 BCE.⁶⁶ As the principal of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium reported in its 1885 Jahresbericht, the excursion contributed to the development of public spirit (*Gemeinsinn*). In many cases, this communal perception was strengthened by the collective participation of students' families and friends on the excursions. At the Friedrichs-Gymnasium, all participants of the school excursion, including the families, had dinner and danced together.⁶⁷

Patriotic plays were also performed by students on the Day of Sedan, both in and outside of the schools. In Max Jähns's play *Zur Heimkehr* (To return home), students played the role of soldiers in historic events and presumably experienced the Day of Sedan emotionally.⁶⁸ Another collective performance held on the day was the gymnastics performances in front of the students' parents.⁶⁹ The Humboldt-Gymnasium reported in its Jahresbericht of 1888 (p. 19) that its performance was opened with the students' march, patriotic songs, and cheering of the emperor and the German Empire. In general, like excursions, gymnastics performances were more strongly connected to the Day of Sedan than the Emperor's Birthday, though some schools such as the Wilhelms Gymnasium (as reported in its 1897 Jahresbericht) also organized performances on the latter.

As I showed in the previous chapter, Turnen, developed by gymnastics educator and nationalist Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, was linked to German nationalistic ideas from the beginning. The German National Festival, which celebrated the Battle of Leipzig in 1813 and is known as blueprint of nineteenth-century German national festivals, had already included physical activities. Ernst Moritz Arndt suggested a national festival program in his book, *Ein Wort über die Feier der Leipziger Schlacht* (A word about the Festival of the Battle of Leipzig), in 1814. His suggestion included both traditional elements of festivals (ringing a bell, church service, collecting donations, a ceremonial parade, a feast, speeches and songs) and new elements (a bonfire, gymnastics exercises, and sport matches for youths). He also suggested a *Kinderfest* (children's festival) to teach children the history and meaning of the event.⁷⁰

66 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1879, 1884, and 1892.

67 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Friedrichs-Gymnasium in 1871–1873, 1875, 1878, 1880–1888, 1890–1892, 1894, 1897–1899, 1902, and 1904–1914.

68 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1888; Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1878, 1883; Luisen Gymnasium, 1886; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1888. Max Jähns (1837–1900) was an officer of the Prussian Army, who had served in the Austro-Prussian War and the Franco-Prussian War. After the German unification, Jähns wrote many literary texts and works on the history of military tactics.

69 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1897, 1903; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1882, 1891; Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1874–1875, 1877, 1879–1881, 1903–1904.

70 Hagemann, *Männliche Muth und deutsche Ehre*, 483–84.

Furthermore, as I showed in Chapter 2, from 1909, gymnasiums and some other schools in Berlin started to organize joint sports festivals on the Day of Sedan.⁷¹ These festivals had a more official and political character than the gymnastics performances of each gymnasium. They featured sports, games, and athletics events such as high jump, long jump, and running. Representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Provincial School Council, and the Ministry of War were present. Before the games started, the participants hailed the emperor and the representatives gave long speeches emphasizing the importance of building one's body to serve the fatherland, such as the following from the 1910 Jahresbericht of the Wilhelms Gymnasium (p. 13):

The unity, power, and glory of the fatherland are embodied in the form of our emperor. We thank the emperor that bodily exercises have become a part of the youths' education. It is impossible to awaken youths' minds and harden their character, if their bodies are disregarded. For this purpose, the sports festival was organized, but the goal is not great performances which could lead to injuries. Rather, it is to build all bodily organs equally as the correct preparation for serving the fatherland.

The Day of Sedan as failed project?

The Day of Sedan, on the whole, is generally regarded by historians as an unsuccessful project for nation-state building, since it was mainly organized from above and failed to include all people in the German Empire.⁷² The Sedan ceremony, which was closely connected to Prussian militarism and the protestant *Bürger*, failed to bridge the religious and political gaps within the empire.⁷³ As I demonstrated previously, only a small group of people could watch or participate in the military ceremony. The marching soldiers represented the German army and its victory, but not the unity of the entire nation. In the view of social democrats and politically active Catholics, the Day of Sedan was not a national ceremony recognizing the role played by this battle in German unification, but rather a ceremony promoted by the national liberal Protestant party.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Also in 1911 and 1913 a smilier joint sport festival was held on the Day of Sedan. See the Jahresberichte of Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1910, 1912, 1914.

⁷² Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen*, 113; Schellack, "Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste," 282–84.

⁷³ Helmut R. Leppien, "Marinemalerei zu Kaisers Zeiten" [Marine paintings in the Kaiser's time], in *Übersee. Seefahrt und Seemacht im deutschen Kaiserreich* [Over sea: Sea faring and naval power in the German Third Reich], ed. Volker Plagemann (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1988), 221.

⁷⁴ Schellack, "Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste," 282–84; Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 146.

Furthermore, there were also criticisms of the flashy military parades in the era of Wilhelm II, published in various magazines. On one hand, the Day of Sedan was supported, even by Catholic teachers, as it honored the self-sacrifice of soldiers for the fatherland and prepared students for war.⁷⁵ On the other hand, it was criticized for jeopardizing efforts to teach basic pedagogical values, such as love and respect for others. In Sedan ceremonies, the cruel war was glorified, the French were often described as the “hereditary enemy” (*Erbfeind*), and hatred of them was preached to students.⁷⁶ Some suggested that the fallen French soldiers should also be honored to celebrate the day in an ethical way,⁷⁷ while others insisted on abolishing it completely and celebrating the day of the peace agreement instead.⁷⁸

Over time, the main part of the Sedan ceremony shifted from hostile speeches to sports festivals and excursions.⁷⁹ The *Jahresberichte* also give us the impression that the Day of Sedan was established as an annual school event, namely as an excursion or sports day, rather than an emotionally charged patriotic ceremony. As I showed above, the day was celebrated annually in all gymnasiums in Berlin, involving not only all the students and teachers but also their families and alumni. Therefore, as the principal of the Friedrichs-Gymnasium described in the *Jahresbericht* of 1906, it was not only a day for patriotic memory and exaltation but also for uniting teachers, alumni, students, and their families and friends. School ceremonies have been referred to as “consensus rituals,” whose function is to bind together all members of the school, staff, and pupils as a moral community and as a distinct collective.⁸⁰ The Day of Sedan may have failed to unite all members of German society, but I would argue that the school ceremonies functioned at least as “consensus rituals.” Moreover, as the ceremonies were held annually, they gradually became more like social routines. The pedagogue and journalist Hein Herbers described that the Day of Sedan and the Emperor’s Birth-

75 G. Heinrich, “Für die Sedanfeier” [For the Sedan festival], *Pädagogische Reform* 27, no. 35 (1903): 302–3; “Zur Sedanfeier dieses Jahres” [On the Sedan festival of this year], *Pädagogische Woche* 11, no. 36 (1915).

76 H. Harder, “Ein Wort zur Sedanfeier,” *Pädagogische Reform* 27, no. 34 (1903): 293; E. Harmening, “Sedanfeier, Militarismus und ethische Kultur,” *Ethische Kultur* 1, no. 39 (1893): 312–13; L. Taube, “Zur Sedanfeier,” *Ethische Kultur* 1, no. 37 (1893).

77 F., “Zur Sedanfeier” [On the Sedan festival], *Ethische Kultur* 3, no. 36 (1895); A. Paschen, “Zur Sedanfeier” [On the Sedan festival], *Hamburgische Schulzeitung* 15, no. 35 (1907).

78 Harder, “Ein Wort zur Sedanfeier,” 293. Indeed, in 1896, the Wilhelms Gymnasium also celebrated the day of the peace agreement, according to its *Jahresbericht* of 1897.

79 H. Harder, “Förderung der Sedanfeier” [Promoting the Sedan festival], *Pädagogische Reform* 31, no. 8 (1907).

80 Bernstein, Elvin, and Peters, “Ritual in Education,” 429.

day were a part of his world and thus the First World War was by no means contradictory to his safe world.⁸¹ This was likely one reason why many school principals carried out Sedan ceremonies, even after the outbreak of war. In the twentieth century, the day seemed to no longer be a special event to celebrate the military victory but part of entrenched school routines, which could not be replaced by other ceremonies for new military victories.

Owing to the official character of the *Jahresberichte*, which contain hardly any negative comments on the school ceremonies, we cannot know how serious they were or how enthusiastically students celebrated the Day of Sedan and the Emperor's Birthday. Only the Sophien-Gymnasium reported in its *Jahresbericht* of 1885 (p. 17) that, unfortunately, because of the religious and patriotic character of the Day of Sedan and the participants' mood, songs were sung only by some of the participants. It is clear, however, that both days were official school events that demanded the active involvement of all teachers and students. Especially for physical activities such as marching and collective gymnastics, students had to practice a great deal. Therefore, absence from a school ceremony might be regarded as disrespectful not only to the monarchy but also to one's classmates. Though there were no penalties directly related to the Day of Sedan, Article 6 of the General School Regulations for Secondary Schools in Brandenburg (*Allgemeine Schulordnung für die höheren Lehranstalten der Provinz Brandenburg*) stipulated that each school must require its students to attend all prescribed classes and school ceremonies regularly and punctually.⁸² The principal of the Askanisches Gymnasium, Wolde-mar Ribbeck, personally chose to cancel the Sedan ceremony in 1901 and was reprimanded by the Ministry of Education and the Provincial School Council. Citing his advanced age of 72, among other criticisms, the Minister of Education urged that a younger person should take over his position.⁸³ According to the school's 1903 *Jahresbericht*, Ribbeck resigned in March 1902 and died unexpectedly a few months later in June. The school regulations and the case of the Askanisches Gymnasium indicate that at least on an official level, the school ceremonies were taken very seriously.

81 Herbers, "Schwerer Dienste tägliche Bewährung!" [Hard work puts us to the test every day!], in *Wegweiser in der Zeitwende* [Guide to the turning point], ed. Elga Kern (Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1955), 43.

82 The lyricist, playwright, and essayist Eric Mühsam was expelled from his gymnasium, as he published a negative comment on the Sedan ceremony in *Literatur Lexikon*, a social democrat newspaper. He was presumably punished more severely than others, as he violated not only §6 but also §16a of the regulation, which forbade any public demonstrations by students, including publishing comments in newspapers. Beier, *Die höheren Schulen in Preußen*, 374–75.

83 Das Ministerium der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten. VII, Nr. 12528. An das Königliche Provinzial-Schulkollegium. Berlin W. 64. Den 27 September 1901. Rep. 34, Nr. 990, 288. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

The school ceremonies provided students with an opportunity to share memories and strengthen their bonds. According to Maurice Halbwachs, “collective memory” links together the members of a social group emotionally and forms the group identity.⁸⁴ In this sense, I would argue that the Day of Sedan as a school event in gymnasiums was successful, at least to some extent. It provided shared experiences and memories, promoted national unity, and gave students the impression that the war and the nation-state belonged to their own world. Therefore, the Day of Sedan could be regarded as a blueprint for political school ceremonies in the following era, both in and outside of Germany. After the collapse of the empire, political ceremonies like the Day of Sedan and the Emperor’s Birthday were abolished. Instead, in the Weimar Republic, Constitution Day (Verfassungstag) and the President’s Birthday were celebrated. In Nazi Germany, a number of memorial days were celebrated, including Hitler’s Birthday and January 30, the day on which Hitler seized political power. All those ceremonies, however, shared the same basic function as that of the Day of Sedan: namely, to build and maintain the foundation of the nation-state and political power through collective activities.

3.2 Japanese School Ceremonies and the Foundation of the Japanese Empire

Katsura Tarō, who was mentioned in Chapter 2, traveled to Europe in 1870, years before he became a general and prime minister. Upon arriving in London on his way to study France’s modern military, he was informed that Napoleon III had already been captured after the Battle of Sedan and was surrounded by the German army. Consequently, Katsura changed his study destination from Paris to Berlin. Following Katsura’s lead, many young Japanese changed their study destination to Germany after the Franco-Prussian War. For instance, Shinagawa Yajirō, who was also mentioned in Chapter 2, traveled along the border between Germany and France to visit battlefields of the war in 1871, before moving to Berlin and devoting himself to the study of German politics and economy.⁸⁵ He convinced other students to stay in Berlin, such as Hirata Tōsuke, who had originally intended to go to Russia.⁸⁶ Miura Jūrō, who had been in France, and Tsuruta Kii-

⁸⁴ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, chap. 6.

⁸⁵ Morikawa Jun, “Meiji shonen ni okeru Doitsu bunka no ishoku” [The transplantation of German culture in the early Meiji period], *Gyros* 11 (2005): 22–35, 27.

⁸⁶ Morikawa, “Meiji shonen ni okeru Doitsu bunka no ishoku,” 26.

chi and Kinoshita Shūichi, who had been in England, also moved to Germany to study.⁸⁷ Parallel to these developments, Japan gradually oriented itself to Prussia, implementing reforms by using Prussia as a model of the modernization process. Therefore, the Franco-Prussian War was a decisive event not only for Germany but also for Japan.

As I will show below, in the late nineteenth century, Japanese chūgakkō began to hold similar ceremonies to those of German gymnasiums. Despite existing historical research on how school ceremonies spread and were implemented within Japan, there is almost no research on where they came from or what they have in common with others overseas. I will explore these school ceremonies—for the National Foundation Day and the Emperor’s Birthday—and whether they were modeled after those of Germany in a process of silent borrowing (see Chapter 1). In doing so, I will draw on the school club magazines of chūgakkō in Tokyo and other archival documents.

The formation of modern school ceremonies in Japan

After the School Ordinance of 1872, new holidays were set, such as the National Foundation Day and the Emperor’s Birthday, for which Shinto rituals were held in the imperial palace.⁸⁸ However, until the 1880s, schools simply canceled classes and did not organize any ceremonies on these holidays.⁸⁹

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, especially in the first 20 years of the Meiji era, the emperor traveled around Japan to present himself as the legitimate ruler of the newly established Japanese Empire. From the 1870s, boulevards, big squares, and various public monuments were rapidly erected in capital cities such as Rome, Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and Washington, DC. These provided the setting for political ceremonies such as the 600th anniversary of the Habsburg monarchy in Austria, the funeral of Victor Emmanuel II in Italy, and the centennial of the American Revolution.⁹⁰ As part of this trend, Tokyo also became a central space for national ceremonies from the 1880s, and political elites started to restructure

⁸⁷ Morikawa, “Meiji shonen ni okeru Doitsu bunka no ishoku,” 26–27.

⁸⁸ Murakami Shigeyoshi, *Tennō no saishi* [Imperial ceremonies] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1990), 83.

⁸⁹ Sasaki Masaaki, “Gakkō no shukusai ni tsuite no kōsatsu” [A study of school ceremonies], *Jinbun kenkyū* 55, no. 1 (2005):104–5.

⁹⁰ David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’, c. 1820–1977,” in Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 126–28.

the city for this purpose.⁹¹ The architect Katayama Tōkuma, who had studied architecture under the British architect Josiah Conder (a foreign adviser to the Meiji government), traveled to Germany in 1886 to buy furniture and make other preparations for the construction of a new Imperial Palace with an extensive square to gather crowds at political events.⁹²

On February 11, 1889, as the new constitution was made public, a grand national ceremony was held in Tokyo for the first time. First, a Shinto ritual was conducted and subsequently the emperor changed from his traditional court dress into his military uniform. In the next ceremony, he read out his edict and the constitution and gave them to the prime minister, before parading in an ornate British carriage through the city.⁹³ A large-scale military review was also organized. Along the streets, students cried “banzai” to cheer the emperor, and sang the national anthem and the song of the National Foundation Day.⁹⁴ As the emperor also participated in the parade the next day, Tokyo was filled with a festive atmosphere for two whole days. However, it should be mentioned that ordinary people perceived this ceremony as a conventional local festival and did not understand its political significance.⁹⁵

On this occasion, Mori Arinori, Japan’s first Minister of Education, introduced school ceremonies in order to rouse patriotic feelings among children.⁹⁶ In 1888 and 1889, Mori gave speeches and encouraged schools to organize school ceremonies that included singing on Emperor’s Birthday and National Foundation Day.⁹⁷ Though no official document of the Ministry of Education in this regard has been discovered yet, according to Yamamoto, 12 prefectures had ordered schools to organize ceremonies on these days in 1888.⁹⁸ When National Foundation Day was set as national holiday in 1873, it was to celebrate the enthronement of the Japan’s legendary first emperor, Jinmu in about 660 BCE. As the constitution was made public on this day in 1889, the day gained an additional political meaning.⁹⁹ In the next year, the Imperial Rescript on Education was issued. It combined the Confu-

91 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 73.

92 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 76–78.

93 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 97.

94 The origin of this cheer, banzai, dates back to ancient times, but in the Meiji era it was reintroduced when the constitution was published because the Minister of Education, Mori, intended to establish a practice like “hooray, hooray, hooray” in England. Makiyama Norio, “Banzai no tanjō” [The birth of banzai], *Shisō* 845 (1994): 123–25.

95 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 96, 217.

96 Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 113–15.

97 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 134.

98 Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 109–10.

99 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 22.

cian virtue of filial piety (obedience to one's family, respect for parents, elders, and ancestors) with loyalty to the emperor, his mythical ancestors, and the state, and served as the foundation of Japanese modern education until 1945.¹⁰⁰ Principals read the Imperial Rescript out loud in school ceremonies, but they were not immediately implemented in every school because Mori had not made them compulsory. Furthermore, according to Yamamoto, in the 1890s, only one third to one half of the students took part in such ceremonies.¹⁰¹ It was only after the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), with an upsurge of patriotism in Japan, that these ceremonies gradually became more established.¹⁰²

The basic characteristics of Japanese school ceremonies

Unlike the school ceremonies of the German Empire, whose basic components were already fixed from the beginning and remained basically the same until the collapse of the empire, Japanese school ceremonies gradually seem to have accumulated different components over the years. In the following exploration of these ceremonies, I will mainly use documents in the Tokyo Metropolitan Archives and the school club magazines of two public *chūgakkō*, namely the First and Third Tokyo Secondary Schools.

In 1910, the First and the Third Tokyo Secondary Schools submitted a report to the Tokyo government on how they celebrated the three national holidays of New Year, Emperor's Birthday and National Foundation Day in ceremonies as follows:

1. The Imperial Portrait was revealed and all participants bowed toward it
2. The national anthem was sung
3. The school principal read out the Imperial Rescript on Education
4. The song admiring the Imperial Rescript on Education, which was authorized by the Ministry of Education, was sung
5. The school principal made a speech
6. The student representatives made their speeches
7. A song for the holiday, which was authorized by the Ministry of Education, was sung
8. The Imperial Portrait was covered.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Murakami, *Kokka shintō*, 140.

¹⁰¹ Yamamoto and Konno, *Kindai kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogi*, 12.

¹⁰² Sasaki, "Gakkō no shukusai," 106.

¹⁰³ Sandaisetsu Gishikishidai 1910, D080.629.D2.11, no. 3289. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

The First Tokyo Secondary School issued regulations in 1904 that stipulated a proper outfit—teachers in frock coats and students in their uniform—and for participants to stand at attention throughout the ceremonies.¹⁰⁴ The contents of these school ceremonies basically followed the stipulations of the Regulation for Ceremonies on Public Holidays in Elementary Schools (1891).

The First Tokyo Secondary School received the Imperial Portrait in 1887 and started to hold a ceremony in which students and teachers bowed to the Imperial Portrait, but it took more than a decade to establish the form as it was reported in 1910.¹⁰⁵ Its school club magazines reported:

- in 1891 (vol. 1), the Emperor's Birthday was celebrated by bowing to the Imperial Portrait, cheering *banzai*, and visiting a military review
- in 1893 (vol. 6), National Foundation Day was celebrated from that year
- in 1894 (vol. 10), the principal made a speech at school ceremonies at the New Year school ceremony
- from 1898 (vol. 27), there were also speeches by a student representative on the Emperor's Birthday
- in 1902 (vol. 36), the national anthem was sung for the first time in 1901.

The school club magazines of the Third Tokyo Secondary School reported:

- in 1901 (vol. 1) that they celebrated the Emperor's Birthday with songs and speeches
- in 1904 (vol. 6) that after the Russo-Japanese War had begun, the principal read out the Imperial Rescript on the Proclamation of War against Russia (*Sensen no Shōchoku* 宣戦の詔勅) on National Foundation Day.
- in 1905 (vol. 7) that its students started to attend a military review on the Emperor's Birthday in 1904. Also, the school officially received the Imperial Portrait, which was greeted by all the students and teachers in front of the school gate, followed by a school ceremony.

These school ceremonies basically continued until the end of the Second World War, but until the 1920s many schools found it difficult to hold even a basic ceremony. Although bowing to the Imperial Portrait was an essential part of the school ceremonies, many schools had to skip this until the 1930s, as the portraits had only been given to selected schools. Furthermore, singing songs in the European musical scale was completely new and very challenging for students. Hence,

¹⁰⁴ First Tokyo Secondary School, *Enkakushi* [Historical overview] (Tokyo: First Tokyo Secondary School, 1904), <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/pid/813203>.

¹⁰⁵ Hibiya High School, *Hibiya kōkō hyakunen-shi*, 737.

schools without music classes also had to skip singing in the ceremonies. It was only when the Ministry of Education provided phonograph records of the national anthem to schools in 1930 that it became generally possible for children to sing the anthem during school ceremonies.¹⁰⁶

Unlike the *Jahresberichte* of German gymnasiums, Japanese sources do not contain detailed information on each speech. In general, congratulation speeches were very formal, since each prefecture began to provide samples for school principals at the end of the nineteenth century. The speeches showed admiration to the emperor, his ancestors, and the Japanese Empire, and postulated that students should work hard and serve His Majesty.¹⁰⁷ After the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, schools celebrated the fall of Port Arthur and Japan's victory in the Battle of Tsushima.¹⁰⁸ From the next year, 1906, these were celebrated as Army Memorial Day and Navy Memorial Day, respectively, and military officers were invited to schools and gave speeches on the battles. Additionally, the school club magazines of the Third Tokyo Secondary School reported that the best performing students of the martial arts club were honored after the speech of an army officer, and on Navy Memorial Day the principal read out a report by the famous admiral Tōgō Heihachirō (1848–1934).¹⁰⁹

In gymnasiums in Berlin, the nation-state, physical activities, and political ceremonies had already intertwined in the second half of the nineteenth century. In Japan, at least in terms of school regulations, physical activities were encouraged on national holidays. Article 4 of the Regulation for Ceremonies on Public Holidays in Elementary Schools (1891) ordered that on political holidays teachers should organize outdoor activities such as gymnastics exercises and games to give students cheerful and lively experiences.¹¹⁰ Moreover, Article 6 of the regulation encouraged schools to invite students' family members and local people to the school ceremonies.¹¹¹ As far as can be discerned, the school club magazines do not show a clear connection between physical activities and national ceremonies, only between the military review and the Emperor's Birthday. However, according to the magazines of the First and Third Tokyo Secondary Schools issued in

106 Mizusaki Takefumi, *Kōki no tanjō* [The birth of the school flag] (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2004), 155.

107 Yamamoto and Konno, *Kindai kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogi*, 48.

108 See, e.g., the school club magazines of the First Tokyo Secondary School (1905, vols. 45 and 46) and the Third Tokyo Secondary School (1905, vol. 7; 1906, vol. 8).

109 See the school club magazines of the Third Tokyo Secondary School (1908, vol. 12 and 1909, vol.14).

110 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 269–10, 410.

111 Government of Japan, *Kanpō*, no. 2388 (1891).

1891 and 1905, for example, it is certain that their students attended military reviews supervised by the emperor after their school ceremonies.

Although students are said to have been moved by watching soldiers embodying “patriotism, independence, and discipline,” as reported in the first volume of the school club magazine of the First Tokyo Secondary School in 1891, they did not take part in physical activities.¹¹² In fact, in Meiji Japan, political ceremonies and physical activities seem to have been less interconnected than those in Germany. I was only able to discover one case in which a political event was celebrated through physical activities—the celebration of Japan’s victory in the Battle of Tsushima at the Second Tokyo Secondary School in 1905. As described in the magazine of the school’s centennial anniversary, after a solemn school ceremony with speeches by the principal and students, with all participants singing the national anthem, they played baseball together.¹¹³

3.3 Comparing German and Japanese School Ceremonies

Similarities and the possibility of “silent-borrowing”

If we compare Japanese school ceremonies with those in the German Empire, they have much in common. Both were collective and performative ceremonies that aimed to strengthen the bonds between students under the name of the nation-state. In both countries, the ceremonies consisted of songs, declamations, speeches, cheers of Kaiserhoch or banzai, and sometimes outdoor activities like excursions, gymnastics, and team sports. In both countries, the birthday of the emperor and the foundation of the state were celebrated at ceremonies, where the best students received rewards. For example, according to Article 7 of the Regulation for Ceremonies on Public Holidays in Elementary Schools (1891) in Japan, schools could distribute sweets and pedagogically beneficial premiums like pictures to students. Moreover, according to Yamamoto, sharing foods and eating together serves to strengthen the bond between group members.¹¹⁴ In premodern

112 There was a case in which students’ physical activities were somehow connected to the military, though not to the empire. According to school club magazines of Kaisei Secondary School, students sang military march songs and cried “Banzai!” three times on excursions and school trips, though the cheer was not for the emperor but for their school (1902, vol. 29, pp. 56–68; 1905, vol. 39, p. 60; 1906, vol. 42, p. 82).

113 Tachikawa High School, *Reirō* [Clear and beautiful] (Tokyo: Tachikawa High School, 2001), 14–5.

114 Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 79.

Japanese school rituals, students ate together, and students in the German Empire sometimes had a feast with their parents and teachers on the Day of Sedan.¹¹⁵

In his official speech, Mori did not mention that he referenced German school ceremonies. However, it is almost inconceivable that he came up with this idea without any Western influence. Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao mentioned that the school ceremonies Mori proposed were likely modeled after Western church (Catholic) rituals, though they did not speculate as to why he had done so.¹¹⁶ Yamamoto and Konno briefly mentioned that Japanese school ceremonies were based on German pedagogical theory, which aimed to produce feelings of togetherness,¹¹⁷ but did not clarify which theory or explore this point further. Therefore, here I will consider the possible connection between German and Japanese school ceremonies.

As the connection has been never mentioned in official documents, I will explore the possibility of non-acknowledged processes of policy transfer, dubbed by Florian Waldow as “silent borrowing,” which I described in Chapter 1.¹¹⁸ Most research on educational policy borrowing focuses on explicit transfer processes, highlighting how political actors legitimize their agenda by referencing other countries or international organizations.¹¹⁹ When the Japanese army started to orient itself toward the German army, authorities also legitimated their policy by referencing the Prussian victory in the Franco-Prussian War. However, there is also arguably a possibility of “silent borrowing” by Japanese intellectuals at the end of the nineteenth century, considering their strong interest in Germany at that time and the structural and functional similarities of Japanese and Prussian school ceremonies, though it was not publicly acknowledged. As Waldow argued in his analysis of educational discourses in Sweden, keeping processes of policy transfer “silent” can also follow a logic of legitimation.¹²⁰ In order to explore the possibility of silent borrowing, I ask: Who was informed about German school ceremonies at the time? And if borrowing occurred, why was it kept silent?

First of all, various historical sources imply that Japanese intellectuals did observe Western ceremonies. For instance, inquiry reports about European royal families written by Japanese officials show that, especially from the 1880s, intellectuals in the Meiji era were very much aware of the power of political rituals in

115 See, e.g., Leibniz Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1879.

116 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 134.

117 Yamamoto and Konno, *Kindai kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogi*, 49.

118 Waldow, “Undeclared Imports,” 478–79.

119 See, e.g., Waldow, “Standardisation and Legitimacy,” 411; Perry and Tor, “Understanding Educational Transfer,” 510.

120 Waldow, “Undeclared Imports,” 487–88.

Europe.¹²¹ Furthermore, the German adviser Hermann Techow was originally tasked with giving advice on educational practices and viewed himself as the “apostle of Japanese schools” (see Chapter 2).¹²² As Mori started to encourage school ceremonies from 1888, it is possible that he had been informed by Techow about German school ceremonies.

There were also Japanese exchange students in Berlin at that time, who could have possibly reported on Prussian school ceremonies. For instance, from 1870 to 1889, a total of 133 Japanese students were enrolled at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University in Berlin.¹²³ According to the Jahresbericht of the Wilhelms Gymnasium in 1891, Tanaka Shōhei (1862–1945),¹²⁴ who was a physicist, music theorist, and inventor, visited its auditorium. Tanaka had studied at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-University in Berlin from 1884 to 1887 and lived in Germany until 1899. The Luisen Gymnasium also reported that it welcomed a Japanese guest, Muraoka Han’ichi (1853–1929), in 1889. Muraoka had been sent by the Ministry of Education to Germany in 1878 in order to study normal schools for elementary school teachers. He also studied physics at Straßburg University, and he is considered to be the first Japanese scientist to receive a doctorate overseas and publish a paper in a Western academic journal.¹²⁵ He translated the German pedagogical text *Die Praxis der Volksschule* (The practice of elementary schools), first published in 1877, into Japanese in 1880. In this book, the author and pedagogue Karl Kehr argued that singing classes can contribute to group-building and recommended schools to make students sing patriotic songs in political ceremonies.¹²⁶ After returning to Japan, Muraoka

121 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 92.

122 Techow had been a senior civil servant, legal adviser, and member of the administrative council of the Provincial School Council of Berlin, but in Japan he was more involved in the elaboration of the civil process system and left almost no trace in the field of education. Therefore, we can only speculate that he gave advice on school ceremonies. Schenck, *Der deutsche Anteil*, 291.

123 According to its Jahresberichte of 1873 and 1885, the Wilhelms Gymnasium also welcomed Japanese guests in 1872 and 1884. The guest in 1884 was someone from the Japanese embassy. See also Rudolf Hartmann, *Japanische Studenten an der Berliner Universität 1870–1914* [Japanese students at the University of Berlin] (Berlin: Mori-Ōgai-Gedenkstätte der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2000), 72–73.

124 Izumi Ken, “The Acceptance of Western Music in Syohei Tanaka,” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Education, Wakayama University Humanities Science* 61, no. 2 (2011): 120.

125 Uehara Kazuya, “Muraoka Hanichi no koto” [About Muraoka Han’ichi], *Daigakuno butsuri kyōiku* 3 (2000): 9–13.

126 Karl Kehr, *Die Praxis der Volksschule: Ein Wegweiser zur Führung einer geregelten Schuldisziplin und zur Ertheilung eines methodischen Schulunterrichtes für Volksschullehrer und für solche, die es werden wollen* [The practice of elementary schools: A guide to maintaining regulated school discipline and providing methodical school instruction for elementary school teachers and those who want to become one] (Gotha: Thienemann, 1877), 353, 356.

worked for the First High School (第一高等中学校 Daiichi Kōtō Chūgakkō), the preparatory school for Tokyo University.

In September 1888, the cabinet decided to send Muraoka to Europe again. The following year, he spent the last week of August and the first week of September at the Luisen Gymnasium,¹²⁷ which means he most likely saw the Sedan ceremony there. According to its 1890 Jahresbericht, the Luisen Gymnasium celebrated the Day of Sedan in 1889 in the “usual way,” that is, with a speech, declamations, and songs. Mr. Dr. Groth led the ceremony for the lower classes, and in the ceremony for the upper classes Mr. Dr. Matthias gave a speech on *Der deutsche Einheitstraum in Lieder* (The German dream of unification in songs). Then, led by the school principal, students gave three cheers for the emperor. The exact intention of this visit is not clear, but if we consider that Mori had started to encourage school ceremonies, including singing, in 1888, it is possible that Muraoka intentionally visited the gymnasium around this time in order to observe the Sedan ceremony.¹²⁸

Western music had already been introduced to the Japanese army and navy at the end of the Edo period. The report of the Iwakura Mission (1871–1873) stressed the pedagogical importance of music in Western schools, explaining that children sang songs to admire the God and to uplift the moral fibre.¹²⁹ Mori also encouraged school principals to organize ceremonies and include songs. However, most schools did not have music rooms, instruments, or teachers for Western music classes, and had no idea how to sing songs in European scales.¹³⁰ This supports my assumption that Muraoka was sent to Europe to investigate music classes and songs for school ceremonies. The dates also seem to coincide with this: on February 2, 1888, the Ministry of Education distributed the musical score of the song for the Emperor’s Birthday; on September 17, the cabinet decided to

127 Government of Japan, *Kanpō*, no. 1575 (1888).

128 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 134.

129 Ishizuki Minoru, “Iwakura-shisetsudan no seiyō kyōiku shisatsu: Meiji no seiji to kyōikushisō” [The Iwakura mission’s observations of Western education: Meiji politics and educational thought] *Kikan Nihon shisō-shi* 7 (1978): 10.

130 At the First Tokyo Secondary School, music classes first begun in 1889, but as there was no music room and students really hated singing, the music class had already disappeared a few years later. Music became a secondary school subject through the Second Secondary School Ordinance (Dainiji Chūgakkō-rei 第二次中学校令) issued in 1899. Although, the detailed regulations allowed schools to skip music classes if they did not have the appropriate facilities and teachers, the school started to hold music classes in 1901 again and in 1903 a music room was constructed. Hibiya High School, *Hibiya kōkō hyakunen-shi*, 81.

send Muraoka to Europe; and on October 24, the Ministry distributed the musical score of the song for National Foundation Day.¹³¹

After returning from Europe, Muraoka chaired a screening committee for lyrics and music scores for holidays from 1891 to 1893,¹³² and he published several articles titled “Music in Normal Education.” In one of them, he noted that in the Franco-Prussian War, the song “Die Wacht am Rhein” helped to uplift the morale of Prussian soldiers and to prevent French soldiers from crossing the Rhein River.¹³³ In 1893, the Ministry of Education announced eight songs that had been chosen by Muraoka’s committee as official songs for school ceremonies.¹³⁴ Due to his experience in Germany, Muraoka seems to have been aware of the importance of music in school education and he contributed to the establishment of the first music academy in Japan, where he served as principal from 1891.¹³⁵

The German doctor Erwin von Bälz, a personal physician to the Japanese imperial family and the cofounder of modern Western medicine in Japan, wrote in his diary about a concert of German music, originally designed for the German emperor, performed by the Japanese students of this music academy. On March 19, 1905, students played and sang “Kaisermarsch” (Imperial march) in front of the imperial family, diplomats, and other guests, with Japanese lyrics praising Emperor Meiji.¹³⁶ This patriotic march, which was composed by Richard Wagner in 1871 to exalt the foundation of the German Empire, was played and sung in gymnasiums, such as reported by the Humboldt-Gymnasium in its *Jahresberichte* of 1883 and 1886, for the Emperor’s Birthday and the 25th anniversary of imperial rule, respectively.

131 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 134–35; Government of Japan, *Kanpō*, no. 1575 (1888).

132 Asano Mai, “Meiji kōki no Tōkyō ongaku gakkō ni okeru bungaku kanren kamoku no jittai: Hatano Torihiko no kōgi naiyō o chūshin to shite” [A study on literature-related subjects at the Tokyo Academy of Music during the late Meiji period: Emphasis on the lectures of Tarihiko Hatano], *Ongaku kyōikugaku = Japanese Journal of Music Education Research* 44, no. 1 (2014): 4; Hirata Munefumi, *Ōbei haken shōgaku shihan gakka torishirabe-in no kenkyū* [Results of the study tour of elementary-school teacher training in Europe and the US] (Tokyo, Kazama Shobō, 1999), 277–82.

133 Muraoka Han’ichi, “Futsū kyōiku ni okeru ongaku” [Music in normal education], *Journal of the Educational Society of Japan* 121 (1892, October): 600.

134 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 179.

135 Uehara, “Muraoka Han’ichi no koto,” 12.

136 Erwin Bälz, *Das Leben eines deutschen Arztes im erwachsenden Japan. Tagebücher, Briefe, Berichte* [The life of a German doctor in adult Japan. Diaries, letters, reports], ed. Toku Bälz (Stuttgart: J. Engelhorn’s Nachf., 1931), 395.

Besides the function of songs for arousing collective and patriotic feelings, there was presumably another reason why the Japanese government introduced new school songs based on Western notes. According to Takechi Tetsuji, in order to practice marching, the Japanese first had to get used to a new rhythm, music composed in quadruple time, since it did not exist in traditional music.¹³⁷ Thus, new school songs in Japan, most of them consisting of quarter notes, also aimed to teach students new rhythms. However, people did not welcome the new songs and there was a saying, “school songs never leave the school.”¹³⁸ These points support my above assumption that the cabinet sent Muraoka to Europe to investigate music education there, including songs for school ceremonies.

Another possible contributor to the transfer of school ceremonies was the Association for German Science (Der Verein für deutsche Wissenschaften), one of the most important agents of “Germanization” in Japan. Its members were intellectuals and bureaucrats who had studied in Germany and were against the liberal democratic British and French political ideals. The association founded its own secondary school, Doitsugaku Kyōkai Gakkō (ドイツ学協会学校; Die Schule des Vereins für deutsche Wissenschaften), in 1883 in Tokyo, modelling it after German gymnasiums.¹³⁹ Unfortunately, only two issues of its school club magazine are available and therefore it is not clear how exactly its school ceremonies were organized. However, I assume that the members of the association were familiar with German school ceremonies, at least from the time of the presidency of Ōmura Jintarō (1863–1907). Ōmura studied in Germany from 1901 to 1903 and, according to the annual report of the Falk-Realgymnasium, he attended the school’s German language and science classes from June 23 to 28 in 1902. After returning to Japan, he became the principal of the Doitsugaku Kyōkai Gakkō.

In 1905, the Prussian Ministry of Education ordered all schools in the empire to cancel their classes on May 9 to commemorate the centennial of the death of Schiller.¹⁴⁰ The Jahresberichte of each gymnasium in Berlin show that this day and Schiller’s 150th birthday were celebrated.¹⁴¹ According to the *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Sprache* (Magazine for German language), published by the Association for

137 Takechi, *Dentō to danzetsu*, 60–66.

138 Takechi, *Dentō to danzetsu*, 60–66.

139 Shingū, *Doistugaku kyōkai gakkō no kenkyū*, 13.

140 Provinzial-Schulkollegium. III. 1434. Berlin W.9, den 20. April 1905. Der Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinalangelegenheiten. U.I. K. Nr. 26162. U. II. U. III. UIII. A.U. III. C. U. III. D. An die Herren Direktoren pp. sämtlicher uns unterstellten höheren und anderen Lehranstalten, der seminare und Präparanden-Anstalten des Bereichs. Rep. 34, Nr. 991. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

141 See, e.g., the 1906 and 1910 Jahresberichte of Askanisches Gymnasium, Friedrichs-Gymnasium, Humboldt-Gymnasium, Köllnisches Gymnasium, and Luisen Gymnasium.

German Science, its school in Tokyo also celebrated the centennial on May 9.¹⁴² About 1,000 people, including students, alumni, and guests like the German ambassador and other German-related intellectuals, gathered in the school for the ceremony. A portrait of Schiller was decorated with flowers and flags of Germany and Japan, a band played some songs like “Reiterlied” (Equestrian song; lyrics by Schiller, music by Max Fiedler), and the students read out Schiller’s poems like “Die unüberwindliche Flotte” (The unconquerable navy) and “Der Ring des Polykrates” (Polykrates’ ring), with some dramatic gestures. Subsequently, Principal Ōmura and other Japanese intellectuals delivered long speeches stressed the importance of Schiller’s works for both German and Japanese people. Calling Schiller a “great spiritual hero” (*großer Geistesheld*), Ōmura referred to the similarities between Schiller’s ideals and *bushidō*, the moral principles of the samurai.¹⁴³ According to him, both lead people to a higher view of life, namely from egoism to ethical freedom (*sittliche Freiheit*).¹⁴⁴ The ceremony closed with the German ambassador leading cheers for the Japanese emperor and Ōmura leading cheers for the German emperor.¹⁴⁵ Regarding the fact that the Schiller ceremony was celebrated both in German and Japanese schools on the same day in a similar way, we can assume that the members of the Association for German Science were familiar with German school ceremonies.

In summary, there are several facts that point to a possible connection between school ceremonies in Germany and in Japan. Japanese intellectuals showed an active and documented interest in the political rituals of European royal families, and so they would have had some awareness of their intricacies. Considering that schools often celebrated the birthday of the monarch or of royal school patrons, it is highly likely that Japanese intellectuals would have been aware of these rituals as well. Furthermore, numerous Japanese exchange students were at Berlin University at the time, and gymnasiums received Japanese guests. One of those guests, Muraoka, later contributed to the selection of official songs for political school ceremonies. In addition, the Schiller celebration at the Japanese-run secondary school of the Association for German Science showed a clear awareness of German school ceremonies. All of these points offer credence to the argument that

142 *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Sprache* 5, no. 12 (1903): 224–25.

143 The term *bushidō* came into common usage in Japan and the West after the publication of Nitobe Inazō’s *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* in 1899. For more details, see Kanno Kakumyō, *Bushidō no gyakushū* [The revenge of bushidō] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2004).

144 S. Ogasawara, “Schillerfeier in der Vereinschule” [Schiller ceremony in the association school], *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Sprache* 7, no. 10 (1905): 203.

145 Ogasawara, “Schillerfeier in der Vereinschule,” 201–7.

Japanese intellectuals at least partially modeled Japanese school ceremonies after those in Germany in order to enhance the patriotic sentiments of children.

In this case, the question arises as to why the transfer process had to be kept silent. It was likely because Japanese officials tried to orchestrate the school ceremonies as something deeply rooted in a long-standing Japanese tradition. As I mentioned, after the coup in 1881, the Japanese government started to base increasingly more of their programs and structures on Germany's. At the same time, however, the Ministry of Education officially changed its educational policy due to heavy criticisms of rapid, unquestioning Europeanization. Responding to the criticism that educational policies after the Meiji Restoration led to the rise of liberalism, public disorder, and moral decline, the government started to take educational measures based on State Shinto, which was centered on Confucianism, traditional Shinto, and the emperor.¹⁴⁶ In this context, referencing Germany could have triggered criticism rather than legitimizing its policy. School programs that aimed to educate the Japanese nation would have faced less resistance if presented as deeply rooted in Japanese traditions. Therefore, the authorities may have legitimated the ceremonies by presenting them as if they were based on State Shinto.¹⁴⁷

The assassination of the Minister of Education, Mori, indicates the difficult situation at that time. Today, Mori is generally understood as a nationalist who laid the foundation for a Confucian, nationalistic, and emperor-centered public education system. The historian Satō Hideo, however, argued that this image was constructed after his death by the young, legitimacy-seeking government in order to narrate all educational measures after the Meiji Restoration as success stories.¹⁴⁸ On the morning of February 11, 1889, on the day the new constitution was made public, Mori was assassinated by a radical right-wing youth, who claimed it was due to Mori's alleged "disrespectful behavior" (most likely a baseless rumour) at Ise Shrine. The assassination highlighted the fact that there were people within and outside the government who strongly opposed Mori's educational reforms. Indeed, many of his educational measures were amended after his death. Moreover, he was criticized by Confucian-oriented conservatives as a traitor who disregarded Shinto and hence also disrespected the emperor, not only because of his educational reforms but also by being Christian. For instance, Inoue Tetsujirō (1856–1944), a philosophy professor at Tokyo University who greatly contributed to the establishment of the em-

¹⁴⁶ Satō Hideo, *Kyōiku no bunkashi*, 1: 141–43; Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 105.

¹⁴⁷ Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 105.

¹⁴⁸ Satō Hideo, *Kyōiku no bunkashi*, 1: 226.

peror-centered educational ideology, condemned Christianity for running counter to the principles of the Imperial Rescript on Education.¹⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the Japanese government tried to portray its educational policies as a continuous series of successes. Following the story that the German victory in the Franco-Prussian War was regarded as “the victory of the Prussian Teachers” (*der Sieg des preußischen Schulmeisters*), the Japanese government declared that its educational reforms led to victory in the First Sino-Japanese War. In this narrative, Mori was depicted as a devout nationalist who was tragically misunderstood and assassinated.¹⁵⁰ Probably due to criticisms of Christianity, governmental officials never mentioned that Mori was Christian, but Christian sources like Mori’s wife and Erwin von Bälz did.¹⁵¹ As Mori himself had never clearly mentioned his beliefs and was buried in a public cemetery accepting all kinds of religious groups, it is not clear how religious he was. However, various historical studies show that he had close relationships with Christians.¹⁵² Shortly before the Meiji Restoration, Mori and some other young Japanese were secretly sent to England by his domain, Satsuma—as going overseas was forbidden in the Edo period, they used fake names and traveled to England secretly in 1865. While originally sent to learn military-relevant technology in England, Mori became interested in the basis of Western social life, namely, ethics and the inner world of people, after getting to know English society. He later moved to the US and spent almost a year in the preacher Thomas Lake Harris’s Brotherhood of the New Life in New York.¹⁵³ Since this community demanded members show unconditional obedience to Harris and deny loving one’s fatherland more than God, Mori was branded a traitor by Confucian-oriented conservatives for believing in Christianity and hence disrespecting Shinto, the emperor, and the Japanese Empire.¹⁵⁴

However, if we consider the case of Prussia, where the Protestant Church came to be identified with the German Empire, being nationalist and being Christian at the same time is not always contradictory. Some Japanese intellectuals

149 Hirata Yūji, “Kyōiku chokugo kokusai kankei-shi no kenkyū” [Research on the Imperial Rescript on Education and the history of international relations] (PhD diss., Hiroshima University, 1995), 69.

150 Satō Hideo, *Kyōiku no bunkashi*, 1: 226.

151 Fuwa Tamiyoshi, “Mori Arinori, Mori Akira, Mori Arimasa. Sandai no Kirisuto-kyō Juyōshi” [The history of three generations of Christianity acceptance: Mori Arinori, Mori Akira, and Mori Arimasa], *Language Communication Studies* 3 (2003), 55; Bälz, *Das Leben eines deutschen Arztes*, 101.

152 Fuwa, “Mori Arinori, Mori Akira, Mori Arimasa,” 55.

153 Thomas Lake Harris (1823–1906) was an Anglo-American preacher, spiritualistic prophet, and poet. His community consisted of devoted religious disciples, including Japanese.

154 Hayashi Takeji, “Mori Arinori kenkyū daini Mori Arinori to Kirisuto-kyō,” *Kenkyū nenpō* 16 (1968): 155.

were indeed very aware of the entanglement of Christianity with Western civilization and they believed it impossible to exclude Christianity from the process of Japanese nation-state building.¹⁵⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 1, between 1871 and 1873, the Iwakura Mission was conducted by leading Meiji statesmen and scholars. Besides amending Japan's unequal treaties, one of the mission's important aims was to study modern industrial, political, military, and educational systems in the US and Europe. During a dinner with Bismarck in Berlin, the delegates found an alternative and achievable model of modernization for Japan.¹⁵⁶

Kume Kunitake, a government official tasked with investigating Christianity, was very impressed by the religion's practical functions. Kume wrote in his report after the Iwakura Mission, "Respecting God is the base of diligence, good behaviors are the base of a safe society, and these two are the base of a rich and strong nation-state," and emphasized that Christianity sustained Western civilization.¹⁵⁷ He himself regarded the Christian doctrine as unreasonable and refutable, as its premise is the belief in a voice from heaven and the resurrection of a man.¹⁵⁸ However, he valued the fact that all people in Western countries, including the aristocracy, the poor, and even children read the Bible to improve their moral behavior. On the contrary, Kume criticized the situation in Japan, where only a few people could read and understand the scriptures of Confucianism and Buddhism. He emphasized that one should judge a religion not from its doctrine, but from its practices.¹⁵⁹ After comparing Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism, Kume concluded that Protestantism was the religion on which developed countries like the US and Germany relied.¹⁶⁰ According to Kume, based on this religion, people live a moral life, study diligently and cooperate with each other.¹⁶¹

Indeed, not only Christians but also some non-Christian intellectuals claimed in the middle of the 1880s that Japan had to choose Christianity as its state religion.¹⁶² As mentioned in Chapter 1, Meiji intellectuals argued that Japan should Westernize its religion. Two German intellectuals, Lorenz von Stein and Rudolf von Gneist, however, whom the Japanese government engaged to draft a modern

155 Yamaguchi, "Religion and the State," 50, 65.

156 Hoi-eun Kim, "Made in Meiji Japan. German Expatriates, German-Educated Japanese Elites and the Construction of Germanness," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 41 (2015): 303–5.

157 Kume, *Tokumei zenkentaishi Ōbei kairan jikki* [Report of the Iwakura Mission: Observations of the West], vol.1 (Tokyo: Hakubunsha, 1878), 360.

158 Sugii Rokurō, "Tokumei zenkentaishi Ōbei kanran jikki to kirisuto-kyō" [The report of the Iwakura Mission and Christianity], *Shakai kagaku* 34 (1984): 10–11.

159 Ishizuki "Iwakura-shisetsudan no seiyo kyōiku shisatsu," 9.

160 Sugii, "Tokumei zenkentaishi," 12.

161 Kume, *Tokumei zenkentaishi*, 360.

162 Yamaguchi, "Religion and the State," 40.

constitution for Japan, suggested the establishment of Shinto or Buddhism as the state religion for state ceremonies, since the legal system of one country is not separable from its historical context.¹⁶³ Eventually, State Shinto was chosen to occupy a special status similar to Protestantism in the German Empire. All other religious teachings were forbidden in schools, but State Shinto was not treated as a religion per se. If we recall that Kume valued the practices of Christianity and emphasized that one should judge a religion not by its doctrine but by its practices, it does not seem contradictory even if Japan used German school ceremonies that were similar to Protestant rituals as a blueprint for their school ceremonies, while forbidding the teaching of the Christian doctrine in schools.

It should be also mentioned that the heavy criticisms of rapid Westernization did not result in the exclusion of everything from Western countries. For example, the Second Elementary School Ordinance (第二次小学校令 *Dainiji Shōgakkōrei*), which was issued in 1890 after Mori's death, was still strongly based on a German school law (*Volksschulgesetz*) of Sachsen Meiningen.¹⁶⁴ Another example could be the *bankara* culture, which represented roughness and barbarism, as a counterculture to *haikara*, a vogue term from the end of the nineteenth century, which described the Western lifestyle and things, and people who copied the West.¹⁶⁵ In the *bankara* culture, students intentionally wore worn-out school uniforms and behaved roughly. By being careless about what they wore, while still diligently studying, these students expressed their antithesis to the superficial *haikara* culture. Although this was a kind of resistance to authority, students did not give up their Western uniforms, which represented their social status as “civilized” elite male students with a bright future in a symbolic way.

Interestingly, Germany itself was described as *bankara* by, for example, Kobayashi Terurō, who had studied in Berlin, in his book *Ōbei kyōiku no inshō* (Impressions of European and North American education). From 1911 Kobayashi visited England, Germany, France, and the US in order to study educational and social sciences. During his time in Paris, he also visited battlefields of the Franco-Prussian War like Sedan and Metz to pay respect to the fallen soldiers and to

163 Yamaguchi Teruomi, *Meiji kokka to shūkyō* [Religion and the Meiji state] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1999), 58–60.

164 Satō Hideo, *Kyōiku no bunkashi*, 1: 233.

165 Note that the term *haikara* has various meanings. For instance, Ethel Howard, who worked as a tutor in Japan from 1901 to 1908, translated *haikara* girls as “madcaps” and *haikara* men as boring and lazy men who lack a sense of duty. Howard, *Meiji Nihon kenbunroku* [Travels in Meiji Japan], trans. Hisanaga Shimazu (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2004), 56.

study German and French national feelings.¹⁶⁶ Kobayashi described Germans as being close to his ideal.

The English and the French tend to criticize the Germans as barbaric, rough, and vulgar. However, they somehow have good points like bravery and simplicity . . . I would like to say that one should be civilized but not become haikara, one should not be barbaric but be bankara. I think that Germans and Germany are relatively close to this ideal. Namely, Germans are very much bankara, but they are surprisingly enthusiastic about scientific research and its application . . . Many people criticize Germany as bureaucratic or militaristic but, look, nowadays science and philosophy are flourishing in Germany, its music and arts are standing out among civilized Western countries, and as we see in the recent war, its people are brave and its army is powerful . . . Practically speaking, I would like to lead our nation-state and our society not in a British or French manner but in a German manner . . . I ask you to encourage your children to live a simple life, make them accustomed to being plainly dressed. It is all right for children to become a little bit bankara, but discipline them not to become showy.¹⁶⁷

Some German intellectuals at the time also tried to establish their national identity by distancing themselves from other Western European thought and senses at that time. Werner Sombart argued in 1915 that “German thoughts and senses manifest themselves through rejection of what people from afar perceive to be English or West European.”¹⁶⁸ If we assume that at least some Japanese saw the disciplined German lifestyle or, more specifically, the disciplined Prussian society, as the counterculture to the so-called “Western” culture, it is possible for Germany to be referenced as a model even if there was heavy criticism of rapid Westernization.

Orchestrating new ceremonies as tradition

In the preceding section, I argued that the Japanese authorities may have borrowed the framework of Prussian school ceremonies as a blueprint, but orchestrated them as something rooted in Japanese tradition. Here, I explore the question of how new ceremonies were constructed in what Hobsbawm called the “invention of tradition,” that is, not invented from nothing but old practices repurposed under new conditions, such as for building a nation-state.¹⁶⁹ Hobsbawm also stressed the

¹⁶⁶ Kobayashi Terurō, *Ōbei kyōiku no inshō*, 7–8.

¹⁶⁷ Kobayashi, *Ōbei kyōiku no inshō*, 195–97.

¹⁶⁸ Werner Sombart, *Händler und Helden. Patriotische Gesinnungen* [Merchants and heroes: Patriotic sentiments] (Munich: Dunker und Humboldt, Leipzig, 1915), 55.

¹⁶⁹ Hobsbawm, “Introduction,” 6.

importance of history in legitimizing certain actions and cementing group cohesion.¹⁷⁰ Just as German schools borrowed Christian ritual practices for their school ceremonies, Japanese schools also borrowed traditional (Shinto or Confucian) ritual practices for their modern school ceremonies.

Before modernization, students and teachers of *terakoya*, privately run schools for reading and writing, regularly prayed to Tenjin (天神), the God of Wisdom, who was originally Sugawara Michizane (845–903), a famous scholar, poet, and politician of the Heian period (794–1185). The Tenjinkō (天神講), the ritual admiring Tenjin, dates back to the thirteenth century and was celebrated in shrines and temples throughout Japan until the Meiji era.¹⁷¹ The program of the ritual was not standardized, but schools generally celebrated Tenjin in the following way. Every month or every year, students and teachers decorated a sculpture, a picture, or a calligraphy of Tenjin, depending on what they owned. Wearing formal dress, they offered rice wine, sweets, rice cakes, and fruits to Tenjin and then recited a sutra associated with him. Teachers told the story of the god and encouraged students to study hard. After eating together, they visited a shrine or a temple, if the school was not located within one.¹⁷² According to the educational scientist and historian Takahashi Shunjō, the Tenjin ritual at the *terakoya* is a prototype of various modern school ceremonies.¹⁷³

Conversely, Ishizuki argued that the prototype of modern school rituals was the Sekiten (積奠) ritual, a ceremony that dated back to the eighth century.¹⁷⁴ They were held in *hankō* (藩校), domain schools for male students from samurai families, where students and teachers celebrated Confucius. The basic components were similar to those of the *terakoya* Tenjin rituals, but the Sekiten ritual was more formal and disciplined, and less festive, as it aimed to instill students with the appropriate discipline and manners of samurai.¹⁷⁵ These rituals continued until at least the mid-1880s. For example, an elementary school in Kyoto started its semester by bowing to images of Tenjin and Confucius.¹⁷⁶ From 1885, these rituals were gradually replaced by modern school ceremonies. Similar to the gymnasiums in the German Empire, political school ceremonies in Meiji

170 Hobsbawm, “Introduction,” 12.

171 Takahashi Shunjō, *Terakoya no Tenjinkō o kataru* [The Tenjin ritual of *terakoya* writing schools] (Osaka: Osaka Tenmangū, 1938), 2, 6.

172 Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 45–48.

173 Takahashi Shunjō, *Terakoya no Tenjinkō*, 9–12; Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 47.

174 Ishizuki Minoru, *Kyōiku no hikakubunka-shi* [Comparative cultural studies of education] (Tokyo: Tamagawa University Press, 1995), 40.

175 Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 49–53; Ishizuki, *Kyōiku no hikakubunka-shi*, 40–41.

176 Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 77.

Japan, which were supposed to be modern secular events in a secular institution, were also intertwined with religious practices. As “prayer” was replaced by “patriotic poetry” in Prussian school ceremonies, the Buddhist and Confucian texts were replaced by the Imperial Rescript on Education in Japanese school ceremonies. Furthermore, the paintings of Tenjin and Confucius were replaced by the Imperial Portrait. In this way, the new ceremonies would have seemed less alien to people, as old familiar forms were filled with new content.

One of the important differences between the old and new Japanese school ceremonies is the Imperial Portrait, which played a more significant role than portraits of Confucius and Tenjin. It was also more prominent than the German emperor’s portrait, which was on the list of school materials in the German Empire.¹⁷⁷ In the 1850s, the government ordered that, if possible, schools should display the portrait of the Prussian king and celebrate his birthday,¹⁷⁸ but a detailed reading of the *Jahresberichte* of various schools does not allow one to reasonably conclude that this portrait played a significant role in their rituals. In 1878, after celebrating the return of the emperor, the Leibniz-Gymnasium distributed photos of him, according to its *Jahresbericht*, but this differed from ceremonies in Japan in which all participants bowed to the portrait. Some gymnasiums reported that busts and portraits of the emperor were decorated with laurels on his birthday and the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the German Empire.¹⁷⁹ However, besides the portrait and statue of the emperor, the statues of other important figures, such as Friedrich the Great, Bismarck, Moltke, Goethe, and Schiller, were also decorated on memorial days.¹⁸⁰ Probably because the empire was founded after the Franco-Prussian War, the visual materials provided to schools by the authorities focused more on the war and the empire’s new territory rather than on the emperor himself. In Japan, the Imperial Portrait was placed at the center of school ceremonies and combined with special demonstrations of etiquette toward the portrait in order to make clear to whom the evoked feelings should be oriented. As the empire was not founded on a military victory but on the constructed

177 Walther Vorbrodth and Karl Hermann, *Handwörterbuch des gesamten Schulrechts und der Schul- und Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preußen* [Dictionary of all school laws and the school and teaching administration in Prussia] (Linden: Quelle & Meyer, 1930), 313.

178 Schellack, “Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste,” 287.

179 See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Friedrichs-Gymnasium, 1888; Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, 1896; Humboldt-Gymnasium, 1887; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1888; Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1869, 1870, 1871; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1888; Luisen Gymnasium, 1898–1900; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1896; Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1878, 1897.

180 See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Humboldt-Gymnasium, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1896; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1897.

myth that all people are unified under the emperor, it was important to make him visible as the new leader of the nation-state.

Japanese authorities prudently regulated the circulation and handling of Imperial Portraits. For instance, the emperor never appeared on bills or coins. According to art critic and philosopher Taki Kōji, the Meiji government believed that an object could gain different social values and meanings depending on how it was handled, so it strongly controlled the distribution, use, and ownership of photos of the emperor.¹⁸¹ Only certain people who belonged to an institution that owned an Imperial Portrait were allowed to view it. From 1873, they were given to foreign dignitaries and represented the independence of the nation-state.¹⁸² In addition, Imperial Portraits were given to all prefectural government offices, where officials and locals started to organize ceremonies that included bowing to the portrait.¹⁸³ From 1874, the Meiji government started to honor some public schools strongly related to the imperial family with an Imperial Portrait, and from 1887, it became possible for normal public secondary schools and other higher educational institutions to possess one.¹⁸⁴

Receiving the Imperial Portrait was itself an important school ceremony. All students and teachers greeted the portrait in front of the school gate and subsequently held a ceremony for it. By applying for the Imperial Portrait, the political structure became more visible for each school and probably even for the students, since applications were first sent to the prefecture, and then to the Ministry of Education before arriving at the Imperial Household Agency.¹⁸⁵ Through this process, the Meiji government aimed to make the emperor the symbolic and spiritual core for all Japanese, regardless of social class or religion.¹⁸⁶ According to Nishimura Shigeki, a famous educator in Meiji Japan, this was similar to Western governments, which worshipped God and clarified to whom people should devote themselves in order to secure the foundation of nation-states.¹⁸⁷ The process of applying for the Imperial Portrait seems to have also contributed to the fabrication of patriotism from “below.” Mori believed that the government should not force schools to organize ceremonies through regulations, since such ceremonies

181 Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 91–92.

182 Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 101.

183 Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 108–10.

184 Ono, “Gakkō shitatsuke ‘goshin-ei’ no fukyū katei,” 59.

185 Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 179, 183.

186 Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 179, 193, 197.

187 Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 197.

would only be effective if schools voluntarily organized them.¹⁸⁸ This opinion recalls that of Wilhelm I, who, despite a number of petitions, refused to set the Day of Sedan as an official national holiday, as he thought such ceremonies should be driven “freely” by the people’s “own incentive” (*aus freien Antriebe*).¹⁸⁹ In 1930s Japan, it became a de facto obligation for schools to own the Imperial Portrait, but the Ministry of Education did not just send the portraits but compelled schools to “apply” for it.¹⁹⁰

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I explored political school ceremonies in the German Empire and Meiji Japan as an important framework for marching activities. In both countries, new school ceremonies were what Hobsbawm describes as an “invented tradition,” grafted on traditional and conventional practices or devised by borrowing from other rituals.¹⁹¹ Because of this, the new ceremonies were not perceived as something completely new and alien but were regarded to some extent as something traditional and “natural.” In Germany, the school ceremonies contained practices from Christian (German Protestant) rituals, whereas in Japan, I argued that the authorities may have borrowed the framework of German school rituals to create a solemn ceremony presented as being deeply rooted in traditional Shinto and Confucian practices.

Regarding the connection between political ceremonies and physical activities like marching, there was a difference between Germany and Japan. In gymnasiums in Berlin, the nation-state, physical activities, and political ceremonies had already become intertwined from the mid-nineteenth century. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, with the introduction of compulsory military service, the moving body became part of a state education program. Turnen, developed by gymnastics educator and nationalist Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, was linked to German nationalistic ideas from the beginning. Besides gymnastics classes, the school ceremonies, especially the Day of Sedan, provided a space for physical training and shared experiences. Students enacted historical events and embodied the ideal of the nation-state. They

188 Satō, *Kyōiku no bunkashi*, 1: 254; see also Yamamoto and Konno, *Kindai kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogī*, 71–4.

189 Leppien, “Marinemalerei zu Kaisers Zeiten,” 214.

190 As a result, there were schools like the Kaisei Secondary School, which had never possessed the Imperial Portrait. Its school reports never mentioned the portrait, and a 1930s document that was archived in the school also said it did not possess the imperial portrait.

191 Hobsbawm, “Introduction,” 6.

sang, played, marched together, and presented the results of their Turnen classes. It is important to emphasize here that these activities were implemented as part of a school program. Schools took on the role of training students for collective performances and preparing a space where the social reality, the new German Empire, were expressed, performed, and constructed. It was a space where students' bodies were connected to political symbols, words, and emotions.

As collective movements often evoked a sense of togetherness, I would argue that schools also laid a foundation for a so-called “patriotic feeling.” The German sports sociologist Thomas Alkemeyer also argues that complex human societies cannot maintain themselves for long without such feelings of belonging created by collective movements. Social affiliation can be experienced through collective movements and through the resonance created by them, and through the concrete experience an abstract form of sociality can be built.¹⁹² Against the backdrop of celebrations and anniversaries of national and historical significance, school ceremonies were accompanied by various collective experiences: students went on excursions, took part in a sports festival, performed plays, and demonstrated gymnastics together. All these shared experiences, bodily actions, and bodily presence may have contributed to the emergence of a sense of belonging among students, which was first and foremost a feeling of belonging to their classroom or school. Upon such a sense of belonging, however, a more abstract idea can be constructed, such as a feeling of belonging to the nation-state.¹⁹³

In Japan, Mori, who was also convinced that these feelings of belonging could be linked, introduced school ceremonies to arouse patriotic feelings among children. However, the nation-state, students' physical activities, and patriotic ceremonies were not strongly connected in the Meiji era. As I showed before, secondary school students visited military maneuvers on the Emperor's Birthday and associated the precise movements of soldiers with the unity and strength of the empire. Yet, students' bodies themselves seem not to have been strongly associated with the idea of nation-state. Although schools had been encouraged to organize sports events on political holidays in the Meiji era, students' physical activities became strongly connected to the nation-state from the 1920s. In order to respect the “virtue” of the late Emperor Meiji and to rouse national spirit among the people, a number of sports festivals were organized around his birthday.

In the next chapter, I will explore political ceremonies and physical activities after the Second World War. During the First World War, there was less exchange

192 Alkemeyer, “Verkörperte Gemeinschaftlichkeit,” 339–41; see also McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*, 152.

193 Alkemeyer, “Verkörperte Gemeinschaftlichkeit,” 343.

between Japan and Germany, as they were politically on different sides. After the war, however, especially in the 1930s, the exchanges were renewed and became frequent. In both countries, the relationship between students' physical activities, especially marching, and political ceremonies were more strongly emphasized in order to intertwine the national and individual consciousness.

Chapter 4

A Physical Revival of the Nation? Marching Exercises and School Ceremonies after the First World War

In the second and third chapters, I discussed marching exercises and school ceremonies in Germany and Japan from the late nineteenth century until the First World War. During this period, marching exercises were encouraged and marching soldiers were regarded as the symbol of the strong, unified nation-state, but large-scale political events did not involve school ceremonies or center youth bodies. This changed after the First World War, especially from the 1930s. In this chapter, I will explore marching exercises and political ceremonies in Weimar Germany (1919–1933) and Nazi Germany (1933–1945), followed by those in Japan during the Taishō (1912–1926) and Shōwa (1926–1989) eras.¹ The Weimar Republic and Taishō Japan are today generally regarded as liberal and democratic eras, which seems to contrast strikingly with the radical nationalistic eras that followed them. As I will show, however, in terms of physical education and political school ceremonies, one can observe a certain continuity before and after the First World War. Marching exercises and school ceremonies were not invented in the 1930s for the first time; rather, the existing school practices were implemented in a more radical way under the totalitarian regimes.

4.1 Continuity and Discontinuity in the Weimar Republic (1919–1933)

While political school ceremonies introduced in the late nineteenth century remained basically unchanged until the end of the Second World War in Japan, the Day of Sedan and the Emperor's Birthday disappeared with the collapse of the German Empire. At the end of the First World War, Germany's defeat and widespread discontent triggered the November Revolution (1918–1919), which overthrew the monarchy and established the democratic, parliamentary Weimar Republic. In the 14 years of its existence, the Weimar Republic faced numerous problems such as hyperinflation, political extremism, and contentious relation-

¹ The Shōwa era continued until 1989, but following my research framework, in this chapter, I will only explore school ceremonies until 1945.

ships with the victors of the First World War. Yet the 1920s also saw a remarkable cultural renaissance in Germany. German literature, cinema, theater, music, and new types of architecture like Bauhaus flourished.

In the field of education, several reforms were implemented, though the administrative elites of the German Empire continued to hold prominent positions in the Weimar Republic.² The Weimar Constitution of 1919 stated that education was the responsibility of the central government of the state, not regional governments (Article 144), and it stipulated the period of compulsory education, in principle, as at least eight years of elementary education and secondary education until the age of 18 (Article 145). In general, the accessibility of education increased in the Weimar Republic. Based on Article 146 of this new constitution, the government stipulated that all children, regardless of financial situation or social status, should be able to access elementary education, which led to the abolition of *Vorschule*, that is, elementary schools affiliated with gymnasiums. For instance, based on statistics compiled by educational historian Gert Gießler, in the 1921–1922 school year, approximately 77,000 children attended a *Vorschule*, but by the 1931–1932 school year this number had decreased to 11,000.³ Instead, the number of children who attended a *Volkschule* increased.

Moreover, the number and types of secondary schools (e.g., *Realgymnasium*, *Oberrealschule*, and *Oberlyzeum*, as mentioned in Chapter 1) that provided pathways to university, and correspondingly the number of students, had started to increase in the last decade of the empire and continued to do so during the 1920s.⁴ The guidelines for secondary schools issued in 1925 (*Richtlinien für Lehrpläne der höheren Schulen Preußens*) gave schools and teachers more freedom to shape their own classes.⁵

Nevertheless, inequality of education continued to be based on gender and social class. All gymnasiums, even the new types, were still only open to male elites, and in the 1921–1922 school year, only 7.9% of all students attended gymnasiums.⁶ At the beginning of the 1920s, boys whose fathers were public officials or

2 Herrlitz, Hopf, and Titze, *Deutsche Schulgeschichte*, 141.

3 Gießler, *Schulgeschichte in Deutschland. Von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart* [History of schools in Germany. From the beginnings to the present] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), 511.

4 Bernd Zymek, “Schulen, Hochschulen, Lehrer” [Schools, universities, teachers], in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte* [Handbook of German educational history], Vol. 5, 1918–1945. *Die Weimarer Republik und die nationalsozialistische Diktatur* [1918–1945. The Weimar Republic and the National Socialist dictatorship], ed. Dieter Langewiesche and Heinz-Elmar Tenorth (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1989), 171; Gießler, *Schulgeschichte in Deutschland*, 452.

5 Gießler, *Schulgeschichte in Deutschland*, 438.

6 Gießler, *Schulgeschichte in Deutschland*, 518–520.

company owners still formed the majority of gymnasium students.⁷ Furthermore, about 75% of students who passed the Abitur exam, which entitled them to apply for university, were graduates of the traditional humanistic gymnasiums.⁸

Physical education and sports festivals

Regarding physical education, historical sources show a certain degree of continuity between the German Empire and the Weimar Republic. For example, as discussed in Chapter 2, the German Empire had appointed soldiers who were no longer able to serve at the front to take over the role of Turnen teachers who had gone to battle. They became known as *Kriegsturnlehrer* (literally, “war gymnastics teacher”). After the First World War, the government ordered the Provincial School Council not to dismiss these *Kriegsturnlehrer*, as it aimed to continue supporting those who had been afflicted by the war and encouraging their reintegration into society.⁹ Furthermore, physical education was even more promoted and encouraged, as supported by experts such as the aforementioned Edmund Neuen-dorff, who argued that the war had left Germans malnourished, physically unfit, and generally unhealthy.¹⁰

The horrendous number of soldiers who were left with life-altering injuries probably urged German people to pursue an ideal of “healthy,” “perfect,” and “beautiful” bodies. Some intellectuals believed the “war-disabled bodies” (*Kriegsbeschädigten*) to symbolize the state of the national body, and they saw this pursuit of the ideal body as the rehabilitation and perfection of the nation-state.¹¹ About 70,000 servicemen suffered from war injuries, and even soldiers who had not lost limbs had to deal with shaking, paralysis, or other physical challenges due to their war experiences.¹² Inge Bexmann argues that pictures of these soldiers’ bodies amplified the real and symbolic injuries of the nation.¹³ To overcome

7 Gießler, *Schulgeschichte in Deutschland*, 518–520.

8 Gießler, *Schulgeschichte in Deutschland*, 518–520.

9 Magistrat. 209 Krch. II/20. An das Provinzial-Schulkollegium. Berlin, C.2. 26. Januar 1920. Rep. 34, Nr. 659, 186. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

10 Neuen-dorff, *Volk in Not* [People in need] (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1921), 1, 8–9.

11 Konrad Hartmann, as cited in Sabine Kienitz, “Schöner gehen? Zur technischen Optimierung des kriegsinvaliden Körpers im frühen 20. Jahrhundert” [Walking more beautifully? On the technical optimization of the war-disabled body in the early 20th century], *Body Politics* 3, no. 6 (2015): 235, 253.

12 Kienitz, “Schöner gehen?,” 247–48.

13 Bexmann, *Mythos: Gemeinschaft. Körper- und Tanzkulturen in der Moderne* [Myth: Community. Body and dance cultures in the modern age] (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2000), 181–84.

this situation, physical training was encouraged for all people. Soldiers whose legs had been amputated had to undergo walking exercises as a part of the rehabilitation processes, and they were required not to use crutches but to walk with prosthetics as “normally,” “beautifully,” and “naturally” as possible.¹⁴ The exercises were intended not only for physical training but also to help with their mental health and re-employment.¹⁵ According to historian Noyan Dinçkal, sports, including physical exercise, was linked to debates about a “human economy” throughout the Weimar Republic—especially in the aftermath of the First World War, it was interpreted as a kind of work, whose goal was to improve the mental and physical performance of workers in the interest of efficiency, job performance, and the national economy.¹⁶

Parents associations of secondary schools also issued demands for the promotion of physical education to the Provincial School Council. On one hand, there was an urgent need to tackle the health problem of youths caused by the war and by malnourishment. On the other hand, the abolition of compulsory military service and military training was a serious concern for the parents associations. Article 173 of the Versailles Treaty abolished compulsory military service and the Article 177 forbade military training of all kinds in institutions and associations in Germany.¹⁷ The parents associations argued that through compulsory military service and military training, Germans acquired order, punctuality, loyalty, obedience, patriotism, and manliness, and they were the foundation of the inner and outer power of Germany.¹⁸

In 1920, after the national School Conference in Berlin, sports game afternoons (*Spielnachmittag*) became compulsory and a monthly hike (*Wanderung*) was encouraged.¹⁹ Furthermore, secondary schools started to introduce Turnen

¹⁴ Franz Kirchberg, as cited in Kienitz, “Schöner gehen?,” 248.

¹⁵ Kienitz, “Schöner gehen?,” 248.

¹⁶ Dinçkal, “Sport ist die körperliche und seelische Selbsthygiene des arbeitenden Volkes: Arbeit, Leibesübungen und Rationalisierungskultur in der Weimarer Republik” [Sport is the physical and mental self-hygiene of the working people: Work, physical exercise, and rationalization culture in the Weimar Republic], *Body Politics* 1, no. 1 (2013): 71.

¹⁷ Eric Beyer, “Sport in der Weimarer Republik” [Sport in the Weimar Republic], in *Leibesübungen und Sport in Deutschland vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart* [Physical exercise and sport in Germany from WWI to the present], vol. 3, part 2 of *Geschichte der Leibesübungen* [History of physical exercise], ed. Horst Ueberhorst (Berlin: Bartels und Wernitz, 1982), 689.

¹⁸ Freie Arbeitsgemeinschaft von Elternbeiräten an höheren deutschen Schulen. An das Provinzialschulkollegium. 23. Mai 1921. Rep. 34, Nr. 665. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

¹⁹ Stefan Größing, “Pädagogische Reformen vor und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg und ihr Einfluß auf Leibeserziehung und Schulsport” [Educational reforms before and after the First World War

examinations as a part of their graduation exam.²⁰ For instance, the Wilhelms Gymnasium and the Askanisches Gymnasium started their Turnen examinations from 1921, according to their 1922 Jahresberichte. The Prussian Ministry of Science, Art, and Education (Preußische Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung) did not issue detailed guidelines for the exam, but in a directive to the Provincial School Council in October 1921, it encouraged schools to follow its 1918 teaching plan for Turnen classes and to examine all parts of Schulturnen, including marching, gymnastics, apparatus gymnastics, light athletics, and sports games.²¹ Thus, the long-existing aim of Schulturnen, namely reviving the spiritual and physical power of German youth, continued to be emphasized, even after the empire's defeat in the First World War. This is also evident in the new Prussian teaching plan issued in 1925 (*Richtlinien für die Lehrpläne der höheren Schulen Preußens*).²² Therefore, the international New Education movement, which is generally regarded to have changed the concept of physical education in Germany, namely from Spieß's stiff Schulturnen to the child-centered "natural" Turnen, was not consistent across all regions during this period.

Sports festivals were still held in the Weimar Republic, and the government even introduced new ones to promote the physical development of youths. For instance, the German National Committee for Physical Exercises (Der Deutsche Reichsausschuß für Leibesübungen) started to organize National Youth Competitions (Reichsjugendwettkämpfe) in 1924, in which approximately 520,000 youths participated.²³ This competition aimed to measure the physical performance of all German youths.²⁴ Youths in the age group between 11 and 18 were able to join the competition, which consisted of events such as running, jumping (high and

and their influence on physical education and school sports], in Ueberhorst, *Leibesübungen und Sport in Deutschland vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart*, 650.

20 Größing, "Pädagogische Reformen," 650.

21 Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. UIIB 11353 UII, UII W. 1. Berlin W8, 4. Oktober 1921. Rep. 34, Nr. 660, 130. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

22 Größing "Pädagogische Reformen," 651, 655.

23 According to information from the Ministry of Science, Art, and Education to the Provincial School Council, in the following years, the number of youths who participated in the competition was approximately 625,000 in 1925, 735,000 in 1926, and 972,000 in 1928. Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, U VI Nr. 531, U II, U III C. Auf den Bericht vom 4. März 1927—II b 7 Nr. 6976/26—. An die Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen. Berlin W8 28. April 1927. Rep. 34, Nr. 679, 109. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv; Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. Nr. 665, 1 U II U III A. Betrifft: Reichsjugendwettkämpfe. An die Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen. Berlin W8 21. April 1929. Rep. 34, Nr. 680, 80. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

24 Carl Diem, ed., *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen für Volks- und Jugendspiele* [Yearbook of physical education for folk and youth games], vol. 37 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1930), 311.

long), throwing, swimming, and the parallel and horizontal bars. Individual physical performance was measured, and 0 to 20 points were given for each event. Participants who collected more than 40 points in total were called winners (*Sieger*), and the top 10% received certificates issued by the president of the Weimar Republic.²⁵ The following year, the committee also introduced the National Youth Badge (*Reichsjugendabzeichen*) for youths under 18 years of age who had passed five different sports examinations within 12 months.²⁶

The competitions were organized by schools and/or Turnen associations. In most parts of Germany, including Berlin, they were organized as school events.²⁷ For instance, the Leibniz-Gymnasium organized the National Youth Competition in Turnen classes and measured students' physical performance. Its 1930 *Jahresbericht* reported that 18 students in total received certifications. However, as participation was not compulsory, very few students participated in such competitions. For instance, in 1924, only 28 students participated in a similar competition in Berlin and 19 of them were regarded as winners, while in Lichtenberg 476 students participated in the sports competition and 275 of them regarded as winners.²⁸ From 1929, on the 10th anniversary of the Weimar Constitution, the Minister of Science, Art, and Education encouraged schools to combine this sports competition and Constitution Day.²⁹ In other words, schools were expected to organize sports competitions around August 11, hoist the national flag, and celebrate the Weimar Constitution in a ceremony.³⁰

In Berlin, however, there were several other sports festivals in addition to the National Youth Competition:

- The Autumn Festival (*Herbstfest*) for secondary schools,³¹ one of the biggest sports festivals, was held in the beginning of September and organized by the

25 Diem, *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen*, vol. 37, 311–16.

26 At first it only targeted young men, but from 1928 it also involved young women. Diem, *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen*, vol. 37, 327–30.

27 Carl Diem, ed., *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen für Volks- und Jugendspiele*, vol. 35 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1928), 160.

28 Carl Diem, ed., *Jahrbuch der Leibesübungen für Volks- und Jugendspiele*, vol. 32 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925), 82. Lichtenberg was a village that became a borough of Berlin in 1920 due to the Greater Berlin Act.

29 Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. U VI Nr. 665, U II, U III A. Betrifft: Reichsjugendwettkämpfe. An die Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen. Berlin W8 21. April 1929, Rep. 34, Nr. 680, 80. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

30 Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. U VI Nr. 793, U II, U III A.1. Betrifft: Reichsjugendwettkämpfe. An die Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen. Berlin W8 18. Mai 1930, Rep. 34, Nr. 680, 164. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

31 See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Askantisches Gymnasium, 1928; Friedrichs-Gymnasium, 1927; Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1927; Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1925, 1929; Humboldt-

Turnen Teachers Association in Berlin. In 1928, at least 91 schools participated in this festival, which featured a mass gymnastics performance by 3,500 students.³²

- From 1923, the Berlin Turnen and Sports Week (Berliner Turn- und Sportswoche) was held annually in June.³³
- On the annual Day of Schools (Tag der Schule), classes were canceled and students marched to their local sportsground for a competition.³⁴
- The Bismarck Games, which had started in 1896, continued to be held even after the First World War.³⁵
- Secondary schools in the west part of Berlin organized a joint sports festival (Turn und Spiel Fest) every two years. When it first started in 1909, it aimed to celebrate the Day of Sedan, but after the First World War the sports festival was held biennially without mentioning the Day of Sedan.³⁶
- From 1912, another festival was organized by the Turnen Teachers Association and the city of Berlin in autumn on the sportsground in Treptow Park.

Thus, in the Weimar era, Berlin was filled with joint students' sports festivals. While some ignored their political origins and existed merely as sports festivals, the new political holiday, Constitution Day, was also celebrated at these festivals. In the following section, I will more closely examine Constitution Day and how the new political ceremonies included physical activities such as marching.

Gymnasium, 1927; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1925, 1928, 1929, 1930; Luisen Gymnasium, 1927; Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, 1927, 1929; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1925, 1932.

³² "Der Aufmarsch der Berliner Schuljugend," *Vossische Zeitung*, August 29, 1928. Nr. 400, Rep. 34, Nr. 680, 38. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

³³ "Berliner Turn- und Sportswoche," Berlin, May 12, 1925, Veranstalter: Oberbürgermeister Böß, Nr. 72. Rep 34, Nr. 678, Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

³⁴ See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1929; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1925; Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, 1928, 1929; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1925.

³⁵ See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Askanisches Gymnasium, 1922; Französisches Gymnasium, 1922; Friedrichs-Gymnasium, 1929; Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1927; Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1929; Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, 1927, 1931; Humboldt-Gymnasium, 1929; Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1931; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1925, 1927; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1933; Luisen Gymnasium, 1927, 1933; Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, 1927, 1928; Momsen Gymnasium, 1922; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1925, 1933.

³⁶ See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Wilhelms Gymnasium, 1910, 1912, 1914.

Constitution Day as a new school ceremony

In the Weimar Republic, ceremonies related to the German Empire were forbidden. After the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, the Ministry of the Interior declared that no further celebrations should take place on the Day of Sedan. The Provincial School Council also forbade this celebration in 1919, though some schools and students resisted this.³⁷ For instance, students of the Städtische Realgymnasium in Potsdam skipped their classes, sang patriotic songs, and marched to the nearby Friedrich Wilhelm Memorial unaccompanied by their teachers.³⁸

On August 26, 1921, the Reich Minister of Finance, Matthias Erzberger, who had signed the armistice between Germany and the Allies, was assassinated by a right-wing terrorist group. Three days after the assassination, the city of Berlin asked the Provincial School Council to forbid excursions on the Day of Sedan since parents feared that agitation evoked by the assassination could endanger their children.³⁹ Subsequently, on September 2, the council ordered schools to hold classes as usual and forbade not only the Sedan ceremony but also other extracurricular activities like excursions.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the Ministry of Science, Art, and Education forbade school events relating to members of the Hohenzollern royal family. Taking part in their funerals was also forbidden, unless the deceased was a benefactor of the school, for example.⁴¹ However, some were still dissatisfied with these measures. For instance, a socialist parents' association criticized all school events regarding the royal family as they could be used as propaganda for the monarchy and asked the council to strongly forbid any kind of school activities related to royalty.⁴² The ministry also ordered schools to remove all portraits and busts of the royal family from school rooms in 1920.⁴³ This pro-

37 Provinzial-Schulkollegium Nr. I 3086. Berlin, den 30. August 1919. Staatstelegramm. An sämtliche Lehranstalten des Amtsbereichs. Rep.34, Nr. 922. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

38 "Potsdamer Schülerstreik am Sedantag," *Brandenburger Zeitung*, September 2, 1919. Nr 198, Rep. 34, 922. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

39 Städtische Schuldeputation Nr.795, Sch.I.gen.21. Berlin, den 29. August 1921. A 2899./21 An das Provinzial-Schulkollegium. Rep. 34, Nr. 993. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

40 Provinzial-Schulkollegium A. Nr. 3001. Berlin, den 30. August 1921. An die Leiter und Leiterinnen sämtlicher uns unterstehenden Bildungsanstalten im Amtsbereich. Rep. 34, Nr. 993, 19. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

41 Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, A Nr.5088, Berlin den 22. Dezember 1920. Rep. 34, Nr. 180. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

42 Arbeitsgemeinschaft des sozialistischen Elternbeirats des 12. Verwaltungsbezirks, An das Provinzialschulkollegium, Berlin den 14.4.1921. Rep. 34, Nr. 180. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

43 Erlass vom März 1920 A 839/20, Der Preussische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung A Nr. 6281. Berlin, den, 5. Juli 1920. Rep. 34, Nr. 923. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

cess, however, seems to have taken time as the council had to repeat the same order numerous times, even as late as 1927.⁴⁴

While expelling old political ceremonies and symbols from schools, the Weimar Republic introduced new political ceremonies, which were functionally equivalent. According to historian Nadine Rossol, the political aesthetics and festive culture of Nazi Germany had already begun to develop from the mid-1920s.⁴⁵ The Weimar political festivities included parades, sporting events, and other spectacles in which rhythms, moving bodies, unity, and national communities were stressed. After the collapse of the German Empire, the new Weimar government and supporters of republicanism and parliamentarianism tried to establish a ceremony commemorating their new democratic constitution. The Constitution Celebration (*Verfassungsfeier*) on August 11 was a political project aimed to awaken patriotism toward the new constitution and reunify the German people, who were deeply split in their sentiments on the new government. For instance, a group of conservative and nationalistic intellectuals missed the monarch and saw the Weimar government only as a kind of replacement for the emperor, while a group of leftists and liberals supported the new constitution and the republic.⁴⁶

On August 11, 1919, President Ebert and his cabinet signed the constitutional charter, but due to political conflicts such as *Flaggenstreits*,⁴⁷ the Weimar government started to celebrate Constitution Day only from 1921.⁴⁸ Furthermore, partly due to the assassination of Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau, the Weimar government called for public ceremonies on Constitution Day only from 1922.⁴⁹ In general, the state ceremony on this day consisted of mass marches and sports

44 Provinzial-Schulkollegium Abt. A. Nr. 48/27. Berlin, den 2. März 1927. An die Leiter und Leiterinnen der höheren Lehranstalten für die männliche und weibliche Jugend des Amtsbereiches. Betrifft: Kaiserbilder. Rep. 34, Nr. 925. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

45 Nadine Rossol, "Performing the Nation: Sports, Spectacles, and Aesthetics in Germany, 1926–1936," *Central European History* 43 (2010): 617.

46 Joachim H. Knoll, "'Heil Dir im Siegerkranz' Nationale Feier- und Gedenktage als Formen kollektiver Identifikation" ["Hail to you in your victor's wreath": National holidays and commemorations as forms of collective identification], *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 57, no. 2 (2005): 163–67.

47 After the foundation of the Weimar Republic, the black-red-gold tricolor was designated as the national German flag. However, this change was not welcomed by many people in Germany, who saw this new flag as a symbol of humiliation following their defeat in the First World War. Many conservatives, monarchists, and the far right wanted to bring back the old colors, while the far left preferred a red revolutionary flag. As a compromise, the old black-white-red colors remained in merchant flags and the naval ensign. Thus, the symbols of Imperial Germany became symbols of monarchist and nationalist protest.

48 Knoll, "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz," 163–67.

49 Fitschen, "Staatliche Verfassungsfeier und ihre Resonanz," 261.

competitions, and thus it was not clearly distinguishable from the political ceremonies in the German Empire.⁵⁰ For instance, in 1922, the official ceremony in Berlin even included a military parade.⁵¹

Regarding school ceremonies in the Weimar era, Constitution Day and Reformation Day were school ceremonies that were celebrated annually. In addition to these annual ceremonies, schools remembered the foundation day of the German Empire (Reichsgründungsfeier), on January 18, and President Hindenburg's birthday.⁵² The Minister of Science, Art, and Education ordered schools in 1921 to celebrate January 18, the 50th anniversary of the official unification of Germany in 1871.⁵³ In 1927, Hindenburg's 80th birthday was celebrated in all schools. A few days later, on October 2, selected students gathered in the sports stadium and celebrated Hindenburg's birthday with songs.⁵⁴ His birthday was also celebrated in 1932, when he was reelected as President.⁵⁵ A memorial service for the victims of the First World War, Volkstrauertag (German Day of Mourning), was held on February 21, 1932.⁵⁶ Moreover, the Provincial School Council encouraged schools to collectively remember the anniversaries of famous German intellectuals, such as Hermann Löns, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Ludwig van Beethoven, Karl Maria von Webers, Heinrich von Kleist, Walter von Vogelweide, Franz Schubert, Gotthold Lessing, Freiherr von Stein, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Gustav Adolf, and Richard Wagner.⁵⁷ Schools organised all these ceremonies in a similar way as they did in the German Empire, namely through songs and speeches.

The most important and controversial school ceremony in the Weimar Republic was, however, Constitution Day. In 1922, the Ministry of Science, Art, and

50 Fitschen, "Staatliche Verfassungsfeier und ihre Resonanz," 271.

51 Fitschen, "Staatliche Verfassungsfeier und ihre Resonanz," 262.

52 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Askanisches Gymnasium, 1922; Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, 1922; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1931; Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, 1927, 1928.

53 Der Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. An die Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen. U II 7.1 U III A. Berlin W8, den 6. Januar 1921. Rep. 34, Nr. 922. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

54 See, e.g., the 1928 Jahresberichte of Askanisches Gymnasium, Köllnisches Gymnasium, Leibniz-Gymnasium, Luisen Gymnasium, and Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium.

55 See, e.g., the 1933 Jahresberichte of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium; Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster; Luisen Gymnasium.

56 Leibniz-Gymnasium, "Chronik der Anstalt" [Chronicle of the school], *Jahresbericht*, 1932.

57 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Askanisches Gymnasium, 1927, 1929, 1932; Französisches Gymnasium, 1927; Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1927, 1929, 1932, 1933; Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1927, 1929, 1932, 1933; Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1932; Humboldt-Gymnasium, 1933; Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1927, 1929, 1932, 1933; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1929, 1932, 1933; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1927, 1929, 1932, 1933; Luisen Gymnasium, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1932, 1933; Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, 1927, 1928, 1932, 1933; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1929, 1932.

Education ordered schools to celebrate it on August 11, to teach students the historical meaning of the day.⁵⁸ Schools that were closed due to their summer vacation had to organize the ceremony at the end of the summer term or the beginning of the winter term.⁵⁹ The Jahresberichte show that in 1923 schools indeed celebrated this day.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the imperial art protector (Reichskunstwart), Edwin Red-slob, who was in charge of new state monuments and public ceremonies of the Weimar Republic, recommended in April 1923 that youths should gather in sports stadiums and sports fields on Constitution Day, and celebrate the day with dances, songs, and sports competitions.⁶¹

From 1926, some districts of Berlin started to assemble all their schools on Constitution Day,⁶² for a collective ceremony that consisted of speeches, marches, and singing.⁶³ In Prenzlauer Berg, students marched to the sportsground and held a ceremony and took part in a joint sports festival.⁶⁴ In 1926, the principal of the Luisenstädtisches Gymnasium gave a speech in front of about 7,000 students. He celebrated the Weimar Constitution as symbol of the unity of Germans and noted that it demanded of all Germans to feel themselves as a limb of a bigger whole, the Weimar Republic, and to perform their duty in everyday life in order to serve the nation-state.⁶⁵ Unlike speeches in the time of the German Empire, the principal did not glorify the previous wars. However, the rhetoric of his speech was quite similar to other speeches that stressed the unity of the empire and the importance of serving the fatherland.⁶⁶

58 Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. U. 850, UII W, U III, UIII A. 1. An Provinzialschulkollegien. Berlin W8, den 31. Juli 1922. Rep. 34, Nr. 993. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

59 Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. A Nr. 6473.1. Berlin W8, den 19. Juli 1923. Rep. 34, Nr. 174. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

60 See, e.g. the 1924 Jahresberichte of Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, Humboldt-Gymnasium, Luisen Gymnasium, Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, and Sophien-Gymnasium, and the 1925 Jahresbericht of Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster.

61 Rossol, "Performing the Nation," 624.

62 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, 1928, 1929; Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1929; Lessing-Gymnasium; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1929.

63 For example, the districts of Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg: Bezirksamt Mitte. H. B. I, 3. An die Schulen im Bezirksamt Mitte. Berlin, 25. Juni 1927. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Rep. 34, Nr.994, 24–25; Bezirksamt Prenzlauer Berg. 1/Sam. 16.21. An das Provinzialschulkollegium von Berlin. Berlin 55, 20. Mai. 1927. Rep. 34, Nr. 994. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

64 See the 1927 and 1928 Jahresberichte of Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium.

65 Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1927, pp. 80–84.

66 This was partly due to the fact that gymnasium teachers remained relatively conservative and indifferent to Constitution Day, while the majority of Volksschule teachers supported it and social democracy. Knoll, "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz."

In 1928, schools should have celebrated the 150th birthday of Friedrich L. Jahn (on August 11), known patriot and the father of the German Turnen, together with Constitution Day. According to the 1929 Jahresbericht of the Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, it followed the Ministry of Science, Art, and Education's suggestion and celebrated the day in 1928 with a school ceremony, marching and gymnastics performance, and biographies of Jahn were given to the best students.⁶⁷ However, the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt* criticized some schools—naming the Werner-Siemens-Realgymnasium and Dorotheenstadtische Gymnasium, among others—for exclusively celebrating Jahn's birthday without mentioning the Weimar Constitution or the Weimar Republic.⁶⁸

Constitution Day was annually celebrated until 1932, a total of 12 times. Among these, the 10th anniversary of the constitution in 1929 was celebrated in a special way. From 1929, participation in the collective ceremonies on Constitution Day became obligatory for all secondary schools.⁶⁹ In this vein, the Weimar government organized a mass political ceremony in a stadium, in which about 4,000 students, including 2,000 secondary school students, participated. They performed collective rhythmic gymnastics in homage to President Hindenburg.⁷⁰ Furthermore, there were a number of collective school ceremonies on a smaller scale. For instance, the district of Kreuzberg gave national flags to the gymnasiums in the district and students marched to the ceremony square with them.⁷¹

These obligatory ceremonies on Constitution Day in 1929 triggered a large amount of criticism. As thousands of students had gathered, it was difficult to hear the speeches despite the microphone. The main concern was, however, about safety and health.⁷² For example, according to a letter from the Friedenauer Gymnasium to the Provincial School Council in 1929, the students' march celebrating the Weimar Republic was disturbed by citizens who did not support the republic, and a number of students also fell ill during the mass ceremonies.⁷³ The parents' association of the Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium complained to the

67 Other schools that complied included the Askanisches Gymnasium, Leibniz-Gymnasium, and Luisen Gymnasium, according to their 1929 Jahresberichte.

68 "Turnvater Jahn als Kulissee," *Berliner Tageblatt*, August 13, 1928.

69 Provinzial-Schulkollegium. A Nr. 602/29. (Slg.) Berlin Lichterfelde, 4. Juni 1929. Rep. 34, Nr. 995, 128. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

70 Provinzial-Schulkollegium. A Nr. 614/29. Verfassungsfeier am 11. August 1929 im Stadion. Berlin Lichterfelde, 1. Juni 1929a. Rep. 34, Nr. 995, 147. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

71 See, e.g., the 1930 Jahresberichte of Leibniz-Gymnasium and Luisen Gymnasium.

72 See, e.g., Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1930.

73 Friedenauer Gymnasium. Betr. P.S.K. A Nr. 602/29 (Slg.) Verfassungsfeier. An das Provinzial-schulkollegium. Berlin-Friedenau, 13. August 1929. Rep. 34, Nr. 996, 133–35. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

council that their children had been forced to stand still under the hot sun for two hours, and several children had fallen into a faint, and they asked for individual schools to be allowed to organize their own ceremonies.⁷⁴ Some students were absent from the ceremony as their parents were worried about their children's safety, or because they did not support the ceremony for political reasons. In response to reports, criticisms, and inquiries regarding this issue, the council stipulated that students who did not participate in such obligatory patriotic ceremonies would be expelled.⁷⁵

The problem was not only that some students missed the ceremony, but also that some students who did participate behaved in anti-Semitic or anti-social ways. According to a report of the Provincial School Council, some students of the Viktoria Gymnasium in Potsdam shouted "*Heil*" (hail), "*Scheisse*" (shit), or "*Hängt die Juden auf*" (Hang the Jews) while they were marching.⁷⁶ They also sang and whistled the 'Hakenkreuzlied' (Swastika song), which Ottokar Kernstock composed for National Socialist Workers' Party in 1923, and when they passed by houses decorated with the Weimar flags some students became unruly and cried "*Fahne nieder*" (Down the flag). Moreover, the report noted that during the ceremony, after students of the Realgymnasium in Potsdam chanted "*Deutschland soll blühen*" (Germany should bloom), one student said "*aber nicht unter dieser Verfassung*" (but not under this constitution). Responding to these criticisms, some gymnasiums started to hold their Verfassungsfeier on their own grounds.⁷⁷ In 1930,

74 Der Vorsitzende des Elternbeirates des Friedrichs-Werderschen Gymnasium. An das Provinzial-Schulkollegium der Provinz Brandenburg und von Berlin. Berlin, 18. Oktober 1929. Rep. 34, Nr. 997, 202–204. Brandenburgisches Landeshauparchiv.

75 Provinzial-Schulkollegium. A Nr. 983/29. Betrifft: Fehlen von Schülern und Schülerinnen bei der Verfassungsfeier. An die Leiter und Leiterinnen der höheren Lehranstalten für die männliche und weibliche Jugend des Amtsbezirk. Berlin Lichterfelde, 22. August 1929. Rep. 34, Nr. 996, 170. Brandenburgisches Landeshauparchiv.

76 Provinzial-Schulkollegium. A Nr. 998/II 29. An Herrn Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. Berlin Lichterfelde, 10. September 1929. Rep. 34, Nr. 998. Brandenburgisches Landeshauparchiv. According to the report, the person who said "Hang the Jews" was a 21-year-old, who was not a regular student of the gymnasium. He planned to sit the entrance exam and was allowed to join some classes and school events, but after this incident, he was not allowed to sit the exam.

77 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Askanisches Gymnasium 1932; Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1932, 1933; Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1933; Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, 1932, 1933; Humboldt-Gymnasium, 1932; Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1932, 1933; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1932, 1933; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1932; Luisen Gymnasium, 1932, 1933; Luisen Städtisches Gymnasium, 1932, 1933; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1932, 1933.

while the districts of Prenzlauerberg and Mitte continued to organize collective ceremonies and sports festivals, the district of Kreuzberg did not do so.⁷⁸

In this way, the ceremony on Constitution Day, which aimed to unify youths under the name of the Weimar Republic, faced enormous difficulties in its implementation. Not only did students miss the event or misbehave, the speeches of the school principals did not always reflect the republic's democratic ideals. Especially in 1932, shortly before Hitler assumed full political power, the titles of speeches on Constitution Day were quite nationalistic, for instance, "Goethes Vaterländisches Fühlen" (Goethe's sense of fatherland)⁷⁹ or "Pflege eines gesunden Volksbewusstseins" (Fostering healthy national feeling).⁸⁰ It should also be mentioned that despite the ideological and political differences, the ceremonial practice did not differ from that of the Day of Sedan. In both ceremonies, students sang, chanted, marched, and played sports together. Though the militaristic character was absent, students in the Weimar Republic still marched in political ceremonies.

Moreover, the ceremonies were generally carried out on a larger scale and involved all kinds of schools. In contrast to the German Empire, in which only a small group of gymnasium students were allowed to take part in the official ceremony on the Day of Sedan, the Constitution Day involved a larger number of students from different types of schools. Despite controversial opinions among the public, the Weimar authorities demanded that all students should participate in the ceremonies on the day. Considering these points, I would argue that in terms of physical education and political ceremonies, the Weimar Republic maintained continuity to some extent: physical education was further encouraged, the authorities started to measure and record physical performances of students, and building on previous political ceremonial traditions, a grand political ceremony including marching and sports festivals was established. In short, the individual students' bodies became associated with the nation-state even more strongly than before.

⁷⁸ See the 1931 Jahresberichte of Köllnisches Gymnasium, Leibniz-Gymnasium, and Luise Städtisches Gymnasium. The Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium organized the ceremony, sports festival, and marching parade in their own schoolyard, according to its Jahresberichte of 1931, 1932, and 1933.

⁷⁹ Lessing-Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1933.

⁸⁰ Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, *Jahresbericht*, 1933.

4.2 Renaming and Restructuring Political Ceremonies in Nazi Germany (1933–1945)

After losing the First World War, the German economy suffered severe setbacks, which were attributed to the reparations payments required under the Treaty of Versailles. The onset of the Great Depression in the US in 1929 caused severe shockwaves and rapidly growing unemployment in Germany. Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei; hereafter, Nazi party) came into its own during this social and financial upheaval. The platform of the Nazi party included the abolition of the Weimar Republic, rejection of the terms of the Versailles Treaty, revival of the economy and job market, and radical anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism.⁸¹ Also, supported by voters who were hoping for economic recovery and restoration of the social order, the party became the largest in the Reichstag after the federal election of 1932. Under pressure from politicians, industrialists, and the business community, President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933. This event is known as the *Machtergreifung* (seizure of power) or *Machtübernahme* (takeover of power).

In the following months, the Nazi party used a process termed *Gleichschaltung* (coordination) to rapidly bring all aspects of life under its control. Between 1933 and 1935, Hitler effectively abolished the existing *Länder* (constituent states) of Germany and replaced them with new administrative divisions, the *Gaue*, headed by Nazi leaders (*Gauleiters*). In March 1933, the Enabling Act (*Ermächtigungsgesetz*)—an amendment to the Weimar Constitution—was passed in the Reichstag and allowed Hitler and his cabinet to pass any laws without the consent of the president or the Reichstag. As other political parties were banned or dissolved and the founding of new parties was made illegal in the *Gleichschaltung* process, Germany became a de facto one-party totalitarian state in 1933. Upon seizing power, the Nazis took repressive measures against their political opposition and rapidly began the comprehensive marginalization of persons they considered socially undesirable in Germany, such as communists and especially Jews. The Nazis propagated their ideology, which was a mixture of antisemitism, “racial hygiene,” eugenics, pan-Germanism, and territorial expansionism.⁸² The Nazi regime replaced the Weimar flag with the swastika flag, and its anthem “Horst-Wessel-Lied” (Horst Wessel song) became the second national anthem.⁸³

81 Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York: Knopf, 1996), 85.

82 Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War* (New York: Penguin, 2008), 7.

83 Glenn R. Cuomo, *National Socialist Cultural Policy* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1995), 231.

After President Hindenburg died on August 2, 1934, the office of president was abolished and its powers merged with those of the chancellor, which made Hitler the head of this totalitarian state.

Changes in the school system and new legislations

The school system itself did not change dramatically through the political upheavals, except for the introduction of *Napola* and *Hauptschule*. *Napola* (short for *Nationalpolitische Lehranstalt*) were secondary boarding schools in Nazi Germany, elite institutions specially aimed to train young national socialist leaders. The number of *Napola* schools were, however, limited. In Berlin, there was only one *Napola*, the NPEA Berlin-Spandau. The *Hauptschule* was introduced in 1940, modeled after the *Hauptschule* in Austria. They were secondary schools that aimed not to train political elites but to encourage children from poor backgrounds to receive secondary education, mainly vocational training.⁸⁴ Though the Nazi regime did not implement drastic structural reforms, the curriculum and teaching materials changed to reflect the national socialist ideology. On August 20, 1934, weeks after the death of President Hindenburg, civil servants, including teachers, were required to swear an oath of unconditional obedience to Hitler.⁸⁵ The *Jahresberichte* also show that gymnasium teachers swore allegiance to Hitler.⁸⁶

Anti-Semitic legislation passed between 1933 and 1938 gradually removed all Jewish students, teachers, professors, and officials from the education system.⁸⁷ In the Luisen Gymnasium, the school principal and some teachers were replaced by new teachers on April 21, 1938. On May 9 the school stipulated its teachers and students perform the Hitler Salute (*Hitlergruß*), and on May 28 the new school principal demanded that Jewish students leave the school. As a result, by June 1, 1938, all Jewish students in the Luisen Gymnasium had left the school, according to its *Jahresbericht* of 1939.⁸⁸

84 Theodor Keil, "Die Einführung der Hauptschule im alten Reichsgebiet" [The introduction of Hauptschule to the old German territory], *Weltanschauung und Schule* 6 (1942): 137–39.

85 Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power* (New York: Penguin, 2005).

86 See, e.g., the 1935 *Jahresberichte* of Askarisches Gymnasium, Luisen Gymnasium, Sophien-Gymnasium, and Köllnisches Gymnasium.

87 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Examples of Antisemitic Legislation, 1933–1939," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/antisemitic-legislation-1933-1939>.

88 The *Jahresbericht* used the national socialistic term "*Volljuden*," which referred to people whose ancestors were mainly Jews.

According to section 1 of the Leitgedanken zur Schulordnung (Main Ideas of School Regulation) that was issued in December 1934, the ultimate purpose of schools was to educate youths to be ideal Germans who embody the National Socialist spirit in their behavior and lifestyle.⁸⁹ Thus, the most important aim of schools was not the teaching of objective science and knowledge but rather political indoctrination: loyalty to the state, national socialistic character-building, the Nazi race ideology, and physical training and sports, all of which was referred to as “political education” (*politische Schulung*).⁹⁰ Section 3 of the regulation allowed students to wear the Hitler Youth uniform and emblems in schools, while forbidding students to wear any emblems of other youth organizations.⁹¹ Furthermore, section 5 stipulated that schools hoist the national flag and sing the national anthem and the Horst Wessel Song at the beginning and end of the school semester.⁹² It also required teachers and students to greet each other in the “German way,” namely with the Hitler salute: at the beginning and the end of classes, teachers greeted their students by raising their right arm and saying “Heil Hitler!,” and students greeted their teachers in kind.⁹³ This rule was seemingly also applied to German teachers in foreign countries. According to the students of Dokkyō Secondary School in Tokyo, the German-language teacher Jakob Sahl, who had been sent by the Weimar government, stood alone and did the Hitler salute during school ceremonies, while all other participants bowed deeply to the Imperial Portrait.⁹⁴

The Hitler Youth vs. secondary schools

While schools encouraged physical training and tried to indoctrinate students in the National Socialist ideology, the Hitler Youth also organized their own activities with the same purpose. The Hitler Youth was the youth organization of the

89 “Leitgedanken zur Schulordnung,” *Zentralblatt für die gesamte Unterrichtsverwaltung in Preußen* 76, no. 3 (1934): 43.

90 Peter D. Stachura, “Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung: Die Rolle der Hitlerjugend 1933–1939” [The Third Reich and youth education: The role of the Hitler Youth], in *Erziehung und Schulung im Dritten Reich* [Education and schooling in the Third Reich], Vol. 1: *Kindergarten, Schule, Jugend, Berufserziehung* [Kindergartens, schools, youths, vocational education], ed. Manfred Heinemann (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1980), 93.

91 “Leitgedanken zur Schulordnung,” 43.

92 “Leitgedanken zur Schulordnung,” 44.

93 “Leitgedanken zur Schulordnung,” 44.

94 Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō hyakunen* [Dokkyō centennial] (Tokyo: Dokkyō Gakuen, 1979), 1: 328–30; 4: 40–42.

Nazi Party, whose origin goes back to 1922. Before and especially after the First World War, numerous youth movements existed across Germany, known as *deutsche Jugendbewegungen*. Youth associations like Wandervogel valued and promoted physical activities outside of school and at the same time they challenged the traditional and formal teaching method. In these youth movements, students were not merely passive recipients of knowledge anymore but active subjects who humanized the relationship among students and teachers and tried to educate themselves.⁹⁵ This basic idea was also shared by the Hitler Youth, which was the sole official youth organization from 1933 to 1945, composed of boys aged 14 to 18. Younger boys aged 10 to 14 belonged to the German Youngsters (Deutsches Jungvolk), while girls aged 10 to 18 belonged to the League of German Girls (Bund Deutscher Mädel), both of which were affiliated with the Hitler Youth. The Hitler Youth aimed to inject the race ideology, loyalty to Hitler and the fatherland, and the ethos of obedience and self-sacrifice in young Germans, using older youths to guide the younger youths with a focus on physical activities.⁹⁶ Its official aim was to obliterate social and intellectual distinctions between the classes, while excluding state-identified enemies such as Jews and communists.

The Hitler Youth often came into conflict with gymnasiums, which were regarded as a bastion of conservative, bürgerlich, and scholastic traditions. Gymnasium students who were leaders of Hitler Youth groups started to challenge their teachers' authority and even traditional curriculum and teaching methods.⁹⁷ Between 1933 and 1935, they organized various campaigns to replace old teachers with younger and pro-Nazi teachers, and there are numerous school documents reporting problems of student disobedience and even violence against teachers.⁹⁸ The Hitler Youth came into conflict with schools, as their activities such as sports and political ceremonies often overlapped. Though the Ministry of Science, Art, and Education ordered in 1933 that school ceremonies must be given priority over ceremonies of other organizations, there were cases in which the Hitler Youth attended their own ceremonies instead. When attending the same ceremonies as other students, they would often go with fellow Hitler Youth members instead of with their classmates.⁹⁹

Furthermore, the introduction of the Staatsjugendtag (Day of National Youth) on Saturdays in 1934 also divided students into two groups. On this day, the Hitler

95 Stachura, "Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung," 95–96.

96 Stachura, "Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung," 99, 102.

97 Stachura, "Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung," 103.

98 Stachura, "Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung," 104.

99 See, e.g., Der Regierungspräsident II M Nr. 1927 Minden, den 8 Mai 1934 Betr. Störung der Schulfeier am 1 Mai, 363. Bundesarchiv.

Youth organized sports activities for its members, while those who were not members continued to do physical activities at school on Saturday.¹⁰⁰ The Kant Gymnasium reported in its 1935 Jahresbericht that it had to reorganize its curriculum accordingly, though the school principal basically welcomed the introduction of the day, as it resolved the chaos by making a clear distinction between schools and the Hitler Youth. In order to coordinate activities, the authorities stipulated in 1935 that each school had to assign one teacher to be in charge of coordinating conflicts between other teachers and the Hitler Youth members.¹⁰¹ As such coordinators usually supported the arguments of the Hitler Youths, the Hitler Youth gained more authority within schools. Due to this anti-intellectual process, the academic standard in schools and teachers' authority declined, though some schools cooperated well with the Hitler Youth.¹⁰² For instance, the Prinz-Heinrich Gymnasium reported in its 1937 Jahresbericht that on August 31, 1936, the school received a Hitler Youth flag—one of the first state secondary schools to do so—as 94% of the students belonged to National Socialist organizations like the Hitler Youth. However, soon after, on December 1, 1936, the Law on the Hitler Youth (Gesetz über die Hitlerjugend) was issued and all German youths were forcibly drawn into it.¹⁰³

Young bodies as the symbol of the “New German Empire”

The Nazi Party presented itself as the leader of the younger generation who confronted the depleted and decayed system of the Weimar Republic.¹⁰⁴ The Nazi regime promoted physical education together with the positive image of youth and healthiness more than previous regimes. The father of Turnen, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, was again admired and regarded as a prophet, the precursor of Nazi Germany.¹⁰⁵ In his 1925 manifesto, *Mein Kampf* (My struggle), Hitler emphasized that youths should be physically trained for at least one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon.¹⁰⁶ Although sports were also encouraged in the Weimar

100 Stachura, “Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung,” 105.

101 Stachura, “Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung,” 105.

102 Stachura, “Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung,” 109.

103 Axel Friedrichs, *Deutschlands. Aufstieg Zur Großmacht 1936 [Germany's rise to a great power 1936]*. Berlin: Junker & Dünnhaupt, 1937, 328–29.

104 Stachura, “Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung,” 93.

105 Joch, “Sports und Leibeserziehung im Dritten Reich,” 719.

106 Winfried Joch, “Sports und Leibeserziehung im Dritten Reich” [Sports and physical education in the Third Reich], in Ueberhorst, *Leibesübungen und Sport in Deutschland vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis zur Gegenwart*, 701.

Republic, in Nazi Germany, performing sports as recreation was rejected as overly liberal. Instead, its physical education aimed to build a courageous and obedient National Socialist character. At the same time, physical strength started to be associated much more with mental strength, an association that actually existed before the Nazi regime. For instance, in 1920, the doctor Ferdinand A. Schmidt, who had actively and continuously encouraged physical education for youths since the late nineteenth century (see Chapter 2), claimed that children with mental disabilities did often not have a good command of their movements, and he linked the weak nature of the body (*schwächliche Körperbeschaffeneheit*) to a lack of muscle control and willpower.¹⁰⁷ Schmidt referenced various statistical data and concluded that the less intellectually competent (less successful in schools) people were, the less developed their bodies (shorter and lighter) grew.¹⁰⁸ From the 1930s, this direction of thought became increasingly prominent.

To understand the strong association made between physical strength and willpower, the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* (“People’s community,” with “people” referring to the German people) should be mentioned. Although parties of various political and ideological backgrounds had used this term since the First World War, the Nazis promoted it further by introducing a particular nuance—the concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft* as a national ethnic German community included the ideals and aspirations of a classless society based on racial purity and was supposed to be composed of people from all social classes belonging to the nation, including those who had already died.¹⁰⁹ The German marching song, “Marsch der alten Kämpfer” (March of the old fighters) also emphasized that the dead, even if invisible, were joining the march of their surviving comrades.¹¹⁰ The *Volksgemeinschaft* was supposed to confirm the collective identity as a national identity, defined by the desire for unity and sacrifice for the sake of the fatherland.¹¹¹ In this community, the so-called *Führer* (leader) principle was paramount as opposed to democratic principles of equality and the majority. All members of the community were regarded as followers (*Gefolgschaft*) of the *Führer*. The relationship between them was defined

¹⁰⁷ F. A. Schmidt, *Leibesübungen und Geistesbildung. Zur Zusammenhang mit besonderer Bezugnahme auf die körperliche Entwicklung durch das Wachstum* [Physical exercise and mental education. On the connection with special reference to physical development through growth] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1920), 10, 12, 39.

¹⁰⁸ F. A. Schmidt, *Leibesübungen und Geistesbildung*, 15, 39.

¹⁰⁹ Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual. Exploring Forms of Political Theatre* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005), 141.

¹¹⁰ Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 150.

¹¹¹ Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 141.

by consanguinity and moral responsibility. The followers owed loyalty to the leader and found comradeship with other followers.

From the very beginning, however, the Volksgemeinschaft radically excluded all those considered “non-German”: namely, not ethnically German or possessing views or qualities not aligned with the Nazi’s interpretation of what it meant to be German, such as the physically disabled or political enemies.¹¹² According to the Führer principle, the Führer alone was the mind of the Volksgemeinschaft and his followers formed the body that executed the intentions of the mind.¹¹³ At the same time, individual bodies were not regarded as belonging to the individuals but to the whole Volksgemeinschaft. The Hitler Youth also stressed this point that one’s body belongs to one’s nation-state and one has a duty toward the nation-state to be healthy.¹¹⁴ The German pedagogue Rudolf Bode (1881–1970), who focused on rhythmic movements and the interaction between body and soul, led the German rhythm movements aiming at tackling the problem of the collapse of the Volkskörper, or “people’s body.” During the Nazi regime, Bode was in charge of linking physical education and the cultural expression of the nation, and he believed that social synchronization was practiced through the synchronization of movements, rhythms, and voices. Through the rhythmic vibration and physical (bodily) resonance, the fiction of *Gemeinschaft* (community) was experienced as reality.¹¹⁵

In this context, physical education, including military exercises, was officially promoted. In 1933, the government ordered secondary schools to organize a military sports club, supervised by a teacher of the respective school who had visited a training course or who had a leading position in the SA (the Nazi paramilitary political force).¹¹⁶ The new guidelines for physical education issued in 1937 stipulated 40 hours of physical education per month. With this change physical education became the most time-extensive subject, followed by 33 hours of German-language classes.¹¹⁷ Participation in the National Youth Competition, which was introduced in the Weimar Republic, became obligatory, but implementing the

112 Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 142.

113 Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 145, 150.

114 Jakob Sahl, *Hitorā yūgento* [Hitler Youth], trans. Takahashi Kenji (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1941), 32.

115 Bexmann, *Mythos*, 236–37, 245.

116 Der Oberbürgermeister. Sch. 13. Anruf: Magistrat 2257. Berlin, den 10. Juni 1933. An die Herren Direktoren der höheren Lehranstalten für die männliche Jugend in den Bezirken 1–20. Gut Samml 199. Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung.

117 Deutsches Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, *Richtlinien für die Leibeserziehung in Jungenschulen* [Guidelines for physical education in boys’ schools] (Berlin: Weidmann, 1937).

new guidelines was fraught with difficulty due to the lack of necessary equipment and conflicts between the Hitler Youth and schools.¹¹⁸

As mentioned previously, in addition to physical education in schools, the Hitler Youth also provided space and time for physical training. In fact physical education, including pre-military exercises, was one of the core activities that it engaged in. The internal publication *Bannbefehl* issued by the Hitler Youth in District 6 in Berlin, also shows us that the Hitler Youth organized physical examinations and rated members' performance, recording their scores in individual "performance notebooks" (*Leistungsbücher*; singular: *Leistungsbuch*) and presented them with badges depending on their physical achievements.¹¹⁹ The *Leistungsbuch* states that its aim is to document the physical and mental development of individual Hitler Youths, and contains a foreword by the Reich Youth Leader (*Reichsjugendführer*) Baldur von Schirach:

Physical training is not an individual private matter. The National Socialist movement commended all Germans to be on duty. Your body is to belong to your nation as you owe your existence to it. You are responsible toward your nation for your body. Fulfill the requirements of these *Leistungsbücher*, and you will fulfill the duty to your German people.¹²⁰

The Hitler Youth organized sports examinations for physical exercise, ground sports, and shooting for youths aged 16, 17, and older than 18. The first two included marching, details of which are explained in the *Leistungsbuch*. Youths had to march for a certain distance within a certain time frame, wearing the Hitler Youth uniform and carrying a heavy sack. Youths who passed the examinations received iron, bronze, and silver badges to wear.

The German orthopedic surgeon Franz Schede (1882–1976), who greatly contributed to school hygiene, also referenced the *Leistungsbuch* when he argued that marching exercises should only be carefully carried out after enough preparation to prevent injuries.¹²¹ He saw the value of these exercises in their character-building qualities rather than as physical education, evoking the feeling of

118 Joch, "Sports und Leibeserziehung im Dritten Reich," 732–33.

119 NSDAP, Hitler-Jugend Bann 6 (Wedding-Reinickendorf), "Walter Wagnitz," *Bannbefehl* 4 (1938): 8.

120 This is cited from a *Leistungsbuch* of a youth called Gunther Roos, in Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung and NS-Dokumentationszentrum der Stadt Köln, "Leistungsbuch und Leistungsabzeichen der Hitlerjugend" [Leistungsbuch and performance badges of the Hitler Youth], *Gunther Roos—Eine Jugend in der NS-Zeit* [Gunther Roos: A youth in Nazi times], <http://roos.jugend1918-1945.de/default.aspx?id=28924>.

121 Schede, *Grundlagen der körperlichen Erziehung* (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1942), 127–28.

togetherness (*Gemeinschaftsgefühl*), and strengthening the will of students to endure stresses and strain.¹²²

Moreover, the *Bannbefehl* shows that the Hitler Youth aimed to control some of the daily practices of their members, by stipulating how to greet people, what to wear, and how to wear it.¹²³ For instance, an issue of the *Bannbefehl* in 1937 reported that performing a greeting by giving a low bow was forbidden as it was ignoble (*unwürdig*).¹²⁴

New media and mass school ceremonies in Nazi Germany

In general, Nazi Germany perfected the mass political spectacles invented prior to the Nazi era. One of the crucial differences was, however, the utilization of the radio as a new communication technology for political ceremonies. In fact, Nazis had used the radio in mass school ceremonies from the beginning of the Hitler regime. Together with films, the radio was used as an effective means for political agitation, since it created communities of simultaneous experience which included the whole population.¹²⁵ The school division of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda) required schools to watch all films prepared by the ministry and to listen to radio programs collectively. Carolyn Birdsall, who analyzed the soundscapes of Nazi Germany, noted that Hitler had given all his radio speeches at public meetings, rallies, and large events, rather than from an enclosed studio environment.¹²⁶ In this way, the Nazi regime enabled mass ceremonies in which not only audiences in the ceremonial space but also individual listeners who stood physically far away from the ceremonial space received political addresses simultaneously.

Furthermore, the regime encouraged communal radio listening for special occasions, as they regarded radio as a conduit between Hitler and all Germans. For instance, under the direction of the authorities, schools established modes of radio reception that supported propaganda. The Department of the Interior ordered schools to cancel classes on March 21, 1933, in order to celebrate the begin-

¹²² Schede, *Grundlagen der körperlichen Erziehung*, 128.

¹²³ See, for example, the 1937 (vols. 7, 9 and 13) and 1938 (vol. 3) of the *Bannbefehl*.

¹²⁴ NSDAP, Hitler-Jugend Bann 6 (Wedding-Reinickendorf), “Walter Wagnitz,” *Bannbefehl* 7 (1937): 2.

¹²⁵ Carolyn Birdsall, *Nazi Soundscapes. Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933–1945* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 109.

¹²⁶ Birdsall, *Nazi Soundscapes*, 111–12.

ning of the new epoch of German history.¹²⁷ The main part of the ceremony were speeches by Adolf Hitler and Hindenburg. They were aired from Potsdam where the actual ceremony took place, and students and teachers collectively listened to the radio.¹²⁸ According to its 1933 Jahresbericht, the Köllnisches Gymnasium opened the school ceremony with the music of Wagner. After an introductory speech by the school principal, students and teachers listened to the radio together. Then, they closed the ceremony by singing the national anthem. This act of collective listening, which was called “community reception” (*Gemeinschaftsempfang*), became an indispensable part of school ceremonies in Nazi Germany. Students collectively listened to Hitler’s speeches on the radio, not only on annual celebrations but also the declarations of the Anschluss (the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany) on March 12, 1938, and the German occupation of Czechoslovakia on March 15, 1939.¹²⁹

The Jahresberichte of gymnasiums show that school life under the Nazi regime was filled with political ceremonies. While May 1 had already been declared a national holiday in 1933, most of the other holidays were not legally anchored but fixed in the calendar of the Nazi party.¹³⁰ In mass ceremonies, group movements became more structured and organized along gender lines, while the rhetoric on the role and meaning of synchronistic movements changed from integration and participation in Weimar Germany to subordination and duty in the Third Reich.¹³¹ The Nazi regime abolished Constitution Day and instead introduced a number of National Socialist ceremonial days. For instance, on January 18, 1934 schools canceled their classes and celebrated the Foundation of the German Empire and Hitler’s Third Reich together.¹³² At the same time, they celebrated the Machtergreifung on January 30, and the Day of Potsdam (the opening of the newly elected Reichstag) on March 21. On January 30, 1937, the Minister of Propaganda, Paul Joseph Goebbels

127 Reichsminister des Innern III 3000/17.3. An Unterrichtsministerien der Länder, Berlin, den 17 März 1933. R/4902/, Nr. 323–324. Bundesarchiv.

128 See, e.g., the 1933 Jahresberichte of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, Köllnisches Gymnasium, Leibniz-Gymnasium, Lessing-Gymnasium, Luise Gymnasium, and Sophien-Gymnasium.

129 See, e.g., the 1938 Jahresberichte of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, and Luise Gymnasium; the 1939 Jahresberichte of Leibniz-Gymnasium and Lessing-Gymnasium.

130 Küberger, “Vergleich in der europäischen Zeitgeschichte,” 280–82.

131 Rossol, “Performing the Nation,” 638.

132 Reichsminister des Innern, I 4140/24.1. Berlin, den 26 Januar 1934, An Unterrichtsministerien der Länder, R/4902/, Nr. 342. Bundesarchiv; Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung U II C Nr. 3832/33 Berlin W8, den 12 Januar 1934, An Herren Oberpräsidenten und Herren Regierungspräsidenten, R/4902/, Nr. 343. Bundesarchiv.

(1897–1945), visited an elementary school in the district of Wedding in Berlin and gave a speech. His speech was aired to all German schools.¹³³ That evening, the Hitler Youth and other state organizations in Berlin marched in front of the governmental offices in a torchlit procession (Fackelzug).¹³⁴

As in the Weimar Republic, schools remembered the fallen soldiers, but put more emphasis on worshipping the self-sacrifice and heroic deaths of fallen soldiers. Until 1933, schools honored fallen soldiers on March 11.¹³⁵ In 1934, however, what was called the People's Day of Mourning (Volkstrauertag) was renamed Day of Commemoration of Heroes (Heldengedenktage). The second Sunday of Lent officially became the day for commemorating the dead of the First World War and schools commemorated them on the preceding Saturday and following Monday.¹³⁶ According to its 1934 Jahresbericht, the Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium remembered not only the fallen soldiers of the First World War but also fallen National Socialist activists.

After the death of President Hindenburg, from 1935, schools were required to celebrate Hitler's birthday (April 20), except when it sometimes overlapped with the Easter holidays.¹³⁷ For instance, the Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster and the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium reported they celebrated Hitler's birthday with a marching parade in 1936 and 1938, respectively. In 1936, the Ministry of Science, Education, and Culture (Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung) asked schools to take part in local public celebrations, and in 1937 the ministry stipulated that school children must watch the parades of local *Wehrmacht* (unified armed forces of Nazi Germany) after celebrating Hitler's Birthday at

133 See, e.g., the 1937 Jahresberichte of Askanisches Gymnasium and Kant Gymnasium; Reichs- und Preußischer Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Berlin den 19 Januar 1937, E III a 180, E II a (a), An Herren Oberpräsidenten, R/4902/, Nr. 109. Bundesarchiv.

134 Kommando der Schutzpolizei S. Ia. 6122/27.1. Berlin, den 28. Januar 1937. NS 31/126, 34. Bundesarchiv; Kommando der Schutzpolizei S. Ia. 6122/25.1. Berlin, den 25. Januar 1939. NS 31/126, 6. Bundesarchiv.

135 See, e.g., the 1933 Jahresberichte of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, Köllnisches Gymnasium, Leibniz-Gymnasium, Lessing-Gymnasium, Luise Gymnasium, Luise Städtisches Gymnasium, and Sophien-Gymnasium.

136 "Runderlass," February 22, 1934, *Zentralblatt* s 75, U II C 4082.1; Der Reichsminister, Berlin, den 19 Februar 1935, E III a 362, E II a, KII, An die Herren Oberpräsidenten, die Herren Reigerungspräsidenten und den Herrn Staatskommissar der Hauptstadt Berlin, R/4902/. Bundesarchiv.

137 See the 1937 Jahresbericht of Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster and the 1939 Jahresbericht of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium.

their schools.¹³⁸ In 1938, there was no celebration of Hitler's birthday since it was in the middle of the Easter holiday.¹³⁹

From 1933, Hitler gave a speech on May 1 to German youths in the Lustgarten in Berlin. Some students marched to the Lustgarten to listen to his speech in person, as reported in the 1934 *Jahresberichte* of the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, the Gymnasium zum grauen Kloster, the Humboldt-Gymnasium, the Leibniz-Gymnasium, and the Lessing-Gymnasium, among others. His speech was broadcast by all German radio stations. The Ministry of Science, Education, and Culture recommended schools to organize collective ceremonies and set Hitler's speech in the center of the ceremony. Students in Berlin who did not take part in the Lustgarten ceremony gathered in nearby marching fields and after a short introduction by a school principal, students and teachers listened to the radio together, after which the ceremonies were closed by singing the German national anthem and the "Horst Wessel Lied."¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, the German Youth Festival (*Deutsches Jugendfest*) was held in June, which targeted 10- to 18-year-old youths. It consisted of a summer solstice celebration and included singing, reciting, speeches, dancing, flaming torches, and sports games, as reported, for example, in the *Jahresberichte* of the Friedrichs-Gymnasium and the Humboldt-Gymnasium in 1932 and the Köllnisches Gymnasium in 1933. All non-Jewish students were obliged to take part in this festival, whether they were members of the Hitler Youth or students of a school.¹⁴¹

Another important ceremony both for schools and the Hitler Youth were the Nuremberg Rallies, the annual rallies (*Reichsparteitag*) of the Nazi Party in September. The Nuremberg Rallies, in which around 100,000 youths took part, functioned as a large Nazi propaganda event. In the Nuremberg Rallies marching parades of state organizations like the Hitler Youth and the enuncia-

138 Reichs und Preußischer Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Berlin den 17 April 1936, An Herren Oberpräsidenten, R/4902/, Nr. 19. Bundesarchiv; Reichs und Preußischer Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Berlin den 12 April 1937, Ms 1000, EII, EIV, EV, EVI, An Herren Oberpräsidenten, R/4902/, Nr. 118. Bundesarchiv.

139 Reichs und Preußischer Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Berlin den 17 April 1938, E IIIa 1000, E IIa EIV, EV, EVI, An Herren Oberpräsidenten Abteilung für höheres Schulwesen, R/4902/, Nr. 143. Bundesarchiv.

140 Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, A Nr. 1232, An Herren Oberpräsidenten und Herren Regierungspräsidenten, Berlin W8, den 20. April 1934, Abschrift. Der Reichsminister des Innern. I 3621/14.4. Berlin, NW 40, den 16 April 1934, An die Landesregierungen, Betrifft: Feier des 1 Mai, R/4902/, Nr. 355. Bundesarchiv.

141 Der Reichs und Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Berlin E8 den 14 Mai 1935 II Nr. 9205/9.5.35., EIIb, EIIa, EIIIIa, EIV, EV, Betr: Deutsche Jugendfest 1935, An die Herren Oberpräsidenten, Abt. für höheres Schwesens, R/4902/. Bundesarchiv.

tion of Nazi ideologies by Adolf Hitler played a central role. In order to take part in this rally, the so-called “Adolf Hitler March” was organized by the Hitler Youth. According to Jakob Sahl, about 2000 representative members of the Hitler Youth left their hometown to head to Nuremberg, marching up to 30 kilometers per day. From Berlin it took about four weeks, and some other groups had to march around 900 kilometers. In Nuremberg the Hitler Youth marched in front of Hitler. Sahl described Hitler’s inspection as a sensational moment filled with honor, in which youths felt determined to “be glad to die for the glory, for the flag and for Adolf Hitler.”¹⁴² The 1934 Jahresbericht of the Lessing-Gymnasium reported that among 150 Hitler Youth members of the school 15 students took part in the Nuremberg Rally in the previous year. Every year during the Nuremberg Rally, Hitler’s speech to the Hitler Youth was broadcast and collectively listened to in schools.¹⁴³

The mass marching in the Nuremberg Rally seems to have evoked intense positive feelings among the participants. The banner marching song of the Hitler Youth “Forward! Forward! Blare the bright fanfares (Vorwärts! Vorwärts! schmettern die hellen Fanfaren),” also implies that the marching (going forward) was interpreted positively and extremely encouraged in the Hitler Youth.¹⁴⁴ However, it should be also mentioned that the Nazis deployed the collective marching not only as a means of evoking positive feeling among people but also as a means of torture. In the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Oranienburg, which was located around 35 km north of Berlin, Nazis used captives for shoe quality tests. As a punishment a part of the captives were forced to march every day from 6:00 in the morning till 17:00.¹⁴⁵ Except the one hour long break at lunch time, the captives had to keep marching and set their pace and formation as commanded. They marched up to 48 km per day and while marching they had to sing German songs.¹⁴⁶ The Schutzstaffel (SS; literally, “protection squadron”) soldiers of the major paramilitary organization and special police force under Hitler, was in command of the shoe-testing organization and changed the marching tempo at whim. Furthermore, from 1943, the captives had to shoulder backpacks which weighed 10 to 15 kg. Needless to say, the captives had to endure great pain in

142 Sahl, *Hitorā yūgento*.

143 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1937, 1939; Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1936, 1937, 1938; Humboldt-Gymnasium, 1938, 1939; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1938; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1937; Luisen Gymnasium, 1935, 1936, 1938.

144 For the Japanese translation of this song, see Kitayama Setsurō, *Rajio Tōkyō 1 Shinjuwan e no michi* [*Radio Tokyo 1: The road to Pearl Harbor*] (Tokyo: Tabata, 1987).

145 Anne Sudrow, *Der Schuh im Nationalsozialismus. Eine Produktgeschichte im deutsch-britisch-amerikanischen Vergleich* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2010), 531.

146 Sudrow, *Der Schuh im Nationalsozialismus*, 531.

their torn and bloody feet.¹⁴⁷ In many cases, captives who fell down or could not keep step or could not sing anymore were punished severely by SS until they died.¹⁴⁸ It is not clear how many survived the torture named “shoe quality tests,” but from 1943 to 1944 a total of 371 captives had to undergo the torture.¹⁴⁹

The negative image of collective marching was also present in the anti-Nazi propaganda film *Education for Death*, which was produced by Walt Disney in 1943. In the film the unified marching of Germans was depicted in a negative way. The film introduces the Nazi education by narrating the growth of a fictional but symbolic German boy named Hans. When Hans became sick, his mother was threatened by a German soldier that Hans would be taken away if he became sick again. The last scene of the film consists of the following narration and an animation of marching children, youths and soldiers, which gradually transforms into geometrically lined, quiet mass graves.

Marching and heiling, heiling and marching, Hans grows up . . . For him, only marching and heiling, heiling and marching as the years grind on . . . Now he's a good Nazi. . . . And so, he marches on with his millions of comrades, trampling on the rights of others . . . for now, his education is complete. His education . . . for death.¹⁵⁰

4.3 Continuity and Discontinuity in Taishō Japan (1912–1926)

Liberalism and government control

After the death of Emperor Meiji in 1912, liberal ideas became popular and large public demonstrations were organized in order to dismantle the oligarchy established in the Meiji era. One of the common aims of movements in this era, which later became known as the “Taishō democracy,” was the introduction of universal male suffrage. This led to the General Election Law (普通選挙法 Futsū Senkyo Hō) of 1925, which extended suffrage to all men over 25 years old.

Conversely, the government tightened its control over public issues in the Taishō era, especially after the Great Kantō Earthquake on September 1, 1923, when a massive earthquake struck Japan and devastated Tokyo and the surrounding prefectures, causing widespread fires and damage throughout the Kantō region. For instance, a special issue of the school club magazine (vol. 42) of the Third Tokyo Secondary School, published in 1924, reported that 34 students fell victim to the

¹⁴⁷ Sudrow, *Der Schuh im Nationalsozialismus*, 538.

¹⁴⁸ Sudrow, *Der Schuh im Nationalsozialismus*, 539.

¹⁴⁹ Sudrow, *Der Schuh im Nationalsozialismus*, 537.

¹⁵⁰ Clyde Geronimi, dir., *Education for DEATH* (Walt Disney, 1943).

earthquake and a number of students lost their homes and families. The teachers managed to rescue the Imperial Portrait, but the school building was destroyed by the earthquake and fires that spread after it, and the teachers desperately walked around the city searching for the missing students. In total, the earthquake killed more than 100,000 people and caused a grave economic crisis and social instability.¹⁵¹ In the ensuing confusion, false rumors were spread that criminals were breaking out of prison and planning a revolt, socialists were taking advantage of the disaster and planning a revolution, and Koreans were seeking to take revenge on the Japanese, who had oppressed them.¹⁵² These rumors led to the death of numerous innocent people, especially Koreans.

In order to gain control over the chaotic situation, the government started to tighten its attempts to control people's thoughts and ideas, especially through political censorship. Shortly before the General Election Law, the Peace Preservation Laws (Chian Iji Hō 治安維持法) were passed. This series of laws enabled the government to imprison anyone who had formed an association with the aim of altering or subverting the *kokutai*, a vague concept whose various definitions depended on the scholar: it variously meant the system of the government, the sovereignty, the national identity, "essence," and character. This highly vague and subjective term authorized the government to suppress any political dissent, especially from communists and socialists, by branding them as having attempted to "alter the *kokutai*." In this sense, the Taishō era, especially after the Great Kantō Earthquake, cannot be described entirely as a time of democratization, although Japan generally did change course toward a democratic system of government.

In the field of education, the number of secondary schools increased dramatically, especially in the second half of the Taishō era. The number of secondary schools increased from about 300 to approximately 500, and the number of secondary students increased from 13,000 to 32,000.¹⁵³ This shows that with the growth of the Japanese economy, the number of middle-class families who wished to send their children to secondary schools increased. The economic growth and the "Taishō democracy" also contributed to the flourishing of the New Education Move-

151 Japan Meteorological Agency, *Kishōchō kako no jishin tsunami saigai* [Japan Meteorological Agency: Past earthquakes, tsunami, and disasters], accessed April 1, 2019, <http://www.data.jma.go.jp/svd/egev/data/higai/higai-1995.html>.

152 Cabinet Office Japan, *Koramu 8: Sasshōjiken no kenshō* [Column 8: Verification of the killing], Disaster Management, accessed April 1, 2019, https://www.bousai.go.jp/kyoiku/kyokun/kyoukunnokkeishou/rep/1923_kanto_daishinsai_2/pdf/22_column8.pdf.

153 MEXT, "Meiji rokunen ikō kyōiku ruinentōkei" [Annual education statistics since 1873], in MEXT, *Gakusei hyakunijūnen-shi shiryō-hen* [120-year history of the educational system: Documents], Tokyo: Teikoku Chihō Gyōsei Gakkai, 1981, http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318190.htm.

ment in Japan. From the 1920s, a number of new schools were founded and new teaching methods were developed. The series of movements known as the Taisho New Education Movement (Taishō shinkyōiku undō 大正新教育運動) was inspired by the New Education movements in Europe and North America which, in general, challenged the traditional curricula and put more focus on the personality of children. The newly established schools in Japan were mainly private schools, which were financially supported by the increasing number of middle-class families in cities, and thus their educational viewpoints had less impact on public schools in the countryside.¹⁵⁴ After the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923, however, the government tightened its control over the field of education and the New Education movements, which did not match the official educational policy, started to be suppressed.¹⁵⁵

Sports festivals and school ceremonies

In the field of physical education, gymnastics in the Meiji era was criticized for its militaristic and formal character.¹⁵⁶ In general, however, physical education in schools did not lose its ties to the military. Due to the First World War and the reception of Social Darwinism, Japanese intellectuals started to see the importance of physical education. They regarded physical training as an indispensable means of keeping Japan militarily and economically competitive against the nations of North America and Europe.¹⁵⁷ In 1913, the Ministry of Education issued an order for schools to follow its new syllabus for gymnastics—the first comprehensive syllabus for physical education in elementary, secondary, and normal schools.¹⁵⁸ For secondary schools, the syllabus included gymnastics, sports games, as well as military drills (*kyōren* 教練).¹⁵⁹

154 Matsumura Masaki, “Jiyū kyōiku undō kara manabu koto” [Lessons from the New Education movement], *Bulletin of Nara Women's University* 22 (1981): 33–47.

155 Obari Makoto, “Taishō shinkyōiku undō no paradokusu” [The paradox of the Taishō New Education Movement], *Kodomo shakai kenkyū* 21 (2015): 19–32.

156 Irie Katsumi, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (11)” [A study on the thought and practice of modern physical education in Japan, 11], *The Journal of the Faculty of Education, Tottori University, Educational Science* 30, no. 1 (1988): 104.

157 Irie Katsumi, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (10)” [A study on the thought and practice of modern physical education in Japan, 10], *The Journal of the Faculty of Education, Tottori University, Educational Science* 29, no. 2 (1987): 155.

158 Monbushō, *Gakkō taisō kyōju yōmoku: Monbushō kunrei* [Syllabus for the teaching of school gymnastics: Education Ministry order] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Hōbunkan).

159 Monbushō, *Gakko taisō kyōju yōmoku* [Syllabus for the teaching of school gymnastics] (Tokyo: Hōbunkan, 1913).

In April 1924, the government decided to send army officers on active service to all public secondary schools and higher educational institutions, except universities. The officers were in charge of supervising military drills and teaching students discipline, cooperation, and obedience.¹⁶⁰ Private schools and universities could also apply for an officer as a military drill supervisor. For instance, Dokkyō Secondary School was a private school, but an army officer supervised its military drill.¹⁶¹ According to the syllabus for the military drill issued in 1925, secondary school students had two to three military drill classes per week, as well as four- to five-day-long field exercises every year.¹⁶² Until then, students' performance in military exercises had been evaluated as a part of the physical education class. From 1925, it was evaluated separately and the scores were forwarded to the army.¹⁶³ Besides individual examinations, an examination of each school was introduced. At least once a year, officers appointed by the Minister of the Army reviewed students' military drills.¹⁶⁴ As evaluations could affect its reputation, each school started to make every possible effort to achieve better scores.¹⁶⁵

On one hand, this measure aimed to prepare male youth for total mobilization. The fact that civilians, who had received no disciplinary training prior, descended into complete disorder after the Great Kantō Earthquake also seems to have pushed this measure.¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, it aimed to keep middle-class army officers, who otherwise could have been dismissed due to disarmament measures, in reserve. In the Washington Naval Treaty, signed in 1922, the signatory nations agreed to prevent an arms race by limiting naval construction. The treaty established an international capital ship ratio for the US, Britain, Japan, France, and Italy, and limited the size and armaments of capital ships already built or under construction. The disarmament of the navy led to the disarmament of the army in Japan, and the government decided to send officers to schools to secure employment for them.¹⁶⁷ Until the end of 1925, around 1,000 officers were

160 Hirahara Haruyoshi, *Haizokushōkō seido seiritsu-shi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Noma Kyōiku Kenkyūjo, 1993), 119.

161 Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō hyakunen*, vol. 2, pp. 108–110, 142–43; vol. 4, pp. 118–19.

162 Weekly military drill: 2 hours per week for the 7th to 9th grade students; 3 hours per week for the 10th and 11th grade students. Field exercise: four days long for the 7th to 9th grade students and five days long for the 10th and 11th grade students. Hirahara, *Haizokushōkō seido seiritsu-shi*, 148.

163 Hirahara, *Haizokushōkō seido seiritsu-shi*, 174.

164 Kasuga Takeshi, *Gakkō kyōren 1 Shihan daigaku kōza "taiiku" 3* [School military training 1 University teaching course "physical education" 3] (Tokyo: Kenbunkan, 1930), 8–9.

165 Hirahara, *Haizokushōkō seido seiritsu-shi*, 175.

166 Kasuga, "Gakkō kyōren," 7.

167 Mizusaki, *Kōki no tanjō*, 111.

appointed.¹⁶⁸ Although some newspaper and magazine articles criticized this measure as a military invasion of education, the Ministry of the Army carefully chose officers with a “gentle” personality, and at least in the 1920s the officers were reported to have gotten along well with students and teachers.¹⁶⁹

The Second Tokyo Secondary School reportedly started the military drills and examination under the supervision of an officer from 1925.¹⁷⁰ A student of the First Tokyo Secondary School described his experience in an essay published in the school club magazine. At first, he did not like the military drills, since he felt that the officer’s commands to run around the schoolyard were unreasonable. However, after being moved by the sight of his officer lying in the rain on the muddy drill ground and showing his students a prone firing position, he changed his mind and realized the importance of military drills:

Following the command of “forward!”, I moved forward in high spirits, lay down on the grass, smelled the scent of grass, kept my ears open and waited for the officer’s commands. At that moment, I accepted unconditionally the importance of the military drill. (. . .) The military drill educates humans. It educates people to be really great and creates excellent Japanese people. Only the military drill can provide us the sensation conjured by screaming “Waaah” and charging the enemy. No other education can provide us the sensation of laying in a muddy field with one’s officer and shooting. Furthermore, the feeling of satisfaction evoked through the disciplined and grand march cannot be substituted by anything else.¹⁷¹

School sports events also developed during the Taishō era. Responding to the criticism that sports festivals were nothing other than an examination and competition between individuals, school started to put more focus on group games. With the spread of schoolyards, each school started to organize their own sports festivals, which were sometimes combined with local festivals. Ignoring continuous advice from the Ministry of Education, these school sports festivals were filled with showy costumes, lavish foods, and local audiences.¹⁷² Their content diversified over time. Sports games like volleyball and basketball, athletics, and dances replaced gymnastics and military drills.¹⁷³ At the same time, sports festivals also began to gain a national ceremonial aspect, as raising the national flag, singing

168 Andō Tadashi, “Kokumin kyōiku to guntai” [National education and the military], *Kyōiku zasshi* 17 (1983): 131–41; Hirahara, *Haizoku shōkō seido seiritsu-shi*, 202.

169 Hirahara, *Haizoku shōkō seido seiritsu-shi*, 189, 206.

170 Tachikawa High School, *Reirō*, 49.

171 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 92 (1925): 8–9.

172 Yoshimi, “Neshon no girei toshite no undōkai, 39–47.

173 Irie, “Kindai no tennōsei,” 161–62.

the national anthem, and cheering the emperor (banzai) became standard features of them.¹⁷⁴

One of the most important sports festivals started in this era was the Meiji Shrine Games. After the death of Emperor Meiji, Meiji Shrine was built in 1920 and each school celebrated its completion. For instance, the principal of the First Tokyo Secondary School, according to its school club magazine of 1920 (vol. 83), gave a speech on Emperor Meiji and Meiji Shrine. The emperor had a deity-like status and after leaving his mortal coils he remained an object of worship. Around his birthday, schools would visit Meiji Shrine.¹⁷⁵ In 1924, the first Meiji Shrine Games was organized by the Department of the Interior, in order to remember and respect the “virtue” of the Meiji emperor, and to improve the physical ability and rouse the national spirit of the Japanese people. In this sense, from the beginning, the department aimed to consolidate the emperor-centered state ideology and improve the country’s military capability through this mass sports event.¹⁷⁶

The participants of the Meiji Shrine Games were youths and soldiers from all over Japan and also from Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria, though the majority were not students because the event was held in the middle of the school term.¹⁷⁷ The program shows that it was a political event from the beginning. It started with a ceremony, including visiting Meiji Shrine.¹⁷⁸ Mass gymnastics performances were also organized to express the unity of the Japanese people. For example, 20,000 secondary and university students performed at the second Meiji Shrine Games in 1925, and younger children performed a dance with a song admiring Emperor Meiji.¹⁷⁹ These religious aspects also received criticism, but in general the games kept their political and quasi-religious character.

As the Ministry of Education designated November 3, the birthday of Emperor Meiji, as the national sport day in 1924, smaller sport festivals, school ceremonies, and students’ military reviews took place parallel to the Meiji Shrine Games.¹⁸⁰ According to its 1926 school club magazine (vol. 92), the First Tokyo Secondary School organized its own martial arts competition in 1926, a year after its

174 Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 110–12.

175 See, e.g., the school club magazines of First Tokyo Secondary School, vol. 90 (1924); Third Tokyo Secondary School, vol. 61 (1934), vol. 65 (1936), vol. 69 (1938).

176 Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 59.

177 Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 93.

178 Department of the Interior, *Dai-ikkai Meiji jingū kyōgi taikai hōkokusho* [Report on the first Meiji Shrine Games], Tokyo, 1925, Tokyo Metropolitan Archives, 18023.

179 Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 92.

180 Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 84.

students took part in the second Meiji Shrine Games. One student wrote an emotional essay in the magazine, declaring that school loyalty, local patriotism, chivalry and justice were all fused together at the games, which was filled with music, the voices of the masses, and feelings like passion for sports and awe of Emperor Meiji. He described that a warm shared feeling emerged among the players and audiences there and concluded by emphasizing the role of youths: “Japanese youth who had been regarded physically weak, improved their physical ability and are ready to ‘purify’ society.”¹⁸¹ In 1926, the Ministry of Education gave orders to promote physical education, military drills and sports festivals. It underlined that not just a small group of students, but all students should regularly take part in physical trainings.¹⁸² Thus, in general, physical education and sports events were all promoted during the Taishō era.

In the Taishō era, some schools started to bow to the Imperial Palace in their school ceremonies, but the political ceremonies introduced in the late nineteenth century remained basically unchanged until the end of the Second World War.¹⁸³ After the enthronement of the Taishō emperor in 1912, schools started to celebrate his birthday, October 31, calling it Tenchō-setsu. The Imperial Portraits of Emperor Meiji were also replaced, and secondary schools in Tokyo received portraits of the Taishō emperor in 1915.¹⁸⁴ More and more schools received Imperial Portrait—from 1916, all public institutions for pre- and elementary education, and from 1918 private institutions for pre- and elementary education, could apply for one.¹⁸⁵ However, it should be noted that even by the end of this era not all schools had acquired a portrait.

Relationship with the Weimar Republic

Regarding the Japanese-German relationship, in general, there was much less exchange between the two countries during the First World War, as Japan declared

¹⁸¹ First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 92 (1926): 79.

¹⁸² Government of Japan, “Taiiku undō no shinkō ni kansuru ken” [Matters concerning the promotion of physical education], *Kanpō*, no. 4058 (1926, March 8).

¹⁸³ Official bowing to the Imperial Palace was introduced by the government in 1935. Yamamoto Nobuyuki and Konno Toshihiko, *Taishō Shōwa kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogī 1* [The emperor ideology of education in the Taishō and Shōwa eras 1] (Tokyo: Shinsensha, 1986), 328.

¹⁸⁴ See, e.g., First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi*, 72 (1913); Third Tokyo Secondary School, *Chūgakkō ichiran* [List of secondary schools] (1927); Shihōkai, Kaihō [Newsletter] 15 (1976): 8; Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō Gakuen-shi* [A history of Dokkyō Gakuen] (Tokyo: Dokkyō Gakuen, 2000), 69.

¹⁸⁵ Ono, “Gakkō shitatsuke ‘goshin-ei’ no fukyū katei,” 62.

war on Germany on August 23, 1914. Japan fired on German troops, who they had once admired as their ideal, and quickly occupied German territories in China. After the war, Germany's former Pacific Islands were put under Japanese mandate. Due to this political context, positive comments about Germany were generally suppressed. Educational institutions that had close ties to Germany, like the Dokkyō Secondary School, had difficulty in collecting students and gathering funding.¹⁸⁶ However, the Japanese interest and respect for Germany did not entirely disappear. For instance, Tanaka Gi'ichi (1863–1929), a major general of the Imperial Japanese Army, admired German youth organizations in his book published in 1915. According to Tanaka, all Japanese people still admired Germany, even though they may not say it out loud.¹⁸⁷

The documents of foreign visitors in the Weimar Republic also show that a number of Japanese pedagogues, from scholars to elementary school principals from the countryside, visited schools in Berlin shortly after the First World War. Although Germany had lost the war, between 1920 and 1928 about 200 Japanese delegations visited schools in Berlin.¹⁸⁸ During the Weimar Republic, Japanese intellectuals still referenced and admired German physical education.¹⁸⁹ Despite the perception of the republic as being democratic, its physical education and political ceremonies show continuity from the preceding authoritarian German Empire, and the connection between individual students' bodies to the idea of nation-state became even stronger. Considering this point, it is understandable that Japanese experts did not clearly differentiate the physical education of these two eras. In the 1930s, due to political contexts such as the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact, exchanges between Japan and Germany intensified. Through these exchanges, student marching in Japan finally started to be linked to national ceremonies on a nationwide level, as they were in Germany. Thus, in the following, I will explore Japanese school ceremonies and marching events in the 1930s and examine whether and how the connection between the marching bodies of students and the nation-state was intensified in Japan.

186 Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō Gakuen-shi*, 69–70.

187 Tanaka, *Shakai-teki kokumin kyōiku* [A social education of the people] (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1915), 147–48.

188 Documents about Japanese delegations are archived under Hospitation. Rep. 34, Nr. 614, 615, 616, 617, 620, 621, 622, Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

189 Irie Katsumi, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (7)” [A study on the thought and practice of modern physical education in Japan, 7], *The Journal of the Faculty of Education, Tottori University, Educational Science* 28, no. 2 (1986): 351–69.

4.4 Political Instability and the Divine Emperor in Early Shōwa Japan (1926–1945)

After the death of Emperor Taishō in 1926, his successor, Hirohito, acceded the throne. Owing to to the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 and global upheavals like the Great Depression, Japan experienced an economic crisis at the beginning of the new Shōwa era, which caused a high rate of unemployment and social instability. In this context, the statist (国家主義 *kokka shugi*) movement dominated Japanese politics. It consisted of a mixture of ideas such as nationalism, militarism, and state capitalism, proposed by a number of contemporary political philosophers and thinkers in Japan.

This political syncretism developed over time from the Meiji Restoration. Prior to the Meiji Restoration, most Japanese more readily identified with their feudal domain rather than the idea of “Japan” as a nation-state. Through the introduction of mass education and military service, however, nationalism began to spread steadily among the Japanese. Especially the successful foreign wars, such as the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, contributed to foment nationalism. In the 1920s and 1930s, supporters of statism used the slogan Shōwa Restoration (昭和維新 *Shōwa Ishin*), and declared the need to replace the existing political order for fulfilling the original goals of the Meiji Restoration; namely, direct imperial rule via military proxies. This idea triggered several uprisings such as the League of Blood Incident in February and March 1932 during which several politicians and famous businessmen were killed by a group of right-wing extremists. In May of the same year, a group of right-wing army and navy officers succeeded in assassinating the Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi. This assassination was a part of the May 15 Incident (五・一五事件 *Goichigo Jiken*), an attempted coup d'état in Japan.

In order to ease the discontent of the military with the government and gain control of the public discourse supporting the rebels, the naval officer Saitō Makoto (1858–1936) was appointed as the 30th prime minister of Japan. He formed a coalition government of national unity, consisting of all major parties and consequently ended the party politics of the Taishō era. In 1936, however, Saito was also assassinated in what is known as the February 26 Incident, as about 1,500 ultranationalist army troops marched on central Tokyo in order to promote the Shōwa Restoration. Although all these coups ended in failure, the concepts of statism infiltrated mainstream Japanese politics and strengthened the rising power of Japanese militarism.¹⁹⁰ In the field of diplomatic relations, Japan withdrew

190 Takahashi Masae, *Ni niroku jiken* [The February 26 Incident] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 1999).

from the League of Nations in 1933 and became politically isolated. Consequently, Japan became closer to Nazi Germany, which had left the League of Nations in the same year, and in 1936 the Anti-Comintern Pact was concluded between the two nations. In 1937, the Second Sino-Japanese War broke out, and at the end of 1941 Japan officially entered the Second World War.

Reflecting the social context, a number of militaristic and nationalistic measures in the field of education were established from the 1930s. For instance, the Ministry of Education revised textbooks for elementary schools in 1933.¹⁹¹ The new Japanese reader for the first grade included words such as “go forward, forward, soldiers go forward.”¹⁹² Besides the militarization of education, there was a crucial ideological change as the emperor started to be presented as a divinity in human form. Since the Meiji era, the emperor had been regarded as somehow divine, but officially the Japanese Empire had been a constitutional monarchy. Until the Taishō era, there had been a widespread understanding that the emperor was the highest organ among all political institutions in Japan, while the sovereign power lay with the democratic government. The emperor could only exercise his power with the agreement of ministers. In other words, the responsibility for each political decision was taken not by the emperor but by ministers. In this understanding, which was called the Emperor Organ Theory (天皇機関説 *Tennō Kikansetsu*), if the emperor started a war without the agreement of ministers, the emperor himself would have to take all responsibility. This interpretation was, however, inconvenient for the military, which was seeking to evade governmental control and gain political power by receiving legitimacy from the emperor.¹⁹³ For legitimacy, they needed an interpretation of the emperor and his role that would not place any blame on him in the case of war or any mishaps. The military therefore advocated a different political theory, namely the Emperor Sovereign Theory (*Tennō Shukensetsu* 天皇主権説), in which the emperor was regarded as an infallible divinity in human form, who could exercise his power without taking any responsibility. In 1935, the Emperor Organ Theory was massively attacked in the Diet and the government officially dismissed it. Though this theory had been generally supported by the government and jurists for about 13 years, the sale of the relevant books were banned and the legal scholar Minobe Tatsukichi, the advocate of this theory, was

¹⁹¹ These books were published by the Ministry of Education from 1904 to 1949, and used in all elementary schools.

¹⁹² Monbushō, *Shōgaku kokugo dokuhon* [Elementary school reader] (Tokyo: Monbushō, 1932), 1: 5.

¹⁹³ Soeda Yoshiya, *Kyōiku chokugo no shakai-shi* [Social history of the Imperial Rescript on Education] (Tokyo: Yūshindō Kobunsha, 1997), 245–47.

dismissed. After this incident, the emperor was officially presented as a divinity in a human form, especially in schools.

Radical idealization of the “healthy body” and implementation of the “proper gait”

As I mentioned before, physical education had been continuously encouraged in the twentieth century in Japan. In the Shōwa era, reflecting the militaristic and nationalistic policies at the time, physical education was promoted in a radical way, not only by national institutions like schools but also by private institutions. From 1932, students of the Second Tokyo Secondary School started every morning by doing exercises and on every ceremonial occasion they also performed a march-past.¹⁹⁴ The school military drill introduced in the 1920s also continued in the 1930s, although due to the Mukden Incident and the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), many army officers at secondary schools had left for the front. In terms of their personality and educational background, most of the newly appointed officers were less qualified than the previous officers and there was more friction between them and students and teachers.¹⁹⁵

Not only schools but also private companies encouraged physical education. For instance, from 1930, *Asahi Shinbun*, a national newspaper that sold 1,680,000 copies daily at the time, started to organize a competition which commended children in excellent health.¹⁹⁶ This competition was supported by the Ministry of Education and, thus, the judging committee included officials of the Ministry and was advised by the Minister of Education.¹⁹⁷ Each prefecture chose their smartest, best looking, and most athletic students (male and female) in the fifth or sixth grade and the judging committee examined the candidate’s physical appearance (taking height, weight and chest measurements), physical ability and other factors like school records. The measurement values were converted into points and the best students were chosen. Since the judging committee announced the best stu-

¹⁹⁴ Tachikawa High School, *Reirō*, 60.

¹⁹⁵ Hirahara, *Haizoku shōkō seido seiritsu-shi*, 206, 226–28.

¹⁹⁶ Ariyama Teruo. “‘Kenkō yūryōji’: Media ga tsukutta risō no shōnen shōjo [“Healthy children”: Ideal boys and girls made by media], in *Senjiki Nihon no media ibento* [Media and events in wartime Japan], ed. Toshihiro Tsuganesawa and Ariyama Teruo (Kyoto: Sekai Shisōsha, 1998), 5, 11.

¹⁹⁷ Ariyama, “Kenkō yūryōji,” 11.

dents in public, the students received nationwide extensive media coverage and became an honor for their home prefecture.¹⁹⁸

Similar to the Weimar Republic, not only the students' physical appearance like height and weight but also their physical performance became objects of measurement and control. In 1939, the Ministry of Health introduced the physical strength examination Tairyokushō Kentei (体力章検定), which aimed to measure and promote the military-related physical performance of youths between 15 and 25 years old. In schools, factories, and companies, youths took part in the exam, which consisted of running, jumping, pull-ups, throwing grenades, and transporting weights.¹⁹⁹ For instance, my review of the school club magazines of the First Tokyo Secondary School shows that it conducted this exam in late November from 1939.

In this context, being healthy started to be regarded as the duty of the people, while being in poor health became associated with laziness and immorality.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, the perceived spiritual aspects of physical education were increasingly focused upon. According to the historian Hirota Teruyuki, an instruction issued by the Minister of the Army in 1888 regarded discipline in appearance and discipline in the individual mind as two distinct things. After the Russo-Japanese War, however, a lack of the former gradually became associated with a lack of patriotism.²⁰¹ For instance, in 1930, the aim of the military drill was described as the cultivation of the sprit of discipline, cooperation, temperance, and the promotion of the “virtue of subordination.”²⁰² The Syllabus for the Teaching of School Gymnastics, which had been stipulated in 1913, was revised in 1936 with more focus on the development of character rather than on physical performance.²⁰³ As I showed in Chapter 2, Japanese physical education in the nineteenth century was a mixture of foreign gymnastics and not strongly associated with inner spirit, unlike traditional martial arts in which the mind and body were strongly con-

198 Ariyama, “Kenkō yūryōji,” 13–14.

199 Yamada Sukematsu, “Tairyokushōkentei ni tsuite” [On the physical strength examination], *Katei to eisei* 17, no. 10 (1941): 10–13.

200 Ariyama, “Kenkō yūryōji,” 18.

201 Hirota, *Rikugunshōkō no kyōiku shakaishi* [Social history of education and the Army War College] (Kanagawa: Seori Shobō, 1998), 294–97.

202 Kasuga, “Gakkō kyōren,” 7–8.

203 The syllabus was once revised in 1926 with the introduction of the school military drill. In general, however, the revision did not change the content of the syllabus dramatically, except for making some exercises more smooth and rhythmical. Morishita Takashi, “Kikuo Mihashi’s View of Physical Exercises and Their Effects Produced on School Physical Exercises (I),” *Bulletin of the Institute of Physical Education* 24, no. 1 (1984): 87–88; Miyata Kakuō, *Kaisei gakkō taisō* [Revisions of school physical education] (Tokyo: Toyotosho, 1936), 29–32.

nected. Against the backdrop of rising nationalism and public criticisms of Western culture, however, traditional martial arts, which had been excluded from modern physical education, were reintroduced to schools.²⁰⁴

These combined factors probably contributed to the revival of the beliefs surrounding the mind-body connection in Japan.²⁰⁵ The physical education expert Ōtani Buichi (1887–1966) underlined that physical education strengthens students' minds and cultivates the spirit of discipline and cooperation.²⁰⁶ Hiranuma Ryō, who studied physical education and psychology in Berlin, argued in a similar way in his 1941 book in which he admired German physical education as an ideal and underlined that becoming more healthy and gaining more physical strength was the duty of the Japanese people.²⁰⁷ An expert in folk remedies and physical education, Hirata Kurakichi (1901–1945) also argued in 1943 that the sole purpose of physical education was to build a healthy and strong body to sacrifice oneself for the emperor and his holy war.²⁰⁸ Not only experts but also students supported such ideas. In the school club magazines there were a number of articles encouraging sports. For instance, a student's essay written in 1937 and 1938 underlined the importance of physical education, arguing that a "weak body" would "destroy a person's happiness."²⁰⁹ According to these students, if a person has a weak body their intelligence can never be brought into play, and thus "weak people" fail and cannot survive in this competitive world.²¹⁰ It should be mentioned that there was also a student who in his essay regarded physical strength as separate from the character. He argued that *Zen* meditation at temples and church service on Sunday should also be encouraged for the development of students' personality, as sports are more suited for physical development.²¹¹ In general, however, physical education became more and more strongly associated with moral education in the 1930s.

204 Some Japanese martial arts like judō and kendō had already been introduced in 1931, but there were no guidelines on how to teach them in schools. Miyata, *Kaisei gakkō taisō*, 28.

205 In this syllabus, Western sports games like baseball were renamed with more Japanese-sounding names. This change also implied the nationalism and antipathy against Western culture at the time.

206 Ōtani Buichi, *Kyōiku taisō* [Educational physical education] (Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, 1938), 58–9.

207 Hiranuma, *Kokka kokumin no taiiku* [Physical education for citizens of the state] (Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, 1941), 18.

208 Hirata Kurakichi, *Guntai taiiku no kenkyū* [Research on military physical education] (Tokyo: Sangabō, 1943), 14.

209 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 96 (1937): 48–49.

210 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 108 (1938): 64–65.

211 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 100 (1939): 147.

As a part of physical education, the authorities also aimed to control people's gaits. In the new syllabus for the teaching of school gymnastics, the "normal gait" and other different types of gaits were introduced as physical exercises.²¹² An instruction for military drills also underlined that students were required to show their mettle while marching 114 (75 cm-long) steps per minute.²¹³ In the summer of 1937, the Home Ministry (内務省 Naimushō) launched a campaign to promote physical training, encouraging people to walk more and also walk in the "correct and beautiful way."²¹⁴ Moreover, in the last week of August in 1942, the Tokyo Railroad Bureau held a campaign promoting the orderly gait of passengers. Aiming to ease the congestion in big stations in Tokyo, it played marching music in stations so that passengers could keep in step with others and walk move smoothly.²¹⁵

Shortly prior, experts on physical education had also appealed for a "correct" way of walking. For instance, Ōtani Buichi argued in his 1941 book, *Seijōho* (正常歩, The normal gait), that with proper practice everybody could walk the "right" way.²¹⁶ Probably inspired by the Wandervogel movement in Germany, Ōtani tried to develop a natural way of walking not for military marching but as a form of exercise. Between 1917 and 1921, as a scholarship student of the Japanese Ministry of Education, he studied in the US and visited Germany and other European countries.²¹⁷ In January 1921, for instance, the Provincial School Council of Berlin received a request from the Ministry of Education that Ōtani wished to visit a Turnen class instructed by Zobel in Berlin-Schöneberg.²¹⁸ According to Ōtani, the "correct" gait could help to not only training individuals to become efficient workers who are healthy in mind and body but also to establish a competitive kokutai (literally, "national body"; see Chapter 4).²¹⁹ In the book's preface, he argued that in order to overcome the national crisis, liberalistic and individualistic gaits should be discarded.²²⁰ Instead, a powerful and unified gait should be exercised, which embod-

212 Gakkō Taiiku Kenkyūkai (ed.), *Kaisei gakkō taisō kyōju yōmoku oyobi kaisei yōten* [Revised syllabus for the teaching of school gymnastics and revised points] (Tokyo: Narumido, 1936).

213 Kasuga, "Gakkō kyōren," 12.

214 Inoue Toshikazu, *Risōdarake no senjika Nihon* [Wartime Japan, steeped in idealism] (Tokyo: Chikuma, 2013), 26–28.

215 Yasuda Hiroshi, "*Shōka* to iu kiseki jūni no monogatari [12 tales of the miraculous national anthem] (Tokyo: Bungei Shunjū, 2003), 84.

216 Ōtani Buichi, *Seijōho* [The normal gait] (Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, 1941), 22–3.

217 Suzuki Junko and Murohoshi Ryūgo, "Hokō kyōiku-ron Ōtani Buichi to seijōho" [Educational theory on walking. Ōtani Buichi and the normal gait] *Wōkingu kagaku* 3 (1999): 47–52

218 Von: Min. Erlaß U III B Nr. 10059, An: Provinzial Schulkollegium Berlin, 13. Jan. 1921. Rep. 34, Nr. 615. Brandenburgisches Landesarchiv.

219 Ōtani, *Seijōho*, 3–5.

220 Ōtani, *Seijōho*, 5.

ied the collective spirit in daily life, that of “one hundred million people, one mind” (一億一心 *ichioku isshin*).²²¹ Believing that changing this daily movement could simplify life and strengthen mental fortitude,²²² Ōtani suggested that students should exercise the “normal gait” (*seijōho*) not only in schools but also in their daily lives.²²³

The pioneer of Japanese modern dance, Eguchi Takaya, also wrote a book about walking. From 1931 to 1933, he and his wife studied German modern dance (*Neue Tanz*) in Mary Wigman’s dance school in Dresden, Germany.²²⁴ After returning to Japan, he committed himself to establishing and spreading an abstract dance style based on *Neue Tanz*. His first book *Aruku* (歩く, Walk) was published in 1941 and officially recommended by the Ministry of Health and Welfare (厚生省 *Kōseishō*). In the book, he introduced the German Goosestep with pictures and explained it as a kind of quick march that represented solemn discipline and fighting spirit in rituals, while complaining that there were only a few people walking in the “correct” way in Japan.²²⁵

Eguchi listed various kinds of “wrong” walking habits and styles, including bad postures and footsteps.²²⁶ In his view, a walking style with footsteps sounding like *katsu katsu* (clip clop) was best, whereas a sound like *zaa zaa* (a rushing or sliding sound) indicated a problem with bending and stretching one’s knees or ankles, with feet rubbing against the ground unnecessarily. Bad walking styles were indicated by a sound like *badara badara* or not making any sound, as one was not stepping on the ground with the heel.²²⁷ Eguchi listed 12 important factors for walking and explained how to acquire a “correct walking” style.²²⁸ Interestingly, he noted that moving one’s hands while walking was “natural,”²²⁹ even though, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, people in premodern Japan generally walked without swinging their arms.

Arguing that one way of walking was “natural,” “correct,” and even the representation of discipline and fighting spirit, physical education experts like Ōtani and Eguchi ignored that human gaits are diverse and depend on individuals and

221 Ōtani, *Seijōho*, 4, 26.

222 Ōtani, *Seijōho*, 10–11.

223 Ōtani, *Seijōho*, 83–91.

224 Mary Wigman (also spelled “Wiegmann,” 1886–1973) was a German dancer, choreographer, and pioneer of expressionist dance, who studied under Émile Jaques-Dalcroze and Rudolf von Labans. She started her own school, where Eguchi studied, in 1920.

225 Eguchi Takaya, *Aruku* [Walking] (Tokyo: Meguro Shoten, 1941), 4, 14.

226 Eguchi, *Aruku*, 7–13.

227 Eguchi, *Aruku*, 7–13.

228 Eguchi, *Aruku*, 17.

229 Eguchi, *Aruku*, 48–50.

cultures. Indeed, keeping in step with others was a very simple but powerful way of training oneself to prioritize others.

Similar to physical education, the spiritual aspect of marching came to the fore in the 1930s. For instance, a textbook for the school military drill issued by the Army Ministry in 1933 underlined that the aim of marching exercises was not merely to maintain steps mechanically, but to cultivate a brave and dauntless temper.²³⁰ According to another textbook edited by the ministry, by marching energetically and bravely in perfect unity, students could cultivate their generous and bold temperament, which propelled them forward in their duty.²³¹ Moreover, it described military reviews and marching past in front of an inspecting authority as a spiritual and solemn ritual, which cultivated the “beautiful” spirit of obedience, self-sacrifice, and service, since the hearts of the commander and the soldiers become one.²³²

Marching events and school ceremonies

From the 1930s, especially after the ideological turn (天皇機関説事件 *Tennō Kikansetsu Jiken*) in 1935, Japanese authorities started to portray the emperor as a divinity in human form and required schools to implement the political ceremonies in a more standardized and serious way. In 1930 the cabinet distributed the official design of the national flag.²³³ A 1934 book by the newspaper publisher Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun explains that hoisting the national flag and singing the national anthem are important for rousing national feeling because both of them symbolize the Japanese spirit.²³⁴ Moreover, the Ministry of Education produced records of the national anthem for schools in 1930 for all Japanese to learn to sing the national anthem. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, singing songs with Western melodies was a new component of the modern school ceremonies and was very challenging for Japanese students. As the result, many schools had not provided music classes and skipped singing in school ceremonies.²³⁵ Thus it was first

230 Rikugunshō, *Gakkō kyōren hikkei* [School military training essentials] (Tokyo: Gunjinkaikan, 1933), 46–47.

231 Rikugunshō Heimuka, *Seinen gakkō kyōren kyōkasho* [Military training textbook for youth schools] (Tokyo: Gunjinkaikan, 1935), 1: 15.

232 Rikugunshō Heimuka, *Seinen gakkō kyōren kyōkasho*, 1: 202.

233 Naikaku Bunkō or Cabinet Notification Nr. 20, Dec. 15, 1930.

234 Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun, *Hinomaru to Kimigayo* [The Hinomaru flag and the ‘Kimigayo’ national anthem] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun, 1934).

235 Mizusaki, *Kōki no tanjō*, 155.

through the distribution of the records in the 1930s that children learned to sing the national anthem during school ceremonies.

Along these lines, the Ministry of Education tightened its control over schools regarding how to handle the Imperial Portrait. Around 1937, it published guidelines for handling the emperor's portrait, encouraging schools to build a *hōanden* (奉安殿), a small shrine-like building in schoolyards for the safekeeping of the Imperial Portrait and the Imperial Rescript on Education.²³⁶ At the same time, the ministry checked if schools already possessed the Imperial Portrait and if not, demanded schools to “request” one. In other words, in the 1930s, not only the emperor himself but also his portrait was increasingly regarded as divine. Over time, this belief became increasingly radical. For instance, there were a number of deadly accidents where teachers died trying to save the Imperial Portrait during a fire or other natural catastrophes. For instance, the Guidelines for Air-Raid Protection in Schools (学校防空指針 *Gakkō Bōkū Shishin*) issued in 1943, stipulated that one should evacuate the Imperial Portrait and the Imperial Rescript on Education first, then the students.

For students, the portraits had a presence and were special, even though they were not permitted to see the portrait directly. When students wanted to pass by the *hōanden* they had to stop in front of it and bow. Sometimes teachers hid themselves behind the *hōanden* and checked whether students behaved appropriately in front of it.²³⁷ Furthermore, the Manners Guidelines (礼法要項 *Reihōyōkō*) issued by the Ministry of Education in 1941 stipulated the appropriate manners for all Japanese, especially secondary school students, including how to carry on political ceremonies in detail.²³⁸ This standardized the contents of the political ceremonies, which had been at the discretion of each prefecture since the late nineteenth century.²³⁹

While the symbols and school ceremonies that emerged in the late nineteenth century were standardized and spread to all kinds of schools in the 1930s, some new components were added to the existing ceremonies. One new official act was bowing to the Imperial Palace. From 1935, the government encouraged schools to make students bow to the palace, and in 1937, the Home Ministry and the Ministry

236 Ono Masaaki, “1930 nendai no goshineikanri genkakuka to gakkōgishiki” [1930’s Imperial Portraits (Goshinei) and Forcing of National Holiday’s School Ceremonies], *The Japanese Journal of Educational Research* 74, no. 4 (2007): 121–23.

237 As it was handled in the special way, there were also a number of robberies of the portraits aiming to get money. Soeda, *Kyōiku chokugo no shakai-shi*, 202–12.

238 Satō Hideo, *Kyōiku no bunka-shi*, vol. 2, *Gakkō no bunka* [School culture] (Tokyo: Aunsha, 2005), 200–201.

239 Yamamoto and Konno, *Taishō Shōwa kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogi* 1, 439.

of Education led the National Spiritual Mobilization Movement (国民精神総動員運動 *Kokumin Seishin Sōdōin Undō*), stipulating that school children must bow to the palace every morning.²⁴⁰ From 1938, students of the Second Tokyo Secondary School started to hoist the national flag and bow to the palace every Monday morning, and they started to visit a nearby shrine once a month.²⁴¹ I would argue that through this simple act of bowing, one can embody and experience the social and geographical order, perceiving who the sovereign is and where the center of the nation-state is.

Another new component was the radio and the siren. In order to involve all citizens in the political ceremonies, the city of Tokyo used radio broadcasts, public sirens, temple bells and whistles.²⁴² The public radio broadcast in Japan, which had started in the 1920s, became an indispensable means for propaganda from the 1930s onward.²⁴³ At least in 1938 and 1941, the city sounded its siren at 9:00 on the birthday of Emperor Meiji to remind its citizens of the day and make them bow to the Imperial Palace.²⁴⁴ In December 1941, as Japan entered the Second World War, all students had to gather and listen to the radio.²⁴⁵ On National Foundation Day in 1942, the city of Tokyo not only used radio broadcast, siren, bells, and whistles for reminding people of the ceremony, but also ordered the attendants of public transportation systems like trains, ships, and buses to remind their passengers of the time for bowing.²⁴⁶ Furthermore in 1942, the city of Tokyo ordered school principals and the heads of kindergartens to celebrate the fall of Singapore. On the ceremonial day, besides the typical components of political ceremonies like visiting shrines, marching, and playing sports, the city ordered children to listen to a speech by Prime Minister Tōjō.²⁴⁷

The other newly introduced component was the birthday of Emperor Meiji and its related ceremonies. In 1927, the Emperor's Birthday officially became the national holiday, Meiji-setsu (明治節), and an English-language essay by an 11th-

240 Yamamoto and Konno, *Taishō Shōwa kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogī* 1, 439.

241 Tachikawa High School, *Reirō*, 66.

242 Yamamoto and Konno, *Taishō Shōwa kyōiku no tennōsei ideorogī* 1, 437.

243 Yoshimi Shunya, *Koe no shihonshugī* [The capitalism of voice] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1995), 214–30.

244 Tōkyōshikōhō S13, Nov. 01; S16, Oct. 28, Nr. 3493. D10-0006 RAM. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

245 Tachikawa High School, *Reirō*, 72–73.

246 Tōkyōshikōhō S17, Feb. 05, Nr. 2311; S16, Oct. 28, Nr. 3493. D10-0006 RAM. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

247 Tōkyōshikōhō 東京市広報 S17, Feb. 5. Nr. 2311, 113-14. D10-0006 RAM. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

grade student of the First Tokyo Secondary School described how they celebrated the day in 1928:

The portraits of Their Imperial Majesties the Emperor and Empress are placed in a sort of box fixed to the wall. Lieutenant Mizutani, in his military gold-embroidered uniform, commands us in a solemn voice, “Stand up.” Just then the curtain of the box opened. We bow low. Suddenly the piano rolls out a slow, beautiful national anthem. We all sing it, praying in our hearts, “Long live the Emperor and the Empress!” . . . The anthem ceases. The principal advances with slow, dignified steps from his seat. He climbs the platform and takes out the Imperial Rescript. He unrolls it and lifts it toward his forehead and after a moment’s pause begins to read it solemnly and gravely in the ancient way . . . He finishes reading it. Then the principal makes a congratulatory address, representing the teachers and boys. The piano began to sound again. We all pay attention to it reverentially . . . After singing, we again bow low. At the same time the curtain of the box falls. And the ceremony came to an end. All this while, the masters and pupils kept quiet, so quiet that even the drop of a pin could be heard.²⁴⁸

In general, however, school ceremonies for the birthday of Emperor Meiji were first established in the 1930s.²⁴⁹

The Meiji Shrine Games, which had been established in the 1920s, also continued in the 1930s, though its character changed reflecting the political context. After Prince Chichibu (1902–1953), the second son of Emperor Taishō, assumed the post of president in 1929, the emperor himself started to attend the event, and as a result a solemn ritual to welcome him was organized.²⁵⁰ After the Manchuria Crisis of 1931, the games became more patriotic, religious, and militaristic. In 1933, for example, participants marched with military music and participated in games like throwing grenades, as well as shooting and beheading so-called “enemies” (dolls).²⁵¹ From 1939, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, instead of the Meiji Shrine Games Committee, started to organize the event and emphasize its nationalistic, militaristic, and quasi-religious aspects.

“National defense exercises” such as sandbag-carrying races and mass gymnastics and marching performances were increasingly emphasized at the Meiji Shrine Games. The report of the tenth games in 1939 shows us that the Ministry of Health and Welfare attempted to control every single step of the ceremony: how to march, in how many lines and in which order to march, what to wear, and

²⁴⁸ First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi*, 98 (1928): 125–26.

²⁴⁹ Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 194–95.

²⁵⁰ Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 110–11, 138–42, 113–15.

²⁵¹ Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 135, 138–42.

where to stand.²⁵² The event was held every year until 1942 and ended due to the severe political and social situation caused by the Second World War.

Parallel to the Meiji Shrine Games, the ministries imposed an obligation on each prefecture, city, town, and school to organize sports events on the day.²⁵³ Therefore, there were several sports events and political ceremonies at the beginning of November in which secondary schools also took part. For instance, on November 1, 1928, all students of the Tokyo First Secondary School took part in a joint sports event organized by the city of Tokyo, and on the next day the school organized its own martial arts competition.²⁵⁴

One of the most important events held in this context was the Meiji Shrine Worship Ceremony (Meiji Jingū Hōhai-shiki 明治神宮奉拜式), a student military review organized by the city after the Manchuria Crisis of 1931, to present and “enhance” the mettle of Japanese youths. The review was held annually at the beginning of November until 1940, just before Japan entered the Second World War in 1941.²⁵⁵ Each year, about 60,000 to 70,000 students from over 100 secondary schools in Tokyo participated in this review at an army parade ground next to Meiji Shrine.²⁵⁶ The ceremony consisted of singing the national anthem, welcoming the imperial family (or the governor of Tokyo), a round of inspection by the imperial family (or the governor of Tokyo), students marching past the dignitaries, speeches by the governor of Tokyo, the Minister of Education, and the Army Minister, and three cheers of “Banzai!” for the emperor.²⁵⁷ Student essays about the review show the participants’ positive feelings of togetherness, as well as very emotional and patriotic feelings, while marching. A student of the Fourth Tokyo Secondary School described his experience in 1932 as follows:

“Forward!!”

As a reflex, I stepped forward. At the moment, I felt like “We’ve got it!!” . . .

Until this day, we had practiced marching numerous times, but I was not really satisfied with our march. We tended to have something “impure” in our first step. The “impurity” would gradually expand until it disturbed all of our steps. I had worried that a lot of this could also happen in today’s ceremony. However, my worries were needless. Fixing our eyes, holding our rifles, we just marched and marched . . .

“Eyes right!”

252 The Ministry of Health and Welfare, *Meiji jingū taiku taikai hōkokusho* [Report of the Meiji Shrine Games] (Tokyo: Ministry of Health and Welfare, 1940), 32; Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 178.

253 Irie, *Shōwa supōtsu shiron*, 169.

254 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 98 (1928).

255 See, e.g., First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 104 (1931)

256 See, e.g., First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 106 (1932)

257 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi*, 106 (1932).

At that moment, everything vanished from my mind: Footsteps, music corps, all kinds of distracting thoughts. I didn't feel like we were marching in front of the governor of Tokyo. Through the deep forest, I clearly saw Meiji Shrine. I was sure, that we were able to show the spirit of Japanese students to the Meiji emperor. My heart was filled awe, gratitude, and satisfaction . . .²⁵⁸

As this essay was in the official school magazine, we cannot assume that all the students, or even the writer, really experienced the review in this very emotional way. However, at least we can consider that this kind of experience was expected and welcomed by authorities.

The Meiji Shrine Worship Ceremony was, however, not the only mass marching event at the time. After the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the city of Tokyo was filled with mass marching events. For instance, that year, on Emperor Meiji's birthday, a mass of school students gathered in front of the Imperial Palace. After a ceremony (bowing to the palace, singing songs, and listening to a speech) students marched around the city.²⁵⁹ In the same month, in order to celebrate the participation of Italy in the Anti-Comintern Pact, a marching event was organized in Tokyo. A mass of students marched and passed by the related buildings like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the German Embassy, and the Italian Embassy.²⁶⁰ There were also marching events related to the war. On December 15, 1937, the students of the Third Tokyo Secondary School took part in the great marching event celebrating the fall of Nanjing.²⁶¹ Among those marching events, however, the Meiji Shrine Worship Ceremony and students military review supervised by the emperor seems to have made the deepest impression on the participating students. On National Foundation Day in 1928, some secondary school students marched in front of the emperor. A student of Kaisei High School described his feelings at the time as follows:

As I passed by the Emperor, it was somehow bracing, and I felt like my heart slipped out of my body. This tense feeling I had was probably what all Japanese people have. I think a person who doesn't share this feeling is not Japanese.²⁶²

On May 22, 1939, the 25th anniversary of the introduction of school military drills under the supervision of active army officers was celebrated. About 32,500 students from 1,800 secondary schools and other higher educational institutions

²⁵⁸ Fourth Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 73 (1934): 58–9.

²⁵⁹ Tōkyō shikōhō S12, Oct 28, Nr. 2348. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

²⁶⁰ Tōkyō shikōhō S12, Nov 7. Nr. 2475. Tokyo Metropolitan Archives.

²⁶¹ Third Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 69 (1938):14.

²⁶² Kaisei Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 92 (1929): 135.

marched past the emperor.²⁶³ It was the first large-scale students' military review directly supervised by the emperor. In a number of essays, students described the sensation of seeing and being seen by the emperor with the deepest of emotions: "electroshock," "a pure and bright feeling," "burning blood," "cold water on the back," "moved to tears," "indefinable."²⁶⁴ Interestingly, some students also associated this with the "feeling of being Japanese," "Japanese spirit" or "the glory and gratitude of being Japanese."²⁶⁵ Besides having a positive feeling of unity when they kept in step, students associated their intense feelings with patriotism especially when the marching was supervised by the emperor.²⁶⁶

The positive image of Nazi Germany propagated in Japan

After the First World War, especially from the 1930s, the German-Japanese exchanges increased in various fields again. For instance, in October 1926 the government of the Weimar Republic notified the Dokkyō School that the German government would send 10,000 Marks per year to the school so that it could hire a German-language teacher.²⁶⁷ From April 1927, Jakob Sahl,²⁶⁸ who was born in Düsseldorf and had received teacher training in Germany, started to teach German at the Dokkyō School.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, a Japanese textbook for 6th grade students issued in 1938 described Berlin as a clean city without any trash in the streets, and the people in Berlin, especially the Hitler Youth, as all tidy, disciplined, and lively.²⁷⁰ A book for youths admired German education for strengthening the military and developing the economy and agriculture.²⁷¹ The book

263 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 119 (1939). To commemorate this day, from 1940, the Fourth Tokyo Secondary School started to organize a marching event on May 23, though marching performances on other ceremonial days were canceled. Tachikawa High School, *Reirō*, 68, 70.

264 Third Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 71 (1940).

265 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 119 (1939); Third Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 71 (1939).

266 For example, students of the Fourth Tokyo Secondary School described a feeling of unity when he was walking with their schoolmates in a green park heading to Meiji Shrine, as reported in its school club magazines of 1927 (vol. 67) and 1934 (vol. 73).

267 Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō Gakuen-shi*, 70.

268 NSDAP-Gaukartei Nr. 3444616 Jakob Sahl. Bundesarchiv; Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō Gakuen-shi*, 76.

269 Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō Gakuen-shi*, 70.

270 Monbushō, *Shōgaku kokugo dokuhon jinjō kayō* [Reader for elementary schools], vol. 12 (Tokyo: Nihonshoseki, 1938), 131–32.

271 Monbushō, *Shōgaku kokugo dokuhon jinjō kayō*, 12: 169.

described that Germans invested in education despite the financial crisis due to the First World War, since they believed that school education was crucial for strengthening the state. Thus, according to the book, German schools were perfectly equipped, possessing remarkable school buildings, teaching materials and beautiful textbooks.²⁷² Yet the book also highlighted the strict discipline of German schools and that German educational institutions were like military, in that the most important thing was to keep discipline and obey orders:

[German] teachers seldom smile. They don't give students freedom like American teachers. Students must strictly follow all the orders of their teachers. Thus, students are all tense and very afraid of their teachers. It's a wonder that German children still like their schools.²⁷³

The physical education expert Mori Teijirō (1896–1969) also wrote an article about the history of Turnen in 1936. He overviewed ideas and practices of German physical education and introduced relevant regulations. He concluded in his article that the Prussian physical education was appropriate for teaching the “correct” posture, breathing and rhythmical walk.²⁷⁴ Moreover, the school club magazines of the First Tokyo Secondary School show that there were speeches admiring Adolf Hitler in 1934 (vol. 110) and 1937 (vol. 115). Although a student of the Kaisei Secondary School criticized the Nazi's anti-semitic measures like book-burning in his essay in the school club magazine of 1933 (vol. 101, pp. 20–22), in general, the positive image of Nazi Germany expanded in Japan.

The most important actor of transferring a positive image of Germany was probably the Hitler Youth. The Japanese perception of the healthy and beautiful Hitler Youth contributed to construct the positive image of Germany at the time. After the conclusion of the Anti-Comintern Pact between Nazi Germany and the Empire of Japan in 1936 the youth exchange program between the two country started. For instance, Futara Yoshinori (1886–1967), one of the founder of the Boy Scouts of Japan, visited the Hitler Youth at North Sea in 1937 and also observed the Nazi Party Day in Nuremberg.²⁷⁵ In the next year, the Japanese Ministry of Education sent 30 Japanese youth group leaders to Germany. They stayed about

272 Nishigame Masao, *Shōnen sekai chiri bunko: Doitsu* [Boys' world geography: Germany] (Tokyo: Koseikaku, 1940), 162, 164.

273 Nishigame, *Shōnen sekai chiri bunko*, 168–69.

274 Mori Teijirō, “Doitsu taisō” [German physical exercise], in *Shihan daigaku kōza “taiiku”* [New edition university course “physical education”], ed. Tanaka Kan'ichi and Terasawa Izuo (Tokyo: Kenbunkan, 1936), 73.

275 Japans Jugendbewegung unter Führung des früheren Ministerpräsident Saito, 11 Mai 1935, (9453/WSü), 926/0. Bundesarchiv; “Im Geiste des Bushido,” Der japanische Jugendführer Graf Fuh-taara über Idee und Aufbau der Jugendorganisation seiner Heimat. 14 Aug 1937 (0655/SnSo), 926/0. Bundesarchiv.

three month in Germany and learned about the Hitler Youth, especially about its organizations and facilities like youth hostels (*Jugendherberge*).²⁷⁶ The exchange program between the Hitler Youth and Japanese youths was also reported in newspapers.²⁷⁷ In this context, in the late 1930s and the first half of the 1940s German newspapers reported Japan positively, mostly about its militant (*Samurai*) spirit and youth organization.²⁷⁸ After the engagement with the Hitler Youth, Japanese youth organizations started to model themselves after the Hitler Youth, especially their discipline and the unified organizational structure.²⁷⁹ According to historian Satō Takumi, the visit of the Hitler Youth was a visual event through which the beautiful image of Nazi Germany was propagated. Since reports on the Hitler Youth mainly relied on pictures and the image of the “healthy” and “beautiful” youth, these impressions about German youth were spread in Japan.²⁸⁰ For instance, the *Asahi shinbun* newspaper introduced the Hitler Youth with the title “German Youths, Training in Summer.” Almost the entire page was filled with pictures, on which the Hitler Youths were doing physical activities.²⁸¹ When the Hitler Youth visited in Japan in 1938, the newspaper also printed the photos of the Hitler Youth and described them as symbol of a strong Germany.²⁸² The newspaper also carried a picture of the Hitler Youths saluting and reported that about 8,000,000 youth were training in a strict militaristic way as members of the Hitler Youth.²⁸³

The German teacher Jakob Sahl also published the book *Hitorā yūgento* (The Hitler Youth) in Japan. In the preface, Sahl described the Hitler Youth as the beautiful origin of state power.²⁸⁴ Sahl emphasized that group’s main purpose was to cultivate healthy bodies, and that it regarded sports not as individual recreation,

276 Japans Jugendorganisationen, Hitler-Jugend als Vorbild, Berlin 26 August. 1938, *National Zeitung*, 926/0. Bundesarchiv.

277 A.o. Völkischer Beobachter 18 Dez 1938 Nr 352 Seite 2; *Berliner Tageblatt und Handels-Zeitung* 18 Dez 1938. Nr. 597. Bundesarchiv.

278 a.o. Leipziger Neue 6 Juli 1939, Der Kampf um die Fahne, Bilder soldatischer Erziehung in Japan. 926. Bundesarchiv.

279 Nakamichi Hisakazu, *Kimi wa Hittorā Jūgento o mitaka* [Have you seen the Hitler Youth?] (Tokyo: Nansōsha, 1999), 216.

280 Satō Takumi, “Hitorā Yūgento no rainichi ibento,” [The visit of the Hitler Youth], in Tsugane-sawa and Ariyama, *Senjiki Nihon no media ibento*, 66.

281 *Asahi shinbun*, “Natsu ni kitau Doitsu no seishōnen” [German youths training in summer], July 21, 1938. Tokyo, evening edition, 3.

282 *Asahi shinbun*, “Zurari ‘chikara no Doitsu’ o hyōchō” [The symbol of strong Germany], August 17, 1938. Tokyo, morning edition, 11.

283 *Asahi shinbun*, “Doitsu no seishōnendan” [The German youth organisation], August 21, 1938. Tokyo, morning edition, 6.

284 Sahl, *Hitorā yūgento*, 3.

but as collective physical training.²⁸⁵ The book was filled with pictures of the Hitler Youth sent directly from Berlin, conveying a positive image of Nazi Germany while also highlighting the importance of “healthy” and “beautiful” bodies.

This strong visual impact of the Hitler Youth was used by Japanese pedagogues and intellectuals to legitimize their arguments. For instance, Ōtani Buichi also referenced a comment by the Hitler Youth that they were surprised to see so many Japanese youth with glasses. Mentioning that 30% of secondary school students and 70% of students in higher educational institutions wear glasses, he argued that if they would go out and walk more, the problem of short-sightedness would be eased.²⁸⁶ Japanese youths who attended the Nazi Party conference in Nuremberg in 1938 reported feeling overwhelmed by the passionately crying youths there.²⁸⁷

In the 1930s, the gait of students, which had been modified through physical education, was finally connected to the concept of the nation-state. At the same time, with the help of the image of the Hitler Youth, the importance of a “healthy” and “beautiful” body was excessively underlined. The image also helped to unify Japanese youth organizations and bring them under direct state control. Thus, let us next have a closer look at the Hitler Youth and its function in terms of physical education in order to identify what exactly was transferred to Japan besides the vague image of a nation with beautiful youths.

4.5 The Totalitarian Difference: Ideology, Propaganda, and Youth Organizations in Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan

Marching events and political ceremonies in Nazi Germany and the Japanese Empire had a lot in common. In both countries the number of political ceremonies increased and marching exercises and physical training were encouraged in an excessive way. In this context, physically weak students were regarded as weak-willed or even as less intellectual. Furthermore marching masses were deployed not only for representing unity, but also for representing voluntary subordination to the nation-state. As marching is an active performance, I would argue that it could convey the image of the willingness to self-sacrifice and subordination. Both in the Japanese and German culture, voluntarily sacrificing oneself was

²⁸⁵ Sahl, *Hitorā yūgento*, 35.

²⁸⁶ Ōtani, *Seijōho*, 8–9.

²⁸⁷ Nakamichi, *Kimi wa Hittorā Jūgento o mitaka*, 65–74.

highly valued. The most extreme example might be the Kamikaze. While some have argued that soldiers were forced into the suicide attack, the Kamikaze pilots are still generally perceived as heroes who willingly sacrificed themselves for their fatherland.²⁸⁸ The fact that the Japanese Ministry of Education de facto forced schools to “apply” for the Imperial Portrait in the 1930s also shows that the government tried to fabricate nationalism from below and a spirit of volunteerism among the people.²⁸⁹ In the German nationalist tradition, the volunteer was also a culturally loaded figure. They were associated with earnest patriotism, with disdain for personal gain and with an almost biblical willingness for sacrifice. Most present in the German nationalist consciousness were volunteers like Friedrich L. Jahn, who took part in the battle of August 1914.²⁹⁰

Despite the commonalities in totalitarianism, if we have a closer look, we can find a number of differences between Japan and Germany. In both countries, educational institutions put importance on physical activities and indoctrinating students with the state ideology and patriotic ideas. However, the German “Aryan race” supremacy ideology, especially anti-Semitism, was not present in Japan. According to Kapner and Levine, Nazi-style anti-Semitic arguments and activities never became mainstream in Japan. German advice and encouragement for the Japanese to establish anti-Jewish policies was met with resistance from Japanese officials. Some of this reluctance may have been influenced by hopes of access to Jewish capital. Nevertheless, on December 31, 1940, the Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke told a group of Jewish businessmen, “I am the man responsible for the alliance with Hitler, but nowhere have I promised that we would carry out his anti-Semitic policies in Japan. This is not simply my personal opinion, it is the opinion of Japan, and I have no compunction about announcing it to the world.”²⁹¹ The German teacher at Dokkyō Secondary School, Jakob Sahl, did not propagate anti-Semitism either, although he was a member of the Nazi party from 1934. According to Sahl’s former students, he stopped teaching the poetry of Heinrich Heine in his German class, but when his student asked Sahl why he skipped it, he did not mention any anti-Semitic ideas. Instead, he replied that the

288 Ozawa Ikurō, *Tsurai shinjitsu* [A difficult truth] (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1983).

289 Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 193–94.

290 Dillon, “Tolerance Means Weakness,” 378.

291 Daniel Ari Kapner and Stephen Levine, “The Jews of Japan,” Jerusalem Letter, No. 425 24 Adar I 5760, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, last modified March 1, 2000. <http://www.jcpa.org/jl/jl425.htm>.

next chapter, Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The Sorrows of Young Werther) was much more interesting and he could not wait for it.²⁹²

Another difference would be the continuity of school ceremonies and the use of the radio within them. While Japanese school ceremonies were basically the same as those established in the Meiji era, Nazi Germany introduced a number of new school ceremonies, although most of them were rehashes of previous school ceremonies. Regarding the new media, Nazi Germany strategically integrated the radio into the school ceremonies. On each ceremonial occasion, Hitler and his subordinates spoke directly to German youths over the radio. The Japanese authorities restructured the radio network, modeling it after the network of Nazi Germany, put it under state control, encouraged the mass production of reasonable receivers and tried to utilize the radio as a means of propaganda.²⁹³ For instance, in December 1941, as Japan entered into the Second World War, all students gathered and listened to the radio.²⁹⁴ Also in 1942, the city of Tokyo ordered schools to listen collectively to Prime Minister Tōjō's aired speech and to celebrate the fall of Singapore. However, in general, the radio was not fully integrated into school ceremonies in Japan. As I mentioned, there were radio sirens to tell people when to bow to the Imperial Palace, but the emperor himself never sent his voice over the radio. Thus, compared to Germany, the custom of collective listening was not cultivated as much in Japan.

Only after the unconditional surrender of the Imperial Japanese government on August 14, 1945, was the emperor's voice aired for the first time. On August 15, the Jewel Voice Broadcast (*Gyokuon hōsō* 玉音放送) was aired, in which Emperor Hirohito read the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War, announcing to the people of Japan that the Imperial government had accepted the Potsdam Declaration and that the armed forces had unconditionally surrendered. According to Takeyama Akiko, who studied the Jewel Voice Broadcast, it was not merely a notification but also a mass ceremony for the end of the war.²⁹⁵ Before airing the emperor's voice, an announcer gave a very short introduction and told listeners to stand up. Without any detailed instructions, people behaved as though taking part in a

292 Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō hyakunen*, 4: 128. Sahl's personal views were unclear: on one hand, he seems to have been regarded as a liberal teacher, but on the other hand, he was a member of the Nazi party and some students believed that he was a spy. According to Nazi party records in the Bundesarchiv, Sahl joined the party in 1934 (member number 3444616). The official school history mentions only Sahl's name, position, and term of service, probably because an existing private school would prefer not to promote the fact that they had once hired a Nazi teacher.

293 Takeyama Akiko, *Sensō to hōsō* [War and broadcasting] (Tokyo: Shakaishisō, 1994), 23–41.

294 Tachikawa High School, *Reirō*, 72–73.

295 Takeyama, *Sensō to hōsō*, 201; Takeyama, *Gyokuon hōsō* [The Jewel Voice Broadcast] (Tokyo: Banseisha, 1989), 70–71.

political ceremony. They were very tense, and in some cases listeners collectively made a deep bow toward the radio, as they did toward the Imperial Portrait in political ceremonies.²⁹⁶ The national anthem was aired before and after the Imperial Rescript.²⁹⁷ It is probably because of this mass ceremony that Japanese do not remember the end of the Second World War as being on August 14, the date on which the government surrendered, but on August 15, the date on which the Jewel Voice Broadcast aired as the End-of-War Memorial Day (終戦記念日 *Shūsen kinenbi*).

Another crucial difference between Japan and Germany was the institutions in charge of marching and sports events. In Germany, both schools and the Hitler Youth were in charge of sports events. On the contrary, the Japanese *chūgakkō* did not have any competing organizations in regard to physical activities like sports and labor services. The Japanese government established the unified national youth organization, The Great Japan Youth Organisation (Dainihon Seishōnendan 大日本青少年団) in 1941, modeling it after the Hitler Youth. Secondary school students, however, did not belong to the youth organization. Instead, each secondary school organized a military-like organization called *Hōkokudan* (Corps of patriots 報国団) in 1941.²⁹⁸ The *Hōkokudan* was under the supervision of the school principal and included all the students of the school. While the existing sports and cultural clubs were integrated into the *Hōkokudan*, groups in charge of labor service and national defense exercises were newly established within the *Hōkokudan*. Inspired by the activity of the Hitler Youth, from 1938, secondary schools started to do labor service in order to train students' body and mind thorough collective work.²⁹⁹ At the beginning students cleaned school shrines, helped farmers and the war bereaved.³⁰⁰ With the course of time, however, it became more and more a *de facto* mobilization of students to compensate for the lack of workers in farms.³⁰¹ As a result, the activities of the *Hōkokudan* focused more and more on labor services rather than on sports and cultural activities.³⁰²

Moreover, there was a crucial structural difference not only between Japanese secondary schools and gymnasium but also between the Hitler Youth and the Great Japan Youth Organisation. Both institutions were unified national youth organizations under state supervision, and they propagated on the image of a

296 Takeyama, *Sensō to hōsō*, 196–201.

297 Takeyama, *Gyokuon hōsō*, 70–71.

298 Hibiya High School, *Hibiyakōkō hyakunen-shi*, 185.

299 Hibiya High School, *Hibiyakōkō hyakunen-shi*, 185; Inoue, *Risōdarake no senjika Nihon*, 142.

300 Inoue, *Risōdarake no senjika Nihon*, 120–21.

301 Inoue, *Risōdarake no Senjikanihon*, 122–23.

302 Inoue, *Risōdarake no Senjikanihon*, 125–30.

healthy and patriotic youth group. Nevertheless, while the Hitler Youth included all German youths, regardless of school type or social class, the Great Japan Youth Organisation consisted only of elementary schools and youth schools (青年学校 *seinen gakkō*), which were for 12- to 19-year-old youths who had graduated from elementary schools and started to work. The youth schools provided a supplement to primary education for grades seven to thirteen students in the form of ethics, civics, gymnastics, job training, and so forth.³⁰³

According to the Regulations for the Great Japan Youth Organization issued in 1941, the head of the organization was the Minister of Education.³⁰⁴ Furthermore, each elementary school and Youth School formed a lower branch, led by their school principal.³⁰⁵ The smallest units of the organization consisted of 5 to 10 students of the youth schools under 20 years old with leading members between 21 to 25 years old. The girls' branch consisted of students of the youth schools and other unmarried girls who did not attend secondary schools. The boys' branch consisted of elementary school students older than the third grade. The regular meetings consisted of cleaning, visiting shrine or temples, bowing to the Imperial Palace, meditation, speeches and readings, and singing. While the Hitler Youth was independent from school structures, the Great Japan Youth Organization was established based on the existing school structure and each corps were completely under the control of its corresponding school.

Despite this crucial structural difference, the Japanese media emphasized the similarities between the two institutions. A report on German and Italian education written by the city of Tokyo's Department of Education mentioned that the activities of the Hitler Youth caused problems between schools and the Hitler Youth.³⁰⁶ However, this issue was not openly discussed in public. In his book on the Hitler Youth, Jakob Sahl mentioned only that activities of schools and the Hitler Youth should be well coordinated, noting that the German authorities planned to replace schoolteachers with Hitler Youth leaders and merge schools with the organization.³⁰⁷ Interestingly, the instructions for the Great Japan Youth Organization referenced Hitler's words, "Youths must be guided by youths" and "Only those who stay

303 MEXT, "Seinen gakkōrei," in MEXT *Gakusei hyakunijūnen-shi shiryō-hen*, chap. 8. https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318114.htm

304 Nihonseinen Kyōshidan, ed., *Seishōnendan shidōyōgi* [Youth organization leadership guidelines] (Tokyo: Kōgakusha, 1941), 362–66.

305 Nihonseinen Kyōshidan, *Seishōnendan shidōyōgi*, 206–14, 362–66.

306 Tokyo City Education Department, *Hijōjikyokuka ni okeru Doku I no kyōiku* [German and Italian education under state emergency] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shiyakusho, 1938), 40–41.

307 Sahl, *Hitorā yūgento*, 87–88.

young forever can make Nazi Germany the fatherland of youths!”³⁰⁸ However, they did not mention that the Hitler Youth were officially guided by youths and not by teachers in terms of the chain of command. Ignoring the difference, the instruction underlined that young teachers who still have their youthful mind should be in charge of the youth organization.³⁰⁹ These examples support Satō’s notion that the visit of the Hitler Youth was rather a visual event, through which the image of a beautiful Nazi Germany was propagated.³¹⁰ While the image of Hitler Youth was traveling around Japan, its structural problems like conflicts between schools and the Hitler Youth were neither mentioned nor discussed in public in Japan.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I discussed how school ceremonies were modified and developed after the First World War. In general, physical education and sports events were promoted even more in both countries at this time. The Weimar Republic started to measure and record the physical performance of students, and hold grand political ceremonies, including marching and sports festivals, were held. While Japanese school ceremonies, which had been introduced in the late nineteenth century, remained basically unchanged until the end of the Second World War, those in Germany changed several times, reflecting national political changes. In the Weimar Republic, ceremonies related to the monarchy were all abolished and new ceremonies like Constitution Day were installed. Though the militaristic character of the preceding German Empire was absent, students still marched in political ceremonies, which were generally carried out on a larger scale and involved all kinds of schools.

After Hitler seized power in the *Machtergreifung* in 1933, Constitution Day was abolished and a number of Nazi ceremonies were introduced to schools. In the 1930s, physical education and school ceremonies were promoted in an excessive and militaristic way in both countries. In Nazi Germany, physical education, marching events and national socialistic political ceremonies were encouraged by both schools and the Hitler Youth. The crucial difference with the Weimar Republic was that Nazi Germany put the main focus of physical education on the cultivation of a collectivist spirit rather than individual recreation. In both Japan and Germany, the importance of the “healthy” and “beautiful” body was excessively emphasized. Ignoring that human gaits are diverse according to individuals and

308 Nihonseinen Kyōshidan, *Seishōnendan shidōyōgi*, 45.

309 Nihonseinen Kyōshidan, *Seishōnendan shidōyōgi*, 46.

310 Satō Takumi, “Hitorā yūgento no rainichi ibento,” 66.

cultures, Japanese physical education experts claimed that one particular way of walking was natural, correct, and even symbolized discipline and a fighting spirit. At the same time, grand marching parades of students were organized and, thus, the gait of Japanese students finally linked to the concept of nation-state.

Considering the mass marching events in the 1930s in Germany and Japan, an important element was newly integrated into the marching events, namely the gaze of the sovereign. Historical materials show us that marching in front of Hirohito or Hitler evoked intense feelings among students. I would argue that these feelings were not merely triggered by collective movements, but also by the awareness of students that they were directly “seen by the sovereign.” In this sense, big cities in both countries, especially the capital cities of Berlin and Tokyo, provided students a unique, unparalleled experience. The students’ military reviews did not merely visualize the link between students’ bodies and the nation-state, but also created a space for ceremonial examinations in which the marching performance of students was collectively examined. Thus, in the last chapter, I will discuss these multilayered meanings and functions of marching events. While summarizing the historical change of political school ceremonies and marching activities, I will explore how and why marching activities gained new meanings and functions over time.

Chapter 5

Marching Together toward Totalitarian Regimes?

In the previous chapters, I explored marching ceremonies for the consolidation of the nation-state from the late nineteenth century to the end of the Second World War in 1945. After the Second World War, marching was no longer at the center of political events, at least in West Germany and Japan. The teaching plan issued in 1946 in occupied Germany included physical education, but the Allied Forces forbade military training and militaristic school events.¹ While West Germany stipulated that physical education should focus on the holistic development of individual children rather than on state intention or sports as public events,² East Germany continued the militaristic, collectivist, and disciplinary character of physical education from the German Empire and Nazi Germany, regarding it as indispensable for cultivating “socialistic ethics” and “collective acts”.³ Furthermore, in the place of Hitler Youth, a new national youth organization, the Free German Youth (Freie Deutsche Jugend), was established and played an important role in political and physical education.

In Japan, the US Occupation forces implemented postwar reforms for the demilitarization of education, and most of the school ceremonies and military exercises, including marching, became forbidden in schools.⁴ However, some national holidays were simply renamed: Shihōhai on January 1 was renamed Shōgatsu (正月 New Year); the Tenchō-setsu on April 29 was renamed Tennō Tanjōbi (天皇誕生日 Emperor's Birthday); and Meiji-setsu on November 3 was renamed Bunka no Hi (文化の日 Culture Day), which celebrates freedom, peace, and culture. The Japanese national flag and anthem also remained the same after the Second World War.⁵

1 Michael Krüger, *Einführung in die Geschichte der Leibeserziehung und des Sports, vol. 3, Leibesübungen im 20. Jahrhundert. Sport für alle* [Physical exercise in the 20th century: Sport for all], 150, 153; Patrick Litz, *Talentförderung und Schulsport in der DDR und der BRD* [Talent promotion and school sports in East and West Germany] (Berlin: Weißensee, 2004), 15–16.

2 The Recommendations for Promoting Physical Education in Schools (Empfehlungen zur Förderung der Leibeserziehung an den Schulen) issued in 1956. Michael Krüger, *Einführung*, 3: 166.

3 Krüger, *Einführung*, 3: 178–81.

4 MEXT, “Gaisetsu” [Overview], in MEXT, *Gakusei hyakunijūnen-shi*, https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1318255.htm; Mizusaki, *Kōki no tanjō*.

5 They were not anchored in any laws or regulations until the 1990s. In 1990, the Ministry of Education made hoisting the national flag and singing the national anthem compulsory for graduations and other school ceremonies. As for the Imperial Edict on Education, it was declared invalid on June 19, 1948, but the text itself was not subject to censorship, and books about it are

In regard to physical education, some militaristic practices continued to be carried out under a different name. For instance, the word *kōshin* (行進, march) disappeared from the guidelines for physical education in Japan. However, it was only replaced by the word *shūdan kōdō* (集團行動, literally “group action”) and, as I have also personally experienced, the action of marching is still quite common for school children. Interestingly, physical education developed in similar ways in Japan and East Germany during the postwar years. Despite their different political systems during the Cold War, marching remained an important part of their school education, and the term for collective behavior (*shūdan kōdō* in Japanese; *kollektives Verhalten* in German) appeared in official documents in the mid-1950s.⁶ Such a comparative study is a crucial topic for further research.

As attested by my research and suggested by the above example, disciplinary training can be deployed in different countries under different political systems and ideas (monarchy, republic, or dictatorship; ultranationalist, socialist, or capitalist). This indicates that once a collective body that is capable of expressing modern discipline and vague positive feelings of togetherness is established, it can be intertwined with any political ideology. This is partly because bodily expressions alone cannot convey detailed information as well as words can, and they allow more room for interpretation. From the late nineteenth century, schools took on the role of training students for collective performances and preparing a space where those performances were carried out under the name of various political systems. In this sense, modern schools contributed to molding students’ bodies into national bodies that can move, feel, and display appropriate emotions in certain public spaces.

In this closing chapter, I provide an overview of the findings of my historical research and discuss how these ceremonies functioned as a means of intertwining the marching individual body, school ceremonies, and the nation-state. I will start by summarizing the answers to the questions I asked in the introduction: How did German and Japanese authorities choreograph the ideal gait, and how did they transmit it to students? How were political ceremonies constructed in German and Japanese schools, and what did the collective gaits of students represent in those ceremonies? And finally, which aspects of marching exercises and school ceremonies may have been transferred from Germany to Japan?

still published. Moreover, in 2017, the cabinet approved the use of the Imperial Edict on Education in schools, insofar as its use is not contrary to the current Constitution of Japan. Japanese Educational Research Association, “Seifu no kyōiku chokugo shiyō yōnin tōben ni kansuru sei-meī” [Statement on the government’s approval of the Imperial Rescript on Education], June 16, 2017, <http://www.jera.jp/20170617-1/>. Mizusaki, *Kōki no tanjō*, 246–47.

6 Mizusaki, *Kōki no tanjō*, 37.

Subsequently, I will detail the variety of knowledge transfers between Germany and Japan, summarizing the complex comparative analysis of not only marching practices themselves but also political and educational contexts, which showed that Japanese intellectuals referenced Germany in different ways, depending on the situation. Finally, using Foucault's concept of the "docile body," I will discuss marching ceremonies both as a multilayered representation and as a form of collective examination. By doing so, I seek to crystalize the distinct features of marching ceremonies in the totalitarian period.

5.1 Intertwining the Individual Physical Body and the National Symbolic Body

In order to answer the question of how ideal gaits were choreographed and transmitted, I traced the development of physical education including marching exercises in secondary schools back to the German Empire and Meiji Japan. The history of physical education in both countries shows that walking and marching exercises had been an integral part of school programs from the late nineteenth century. Both in Japan and Germany, the disciplined movements achieved by marching exercises were associated with moral behavior and military capability. While marching was promoted in order to improve students' health and physical performance, keeping step with others was also regarded as a very simple but powerful way of training students to prioritize the "whole" rather than themselves.

As discussed in Chapter 2, in nineteenth-century Germany, the stigma attached to walking faded away as public transport became affordable for ordinary working people.⁷ Walking became a new cultural practice of the Bürger class, and an upright walk and upright posture became an expression of their discipline, reason, and self-governance.⁸ At the time, armies and schools placed a high value on precise and synchronized marching, even though with the advances in firearms the marching formation had become obsolete in the battlefields. Thus, the upright walk and upright posture were associated with two contradictory concepts in the nineteenth century: the independence of the Bürger class and the subordination of soldiers.

This paradoxical character of the upright gait also existed for a long time in German physical education. The gymnastics educator and nationalist Friedrich Ludwig Jahn developed the concept of physical education, or Turnen, with the

⁷ Urry, *Sociology beyond Societies*, 51.

⁸ Warneken, "Biegsame Hofkunst," 11, 17.

aim of preparing youths both mentally and physically for the fight against Napoleon.⁹ Since King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia recognized physical training as “a necessary and indispensable part of male education” in 1842,¹⁰ Turnen classes were introduced to school curricula, at first as an elective subject in gymnasiums in cities, and from 1862 also in elementary school, or Volksschule.¹¹ Adolf Spieß, who developed Jahn’s Turnen for schools and strengthened its disciplinary character, placed importance on ordered collective exercises, including marching.¹²

However, Turnen classes from the 1860s were unable to improve the physical state of children and youth dramatically, leading to physical education reforms and governmental struggles to improve attendance rates in these classes.¹³ In other words, Turnen classes started to be oriented toward not only healthy children, but also weak and sick children. Based on my review of the Jahresberichte of individual gymnasiums from 1914 to 1918 (see Chapter 1), I calculated that attendance rates improved and the number of absentees decreased to less than 10% before the beginning of the First World War. Gait exercises remained as basic exercises for all students, including those who were physically weak, and were subject to state inspection.¹⁴

Coinciding with modernization in Japan, including the introduction of mandatory military service and compulsory education, the old style of walking with bent knees to maintain stability in muddy rice fields gradually disappeared.¹⁵ Instead, marching steps were introduced to schools. Responding to the problem of training the infantry, the Ministry of Education started to place importance on physical education from the 1880s and its minister Mori Arinori introduced “military gymnastics” for male students older than 10 years of age. Regarded as the first official who aimed to mold Japanese bodies into what scholars would later describe as the “Foucaultian docile body,”¹⁶ Mori saw military gymnastics as a means of cultivating the three ideal temperaments: obedience, affection, and dignity. In this context, the concept of physical education, that is, taiiku, started to also imply moral education thorough military gymnastics. In the 1870s, taiiku had implied only hygiene and exercise, but as an article in the school club magazine of the Third Tokyo Secondary

9 Neumann, “Leibesübungen im Dienste nationaler Bestrebungen,” 258.

10 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 81.

11 Kübler, *Geh. R. Dr. L. Wiese’s Sammlung der Verordnungen*, 222; Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung*, 265; Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 1–3. (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 2005), 73–81.

12 Spieß, *Turnbuch für Schulen*, 2: 172.

13 Krüger, *Einführung*, 2: 170–71.

14 *Leitfaden*, chap. 21.

15 Matsunami, “Hitei sareru karada / Kindaika sareru karada,” 157.

16 Andō Yoshinori, “Shintai kunren,” 85.

School shows, not only intellectuals but also schools regarded marching as the basis of all other military training because it fostered the necessary concentration and discipline.¹⁷ Though there were criticisms against military gymnastics, military exercises, including marching, generally remained in school curricula until the end of the Second World War.¹⁸

While students' bodies became an object of disciplinary training in both countries, it was highly improbable for secondary school students to become infantry at the time. Thus, as discussed in Chapter 2, the aim of the marching exercise was rather to anchor them in the collective idea of the nation-state and to promote the militarization of society.¹⁹ Their "docile bodies" were not placed in factories or barracks. Instead their bodies and upright gaits functioned to display them as the new elites, a representation of the disciplined modern society as well as the unity and strength of the armed nation-state. In order to unify students' gaits despite the diversity of individual gaits, the ideal gait was framed by modern scientific knowledge and stipulated as "natural," "correct," and even as the embodiment of physical and mental discipline and fighting spirit.²⁰ To make students master the ideal gait, compulsory physical education was introduced, attendance rates were controlled, and sports festivals were encouraged. Although individual examinations in physical education had not been officially introduced in the nineteenth century, the static body (height, weight, chest size) of students was an object of measurement and control.²¹

In order to examine the entanglement between the individual body and state ceremonies, in Chapter 3 I explored political school ceremonies in both countries from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, especially how students celebrated political events and whether (and, if so, when) those ceremonies became intertwined with physical activities like marching. After the emergence of modern nation-states, rituals continued to serve as an indispensable political tool to display and even construct political order as a natural matter of course.²² Modern rituals (political ceremonies) visualized the abstract concept of the nation-state through symbols, language, and collectively moving bodies. They targeted not only adults but also children, who were expected to sustain the political system in the future.

17 Tōkyō Furitsu Daisan Chūgakkō, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 15 (1910): 48; Kinoshita, *Nihon taiiku-shi kenkyū josetsu*, 281–85.

18 Irie, "Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (1, 2)," 190; Irie, "Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (4)," 157–58.

19 Berg, *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, 520.

20 Norbert Elias, as cited in Mayer, *Wissenschaft von Gehen*, 12.

21 Government of Japan, *Kanpō*, no. 1661 (January 15, 1889).

22 Bell, *Ritual*, 72–83.

Thus, educational institutions became important spaces for political ceremonies, whose highly structured settings offered frameworks for practicing appropriate behavior in relation to the nation-state. Through school ceremonies, students were able to share and strengthen their memories and bonds. Fallen soldiers who sacrificed themselves for the nation-state were honored and presented as their role models, accentuating national strength, unity, and the duty of those still living.²³

In Germany, the idea of the nation-state and physical activities were combined in political ceremonies in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Turnen movement was linked to nationalistic ideas from the outset, and school ceremonies, especially those on the Day of Sedan, provided a space for physical activities and shared experience outside of Turnen classes. Although neither the emperor nor the parliament declared the Day of Sedan as an official holiday, it was to some extent an official day for commemorating the Franco-Prussian War and the founding of the German Empire. This is generally regarded by historians as an unsuccessful project for nation-building.²⁴ Indeed, while the Sedancere-
monny was closely connected to Prussian militarism and the protestant *Bürger*, it seems to have failed to bridge the religious and political gaps within the empire.²⁵

Nevertheless, my review of the *Jahresberichte* of gymnasiums from this period, as well as a Ministry of Education survey in 1880,²⁶ showed that most schools celebrated the Emperor's Birthday and the Day of Sedan in annual ceremonies with songs, declamations, and speeches. They often included various physical activities such as excursions, patriotic plays, collective gymnastics, and sports games.²⁷ Furthermore, from 1903, all school classes in Berlin were canceled so that students could watch the autumn parade, held around the Day of Sedan.²⁸ As mentioned in Chapter 3, groups of male gymnasium students also lined up on the parade field. Thus, in my view, the Day of Sedan provided a crucial framework in which collective physical activities were combined with political events. The Day of Sedan and the military parade symbolically represented the connection between the nation-state, soldiers, and male youths, promoting the military and monarchy to middle-

23 Maas, "Der Kult der toten Krieger," 223–26.

24 Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen*, 113; Schellack, "Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste," 282–84.

25 Leppien, "Marinemalerei zu Kaisers Zeiten," 221.

26 Kübler, *Geh. R. Dr. L. Wiese's Sammlung der Verordnungen*, 251.

27 See, e.g., the *Jahresberichte* of Friedrichs-Gymnasium, 1871–1873, 1875, 1878, 1879, 1880–1888, 1890–1892, 1894, 1897–1899, 1902, 1904–1914; Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1878, 1879, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1892; Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1888; Humboldt-Gymnasium, 1888; Köllnisches Gymnasium, 1897, 1903; Luisen Gymnasium, 1886; Sophien-Gymnasium, 1882, 1888, 1891; Wilhelms Gymnasium 1874–1875, 1877, 1879–1881, 1903–1904.

28 Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 76, 144–45, 153.

and upper-class youths.²⁹ While it may have failed to unite all members of German society, it did help to bind members of gymnasiums into the national collective—these were the educated middle classes, who were crucial to the stabilization of the nation-state.

In Japan, when the first education law was issued in 1872, it stipulated new holidays like National Foundation Day and Emperor's Birthday, but schools initially only canceled classes without organizing any ceremonies on those holidays.³⁰ It was at the end of the 1880s that the Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, encouraged schools to organize school ceremonies on national holidays in order to foster patriotism among children, though he did not make them compulsory.³¹ The school documents I analyzed show only a partial connection between physical activities, the nation-state, and the military at the time.³² From the mid-1890s, students hoisted the national flag and marched with military songs on excursions, school trips, and sports festivals, as seen, for example, in the school club magazines of Kaisei Secondary School in 1898 and 1902. However, the sports festivals lacked a few key patriotic features, such as singing the national anthem or cheering the Japanese Empire.³³

After the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), with an upsurge of patriotism within Japan, school ceremonies were gradually established.³⁴ The ceremony consisted basically of bowing toward the Imperial Portrait, singing the national anthem, and reading the Imperial Rescript on Education aloud. At the level of school regulations, physical activities were encouraged on national holidays (see Chapter 2), but as far as can be discerned in the school club magazines, physical activities and students' bodies were not strongly connected to national ceremonies at this time. For example, in the first school club magazine of the First Tokyo Secondary School in 1891, there is no mention of bodies when discussing the military review supervised by the emperor; rather, the focus is on associating the precise movements of soldiers with the unity and strength of the Japanese Empire. In short, prior to the First World War, marching exercises were encouraged and marching soldiers were a symbol of the unified, strong nation-state in both Japan and Germany, but school ceremonies and students' marches were not yet integrated into large-scale public ceremonies.

29 Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 76–77.

30 Murakami, *Tennō no saishi*, 83; Sasaki, “Gakkō no shukusai,” 104–5.

31 Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 113–15; see also Satō, *Kyōiku no bunkashi*, 1: 254.

32 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 266.

33 See, e.g., the school club magazines of the Third Tokyo Secondary School in 1903 (vol. 5) and 1906 (vol. 8).

34 Sasaki, “Gakkō no shukusai,” 106.

After the First World War, however, youths' bodies started to play a crucial role in mass political events, especially from the 1930s. In Chapter 4, I examined physical education and political ceremonies from the 1920s to the end of the Second World War, which revealed that the marching exercises and school ceremonies established in the late nineteenth century transformed into grand political events and became more closely intertwined with the idea of the nation-state.

The Weimar era (1919–1933) is generally regarded as a liberal and democratic time, which makes a striking contrast to the following radical nationalistic era. However, in terms of physical education and political school ceremonies, there is a certain continuity before and after the First World War. To overcome the real and symbolic injuries of the nation caused by this war, physical training was encouraged for everyone in the Weimar Republic. Sports were linked to debates on “human economy” and interpreted as a kind of labor, whose goal was to improve the mental and physical performance of workers in the interest of efficiency, job performance, and the national economy.³⁵ At the same time, there was an urgent need to tackle the health problems of youths caused by the war and by malnourishment. In this context, physical education was encouraged and secondary schools started to include *Turnen* classes as a part of their graduation examinations.³⁶ Moreover, the government introduced new sport festivals, such as the National Youth Competition in 1924. On the tenth anniversary of the Weimar Constitution in 1929, the Ministry of Education encouraged schools to link this sports competition with Constitution Day, and these competitions continued until the end of the Weimar era.³⁷

In the Weimar Republic, ceremonies related to the German Empire were forbidden. While expelling old political ceremonies and symbols from schools, the Weimar Republic introduced new political ceremonies that were functionally equivalent to them. However, the state ceremony on Constitution Day, which

35 Dinçkal, “Sport ist die körperliche und seelische Selbsthygiene des arbeitenden Volkes,” 71.

36 Dinçkal, “Sport ist die körperliche und seelische Selbsthygiene des arbeitenden Volkes,” 71–97.

37 The number of youths who participated in the competition were approximately: 520,000 in 1924, 625,000 in 1925, 735,000 in 1926, and 972,000 in 1928. Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung, U VI Nr. 531, U II, U III C. Auf den Bericht vom 4. März 1927 - II b 7 Nr. 6976/26-, An die Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen. Berlin W8, April 28, 1927. Rep. 34, No. 679, 109. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv; Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. No. 665, 1 U II U III A. Betrifft: Reichsjugendwettkämpfe. An die Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen. Berlin W8, April 21, 1929. Rep. 34, No. 680, 80. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv; Der Preußische Minister für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Volksbildung. U VI No. 793, U II, U III A.1. Betrifft: Reichsjugendwettkämpfe. An die Provinzialschulkollegien und Regierungen. Berlin W8, May 18, 1930. Rep. 34, No. 680, 164. Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv.

aimed to unify youths under the name of the republic, faced enormous difficulties in its implementation. Not only did students misbehave at or were absent from the ceremony, but also their school principal's speech did not always reflect the democratic ideals of the Weimar Republic. In general, there was a ceremony, a mass march and sports competition, and thus in terms of physical activities it was not clearly distinguishable from the political ceremonies in the German Empire.³⁸ The militaristic character was absent, but students still marched in political ceremonies. Furthermore, in contrast to the empire, in which only a small group of gymnasium students were allowed to take part in the official ceremony on the Day of Sedan, Constitution Day in the republic involved a larger number of students from different types of schools. Considering these points, I would argue that in terms of physical education and political ceremonies, the Weimar Republic maintained some continuity from the German Empire. Physical education was more emphasized, and the authorities started to measure and record the physical performance of students as political ceremonies that included marching and sports festivals grew in scale.

After Adolf Hitler came into power, the Main Ideas of School Regulation was issued in December 1934, which set the ultimate purpose of schools to educate youths to become German people with a National Socialist spirit (behavior and lifestyle).³⁹ Accordingly, schools focused on teaching loyalty to the state, national socialistic character-building, the Nazi race ideology, and sports.⁴⁰ In this context, physical education for cultivating a courageous and obedient national socialistic character was encouraged. Physical strength also started to be associated with mental strength much more than it had previously. For instance, marching exercises at the time were regarded as a means of character-building, which evoked the feeling of togetherness and strengthened students determination to endure stresses and strains.⁴¹ Due to the new guidelines for physical education issued in 1937, physical education became the largest subject within the curriculum.⁴² Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, participation in the National Youth Competition that was introduced in the Weimar Republic became obligatory.⁴³

Besides schools, the Hitler Youth also provided space and time for physical training. In 1936, the Law on the Hitler Youth was issued, which aimed to inte-

38 Fitschen, "Staatliche Verfassungsfeiern und ihre Resonanz," 271.

39 "Leitgedanken zur Schulordnung," 43.

40 Stachura, "Das Dritte Reich und Jugenderziehung," 93.

41 Schede, *Grundlagen der körperlichen Erziehung*, 127–28.

42 Deutsches Reich Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, *Richtlinien für die Leibeserziehung in Jungenschulen*.

43 Joch, "Sports und Leibeserziehung im Dritten Reich," 733.

grate all German youths into the Hitler Youth.⁴⁴ Together with the positive image of youth and health, the Nazi regime further promoted physical education, including pre-military exercises. The Hitler Youth organized physical examinations, including marching, and recorded members' scores in individual Leistungsbücher and presented them with badges to show their physical achievements.⁴⁵

Furthermore, physical activities became more strongly integrated into political ceremonies. The Jahresberichte show us that school life under the Nazi regime was filled with political ceremonies. As discussed in Chapter 4, after Hitler seized power in the Machtergreifung in 1933, Constitution Day was abolished and several new ceremonies were introduced to schools. Utilizing new technology, the regime conducted political ceremonies on a much larger scale. It deployed radio technology to enable not only audiences in the ceremonial space but also individual listeners who were far away to simultaneously listen to political addresses (e.g., schools listening on the radio to Hitler's speeches at the annual rallies as a form of the aforementioned "community reception."⁴⁶

In the liberal "Taishō democracy" of Japan, the gymnastics of the preceding Meiji-era was criticized for its militaristic character.⁴⁷ In general, however, physical education in schools did not lose its military ties. In 1924, the government decided to send army officers on active service to all public secondary schools and higher educational institutions except universities, to make them supervise military drills and teach discipline, cooperation, and obedience.⁴⁸ Until the end of 1925, around 1,000 officers were appointed for this work.⁴⁹ School sports events also developed during the Taishō era. Though the militaristic aspect was not emphasized, sports festivals at the time began to gain a national ceremonial character with features such as raising the national flag, singing the national anthem, and cheering the emperor (banzai).⁵⁰

One of the most important sports festivals started in this era was the Meiji Shrine Games. In 1924, the first games was organized by the Home Ministry in

44 *Gesetz über die Hitlerjugend* (1936).

45 NSDAP, Hitler-Jugend Bann 6 (Wedding-Reinickendorf), "Walter Wagnitz," *Bannbefehl* 4 (1938): 8. Landesarchiv Berlin.

46 See, e.g., the Jahresberichte of Friedrich-Wilhelms-Gymnasium, 1937, 1939; Friedrichs-Werdersches Gymnasium, 1936, 1937, 1938; Humboldt-Gymnasium, 1938, 1939; Leibniz-Gymnasium, 1938; Lessing-Gymnasium, 1937, Luisen Gymnasium, 1935, 1936, 1938.

47 Irie, "Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (11)," 104.

48 Hirahara, *Haizoku shōkō seido seiritsu-shi*, 119.

49 Hirahara, *Haizoku shōkō seido seiritsu-shi*, 202.

50 Irie Katsumi, "Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (14)" [A study on the thought and practice of modern physical education in Japan, 14], *The Journal of the Faculty of Education, Tottori University, Educational Science* 33, no. 1 (1991): 110–12.

order to remember and respect the “virtue” of the late Emperor Meiji, to improve physical abilities, and to rouse the people’s national spirit. Youths and soldiers from nationwide took part in its mass gymnastics performance to express the unity of the Japanese people.

During Japan’s economic crisis at the beginning of the Shōwa era, which caused high rates of unemployment and social instability, the statist (*kokka shugi*) movement dominated Japanese politics, which was a mixture of ideas such as nationalism, militarism, and state capitalism. Reflecting the militaristic and nationalistic policies at the time, physical education was promoted in a radical way. As mentioned in Chapter 4, not only physical appearance like height and weight but also the physical performance of students became objects of measurement and control. In 1939, the Ministry of Health and Welfare introduced the physical strength examination, and being healthy started to be regarded as one’s civic duty, while being in poor health became associated with laziness and immorality.⁵¹

Furthermore, as described in Chapter 4, more and more focus was put on the spiritual dimension of physical education. For instance, the aim of the military drill was described in the 1930s as the cultivation of bravery and dauntlessness and the promotion of the “virtue of subordination.”⁵² People’s gaits also started to be controlled more strictly as a part of physical education. Ignoring that human gaits are diverse and depend on the individual and culture, physical education experts like Ōtani Buichi and Eguchi Takaya argued that one way of walking was “natural” and “correct,” as well as an important means of embodying discipline and collective spirit in people’s daily life. Ōtani argued that in order to overcome the national crisis, liberal and individualistic gaits should be discarded and a powerful gait of unity should be exercised instead.⁵³ This collective gait was integrated into mass political events like ceremonies for the birthday of the late Emperor Meiji.

Due to the political context, from the 1930s onward, Japanese authorities started to portray the emperor as a divinity in human form and required schools to implement the political ceremonies in a more standardized and serious way. For instance, the Meiji Shrine Games of the preceding decade continued in a more patriotic, religious, and militaristic manner. As the ministries imposed an obligation on each prefecture, city, town, and school to organize sports events on the day, there were various sports events and political ceremonies scheduled at the beginning of November.⁵⁴ Symbols and school ceremonies that emerged in

51 Irie, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (14),” 18.

52 Kasuga, “Gakkō kyōren,” 7–8; Rikugunshō, *Gakkō kyōren hikkei*, 46–7.

53 Ōtani, *Seijōhō*, 4–5, 26.

54 Irie, “Kindai no tennōsei,” 169.

the late nineteenth century were standardized and spread in the 1930s, and some new components such as bowing to the Imperial Palace, radios, and sirens were added to the existing ceremonies.

In the 1930s, especially after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, Tokyo was filled with marching events. Among them, the Meiji Shrine Worship Ceremony—students' military reviews organized by the city after the Manchuria Crisis of 1931 to present and enhance the mettle of youths⁵⁵—seem to have especially evoked intense feelings among the participants. As described in Chapter 4, it was regarded as a solemn spiritual ritual that cultivated the “beautiful” spirit of obedience, self-sacrifice, and service,⁵⁶ and students' essays show their positive feelings of togetherness and very emotional, patriotic feelings while marching there. In this way, the gait of Japanese students was finally linked to the nation-state in the 1930s.

After summarizing the historical changes in physical education, it has become obvious that in Germany and Japan individual students' bodies became the object of state inspection over time. It was not only the static body (height and weight) that was observed and measured, but also the moving body through performance in marching, running, and jumping. The ideal gait was defined by medical and military experts in order to make children healthy and useful for the military. Marching exercises were held in schools as part of physical education classes and military training. They were also connected to extracurricular activities and political ceremonies. Especially in the 1930s, the ideal gait became more strongly connected to the national spirit, and student marches became integrated into grand ceremonial settings.

In this sense, marching exercises and ceremonies can be regarded as what Judith Butler calls “performance” and also what Andrew Hewitt describes “social choreography”, which transfers cultural norms via the body, and represents and constructs the social order.⁵⁷ In fact, the idea of social choreography also overlaps with the Japanese idea of *kata* (型 or 形), which literally means “form”—detailed choreographed patterns of movements practiced in the traditional physical arts. On one hand, the *kata* aims to internalize the movements and techniques, and on the other it has been regarded as a way of transferring a certain spirituality via the body.

I argue that the ideal gait was choreographed and transmitted reflecting the national need of cultivating the inner and outer discipline of students. Schools

⁵⁵ See, e.g., reports in the school club magazines of the First Tokyo Secondary School (1931, vol. 104; 1932, vol. 106).

⁵⁶ Rikugunshō Chōboka, *Seinen gakkō kyōren kyōkasho*, 1: 202.

⁵⁷ Hewitt, *Social Choreography*, 2.

took on the role of training students for collective performances and preparing a space where those performances were carried out under the name of various political systems. In this sense, modern schools contributed to molding students' bodies into national bodies that can move, feel, and display appropriate emotions in certain public spaces. Through institutional strategies, students gained new bodily techniques that were crucially different from previous bodily practices, for instance, techniques for walking in a certain way. Interestingly, once those techniques were incorporated, they continued to stay alive by being rearranged, renamed, and given new social meaning such as expressing the "National Socialist character" or "Japanese collective spirit."

5.2 Three Types of Knowledge Transfer: How Did Japan Utilize the "German Model"?

The complex comparative analysis of the entangled relations of the marching body, political ceremonies, and the nation-state in both countries revealed not only the similarities and differences between the countries but also the different types of knowledge transfer. Despite their distinct cultural and historical backgrounds, political ceremonies were installed for similar purposes within modern political structures. Though Japanese intellectuals often referenced Germany as their model, my historical research revealed that they did so differently depending on each historical and social context. Here, I will summarize my comparative analysis and discuss three different types of "referencing" for knowledge transfer: "referencing and constructing one's own model," "silent transfer," and finally "referencing but not imitating."

Comparing the social and political settings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in which physical education was embedded, more differences between the two countries can be observed than similarities. While in Japan the modern concept of discipline was almost entirely monopolized by the military, discipline in Germany was also part of the culture of the Bürger class, who were independent and capable of self-governance. After the emergence of the German Empire, this Bürger discipline merged with that of military.

Moreover, physical education was more deeply embedded in the concept of the nation-state than in Japan. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the Turnen movement was a part of political movement that aimed to establish a unified German nation. In Japan, despite Mori's efforts to attach ethical and patriotic meaning to physical education, the historical sources I analyzed do not give us the impression that physical activities and the idea of the nation-state were strongly connected in the Meiji era, and there was less connection between the image of the body and the

concept of the nation-state. The term *kokutai*, literally “national body,” merely meant a state system, but in the late 1920s, the Japanese government deployed it as an expanded and vague concept as a means of suppressing any political dissent, especially that of communists and socialists. In Germany, the image of the body was already used as a metaphor for the nation-state in political and academic discourse in the nineteenth century. The concept of the organic nation-state, the *Volkskörper*, was introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century, highlighting the interdependency between different social groups in the nation-state and the indispensability of the “organic whole” for individual existence. This coincided with the official aim of physical education in Prussia, that is, to move collectively and learn how to act as a part of the whole.⁵⁸

There are obvious similarities in the development of physical education in both countries from the 1880s. The military exercises introduced by Mori had much in common with Spieß’s *Schulturnen*, as they aimed to improve students’ discipline and morals and to enhance patriotic feelings among them. This was most probably the result of intercultural exchanges, such as through the German advisors Emil Hausknecht and Hermann Techow, who delivered public speeches and encouraged physical education in Japan.⁵⁹

However, after an analysis of the *Jahresberichte* of gymnasiums and Provincial School Council documents, it became clear that German physical education at that time was not as successful as some Japanese intellectuals asserted. For instance, the implementation of the *Turnen* class was a long, drawn-out process, with a high rate of absenteeism in some gymnasiums even in the twentieth century. Though so many students were therefore incapable of military service, even at the beginning of the twentieth century, Germany was often called ideal by intellectuals and especially military officers like Lieutenant Tōjō Hidenori, who appreciated the strict discipline of the German army and schools. Yet what they reported as a “German model” probably did not reflect the reality in Germany. I would rather argue that the ideal image of Germany was used as means to promote and legitimize their reform ideas and to pressure the Japanese government to improve public order. In short, Japanese intellectuals referenced Germany in public discourse, while actually constructing their own ideals—a form of “referencing and constructing one’s own model” that I observed during my research.

Japanese and German school ceremonies from the late nineteenth century to the First World War, which I analyzed in Chapter 3, have much in common. Both were collective and performative rituals that aimed to strengthen the bonds be-

58 Spieß, *Turnbuch für Schulen*, 2: 131.

59 Irie, “Nihon kindai taiiku no shisō to jissen (1, 2),” 155.

tween students under the name of the nation-state. The rituals consisted of songs, declamations, speeches, cheers (of Kaiserhoch or banzai), and outdoor activities like excursions, gymnastics, and team sports. In both countries, the birthday of the emperor and the foundation of the state were celebrated, and the best students received relevant prizes like pictures during the ceremonies. Furthermore, new school ceremonies were constructed by borrowing the framework of other rituals and legitimized by using history, what Hobsbawm would describe as the “invention of tradition.”⁶⁰

As explained in Chapter 3, the school ceremonies in the German Empire had much in common with Protestant church services. Since a liberal Protestant group played an important role in organizing the annual national ceremony on the Day of Sedan, it is clear that national ceremonies in nineteenth-century Germany had a close relationship with the Christian tradition.⁶¹ Like Protestant church rituals aimed at group-building and cultivating an affiliation to the Church and the nation, school ceremonies aimed at group-building and cultivating an affiliation to schools and the nation-state. In terms of practice, both were basically the same. Whether we call it “prayer,” “poetry,” or “declamation,” what students did was to chant together. Whether we call it “sermon” or “speech,” what students did was to listen to someone talk.

Similarly, Japanese schools borrowed from traditional ritual practices to shape their modern school ceremonies, such as the Tenjin and Sekiten rituals in premodern schools, where participants recited a sutra and listened to a teacher’s speech.⁶² In modern school ceremonies, Shinto and Confucian texts were replaced by the Imperial Rescript on Education and the paintings of Tenjin and Confucius were replaced by the Imperial Portrait.

One of the important differences between the Japanese and German school ceremonies was the role of the emperor’s portrait. The Prussian government ordered in the 1850s that schools should display the portrait of the king and celebrate his birthday, if possible.⁶³ However, a thorough reading of the *Jahresberichte* of Berlin’s gymnasiums does not reveal that this portrait played a significant role in school rituals. It was probably because the German Empire was founded after the Franco-Prussian War that the visual materials provided to schools by the authorities focused more on the war and the empire’s new territory rather than the emperor himself. The Imperial Portrait played a more significant role in Japanese

⁶⁰ Hobsbawm, “Introduction,” 6, 12.

⁶¹ Mosse, *Die Nationalisierung der Massen*, 96.

⁶² Takahashi Shunjō, *Terakoya no Tenjinkō*, 2, 6, 9–12; Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 46–53; Ishizuki, *Kyōiku no hikakubunka-shi*, 40–41.

⁶³ Schellack, “Sedan- und Kaisergeburtstagsfeste,” 287.

school ceremonies, where it was placed at the center with special demonstrations of etiquette toward it, making clear to whom the patriotic feelings evoked in those ceremonies should be oriented. As the Japanese Empire was built on the constructed myth that all people are unified under the emperor, it was important to make the emperor visible as the new leader of the nation-state, a symbolic and spiritual center for all Japanese, regardless of social class.⁶⁴

A crucial new aspect of the modern school ceremony that the Japanese government imported from the West was Western songs (Western melodies with Japanese lyrics). Mori encouraged school ceremonies to include these in 1888, but compared to other aspects of the ceremony, singing Western melodies was completely new and thus challenging for Japanese schools.⁶⁵ As argued in Chapter 3, this was likely why the physician and pedagogue Muraoka Han'ichi visited the Luisen Gymnasium in Berlin in 1889, where he most probably observed its Sedan ceremony during which a teacher gave a speech on the German dream of unification in songs. After returning to Japan in 1893, he chaired the screening committee for lyrics and music scores for Japanese holidays.⁶⁶ Considering these points, I assume that the reason why the Japanese cabinet sent Muraoka to Europe was to investigate music education, including songs for school ceremonies, although his trip may have had other purposes as well.

After comparing the school ceremonies in Germany and Japan, I argued that Japanese school ceremonies may have been modeled after those in Germany. Though Mori and other Japanese intellectuals did not mention it publicly, I would argue that there might have been cases of what Florian Waldow called “silent borrowing,” that is, unacknowledged, undeclared processes of policy transfer.⁶⁷ If we consider the strong interest in Germany among Japanese intellectuals, the large number of Japanese exchange students in Germany, the work of German experts in Japan at that time, and the structural and functional similarities of the school ceremonies, there is a possibility that Japanese intellectuals borrowed from Prussian school ceremonies despite not publicly mentioning it.⁶⁸

One possible reason for keeping the transfer process silent is that Japanese intellectuals tried to portray school ceremonies as something deeply rooted in tra-

64 Japanese intellectuals in Meiji Japan, who investigated the social functions of Christianity in Western countries, came to the conclusion that Christianity clarified to whom people should devote themselves and secured the foundation of nation-states. This inspired them to construct State Shinto as the religion of their modern nation-state. Taki, *Tennō no shōzō*, 179, 193, 197.

65 Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 134.

66 Asano, “Meiji kōki no Tōkyō ongaku gakkō,” 4.

67 Waldow, “Undeclared Imports,” 478–79.

68 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 92.

dition. After the coup in 1881, the Japanese government started to increasingly model their governmental programs and structures after those of Germany. However, in response to heavy criticisms that rapid, unquestioning Westernization had led to the rise of liberalism, public disorder, and moral decline, the Ministry of Education officially changed its educational policy, basing it on the Confucian and emperor-centered State Shinto.⁶⁹ As referencing Germany could have triggered criticism rather than legitimize their policies, authorities may have legitimized the new ceremonies by presenting them as a solemn ceremony deeply rooted in centuries of tradition and State Shinto.⁷⁰ However, a group of Japanese intellectuals, both Christians and non-Christians, were very aware of the entanglement of Christianity with Western civilization, and they valued Christian practices such as reading the Bible and singing.⁷¹ Thus, Japan arguably may have used German school ceremonies, despite their proximity to Protestant rituals, as a blueprint for school ceremonies while forbidding the teaching of religion and Christian doctrine in schools.⁷²

It should also be mentioned that the heavy criticism against rapid Westernization did not result in the exclusion of everything Western. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the term *bankara*, which was a counterculture to *haikara*—the wearing of Western clothing and superficially copying the Western lifestyle—was also used to describe Germany. If we assume that at least some Japanese saw the simple and disciplined German (Prussian) lifestyle as a counterculture to so-called “Western” culture, Germany could be implicitly considered as a model even in the face of heavy criticisms of rapid Westernization.

The comparison of marching ceremonies in Nazi Germany and Shōwa Japan showed that while Japanese intellectuals referenced Nazi Germany and emphasized the similarities between the two countries in public, there were actually crucial differences. Both countries withdrew from the League of Nations and the Anti-Comintern Pact was concluded in 1936. In both countries, the number of political ceremonies increased and marching exercises and physical training were encouraged in an excessive way. In this context, physically weak students were regarded as weak-willed or even less intellectual. Furthermore, educational institutions placed importance on indoctrinating students in the state ideology and with patriotic ideas.

69 Satō Hideo, *Kyōiku no bunkashi*, 1: 141–43; Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 105.

70 Yamamoto, *Gakkō gyōji*, 105.

71 Yamaguchi, “Religion and the State,” 50, 65.

72 Yamaguchi, “Religion and the State,” 50, 65; Satō Hideo and Terasaki Masao, *Nihon no kyōiku kadai*, 5: 182.

However, there were differences in regard to the continuity of the school ceremonies and the use of the radio for them. While Japanese school ceremonies were basically the same as those established in the Meiji era, Nazi Germany introduced new school ceremonies, though most of them were rehashes of previous school ceremonies, and strategically integrated the new media of radio into them. On each ceremonial occasion, Hitler and his subordinates spoke directly to German youths over the radio. Taking this as a model, the Japanese authorities restructured the radio network, brought it under state control, encouraged the mass production of reasonable receivers, and attempted to use it as a propaganda tool.⁷³ However, contrary to Germany, the practice of collective radio listening was not cultivated to such a degree in Japan, the radio was not fully integrated into school ceremonies, and there were only radio sirens to tell people when to bow to the Imperial Palace. The emperor himself never spoke on radio until after the unconditional surrender on August 14, 1945, when his voice was aired reading the Imperial Rescript on the Termination of the War.

Another crucial difference between Japan and Germany are the institutions organizing marching and sports events. In Germany, besides schools, the Hitler Youth was also in charge of sports events. On the contrary, the Japanese *chūgakkō* did not have any competing organizations for physical activities like sports. Using the Hitler Youth as a model, the Japanese government established the Great Japan Youth Organization (大日本青少年団 *Dainihon Seishōnendan*) in 1941, but *chūgakkō* students were not members. Both in the 1930s and 1940s, the *chūgakkō* were fully in charge of the physical activities of their students. I regard this as the third type of knowledge transfer I observed in Chapter 4, that is, “referencing but not imitating the model” because Japanese intellectuals profusely referenced the Hitler Youth as a model, but did not actually imitate its organizational structure.

As historian Satō Takumi described, the visit of the Hitler Youth was a crucial visual event in Japan through which the “beautiful image” of Nazi Germany was propagated, as the positive Japanese reports on the Hitler Youth mainly relied on pictures.⁷⁴ With the help of images of the Hitler Youth, the importance of “healthy” and “beautiful” bodies was excessively emphasized and youth organizations were brought under direct state control. From the 1930s, large youth organizations in Japan had exchanges with the Hitler Youth, and in 1939 the Ministry of Education suggested to unify all youth organizations and model them after the Hitler Youth.⁷⁵ Both the Hitler Youth and the Great Japan Youth Organisation were unified national youth organiza-

⁷³ Takeyama, *Sensō to hōsō*, 23–41.

⁷⁴ Satō Takumi, “Hitorā yūgento no rainichi ibento,” 66.

⁷⁵ Terasaki Akio, *Sōryokusen taisei to kyōiku* [Total war system and education] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1987), 202.

tions under state supervision with the common ideal to be healthy and patriotic youth groups. Despite their crucial structural differences, outlined in Chapter 4, the Japanese media emphasized the similarities between the two institutions.

While the image of patriotic, healthy, and beautiful Hitler Youth was spread through Japan, its structural problems, such as conflicts with schools, were neither mentioned nor discussed in Japan. Since German historical sources show that these conflicts were a well-known problem in the 1930s, and Japanese youth organisations already had exchanges with Hitler Youth at the time, I would argue that Japanese intellectuals may have known the possible risk of establishing such an independent organization. Thus, though the Hitler Youth was admired in public, its structure was not imitated. Instead, the existing school structure was retained in order to avoid conflicts between the two educational institutions and maintain secure state control over them.

In summary, my comparative analysis revealed not only similarities and differences in regard to marching ceremonies in Germany and Japan, but also a variety of knowledge transfers within the research framework. Despite the distinct cultural and historical backgrounds, political ceremonies in both countries were installed for similar purposes. In this context, Japanese intellectuals referenced Germany by “referencing and constructing one’s own model,” possible “silent-transfer,” and finally “referencing but not imitating.” This variety of knowledge transfers highlights the discrepancy between the constructed “German model” in Japan and the perception within Germany as well as between the German model and its actual implementation in Japan. This research outcome reflects Jürgen Schriewer’s theory of “externalisation,” which emphasizes the flexibility of the country of reception. In the reception process, actors shape their own model society by choosing, filtering, and evaluating cases outside the country depending on domestic social and political needs.⁷⁶ Thus, although constructed models are undetachable from the existing social structures, there are often discrepancies between models and the existing social structure.

5.3 Cultivating the “Collective Body” through Marching and Political Ceremonies

As I summarized above, in both countries, the basic forms and functions of the political school ceremony were conceived in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the 1930s, however, reflecting the intention of the nationalistic, milita-

⁷⁶ Schriewer, “Fortschrittsmodelle und Modellkonstruktionen,” 326.

ristic, and totalitarian governments, marching ceremonies gained additional meaning and functions. In closing, I will explore the multilayered representation of marching bodies in the students’s military review, including how they represented the totalitarian hierarchical order. Subsequently, I will discuss marching ceremonies as a form of collective examination that provided multisensorial experiences and evoked intense feelings of togetherness among the participants, while at the same time excluding certain groups of people.

In the German Empire, marching represented discipline, unity, strength, and patriotic feeling. As Jakob Vogel showed, the review of the army stressed the difference between the individual states within the empire, while also representing unity under the name of the empire to some degree.⁷⁷ In Meiji Japan, the marching of soldiers represented not only discipline, unity, strength, and patriotic feeling, but also modernity, as Western marching performances were new. Yet though students practiced marching in their schools, the mass marching of students was not a crucial part of political ceremonies.

In Weimar Germany and Taishō Japan, students’ marches became a part of public ceremonies. In the Weimar Republic, though the military aspect was not present, student marches in political ceremonies, like on the Constitution Day, represented the desire for unity in the new republic. In Nazi Germany, student marches gained more political importance. Besides unity, discipline, strength, and patriotic feeling, the students’ march in the 1930s also represented so-called “voluntary subordination” to the national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). As marching is an active performance, I would argue that it could convey the image of willingness for self-sacrifice and subordination. In both the German and Japanese cultures, voluntarily sacrificing oneself was highly valued. In the German nationalist tradition, volunteers were associated with earnest patriotism, with disdain for personal gain and an almost biblical willingness for sacrifice. In Japan, these values were embodied in the kamikaze pilots, who have been regarded as heroes who willingly sacrificed themselves for their fatherland.⁷⁸

Marching is a performance that can represent a concept containing two seemingly contradictory elements: “activeness” and “subordination.” In order to march, one has to actively move one’s body, one needs to have a will to move and control one’s body. At the same time, however, if one moves along with a certain choreography, one performs “obedience” and “subordination.” Particularly through moving one’s body, one can experience the interdependency of each body part and the indispensability of the head, which coordinates and governs the whole

⁷⁷ Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*.

⁷⁸ Ozawa, *Tsurai shinjitsu*.

body. Without the head, all other body parts are unable to function. Thus, while representing the active participation of youths in the politics of the nation-state, physical education can manifest the hierarchical concept of the organic national body.⁷⁹ We may say that the marching performances were an ideal way to display one particularly central moral value of Nazi Germany and the Japanese Empire: “voluntary subordination.”⁸⁰

Furthermore, I would argue that marching in front of the political leader on a ceremonial occasion played a crucial role both in representing and in constructing the nation-state under a sole strong leader. In the 1930s, *Thingspiel*, a kind of multidisciplinary outdoor theater, enjoyed brief popularity in Germany. The name was suggested by the theater scholar Carl Niessen. *Thing* originally referred to a place where Germanic tribes gathered, and *Spiel* means play. After the Napoleonic wars, political meetings and rallies were also named *Thing* in order to express and propagate the will to create a national unification on the basis of a particular historical identity.⁸¹ The *Thingspiel* was introduced in the 1930s to combine the people’s theater as a mass spectacle with political rallies, representing the Volk community on stage.⁸² However, it was not long before the Ministry of Propaganda started to restrict the *Thingspiel* until it died out. The theaterologist Erika Fischer-Lichte argues that the *Thingspiel* had the potential to evoke quasi-religious feelings toward the fatherland and to unite actors and spectators into a self-organizing community.⁸³

The *Thingspiel*, however, did not fit particularly well into one central hierarchical aspect of the ideology of Nazi Germany: the “leader-principle” (*Führerprinzip*). The concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, a national German ethnic community, originally aimed to build a classless society based on racial purity and national belonging to confirm the collective identity as a national identity defined by the desire for unity and sacrifice for the sake of the fatherland.⁸⁴ In this sense, it is understandable that the mass theater was first deployed to represent such community. However, the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* in Nazi Germany additionally took on this “leader-principle.” All members of the community were regarded as followers (*Gefolgschaft*) of the leader (*Führer*), and the *Führer* alone was regarded as the mind, while his followers formed the body that executed the intentions of

79 Ozawa, *Tsurai shinjitsu*.

80 Hewitt, *Social Choreography*, 2.

81 Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 127–8.

82 Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 128.

83 Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 145, 150.

84 Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 141.

the mind.⁸⁵ Thus, individual bodies were not regarded as belonging to individuals but to the whole Volksgemeinschaft. In this context, physical education, including military exercises, was officially promoted, while being unhealthy was even associated with immorality. For representing such a social order in Nazi Germany—of one leader and the collective followers who voluntarily subordinate themselves to the leader—the homogenous movements of collective marching were probably more appropriate than the more individual movements of various groups of actors in the Thingspiel. The experience of moving one’s body parts and having control over one’s own body, yet intentionally moving it in synchronicity with others, was essential for students to grasp the image of the nation-state.⁸⁶ A march-past supervised by the political leader may have served to make the hierarchical social order especially visible and experienceable.

While a march-past can be a choreographed performance that represents the connection between students’ bodies, the nation-state, and the respective social order, it can also be regarded as a form of ceremonial examination in which the marching performances of students were examined by the political leader. The marching exercises can be regarded as a program of making a “docile body,” which obediently operates tasks with the requested techniques, speed, and efficiency.⁸⁷ Contrary to the usual objects of Foucauldian analysis of schooling that emphasize the fixation of children’s bodies in certain pedagogical contexts like sitting at a desk, these were “docile bodies” moving in a large-scale collective performance. In arguing that hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement, and examination are indispensable instruments for sustaining such discipline, Foucault mainly discussed individualized examinations.⁸⁸ I will expand his insight to collective examinations and situate the political marching ceremonies I analyzed at public examinations.⁸⁹ The gait was repeatedly practiced in schools and student’s gaits were controlled in different types of examinations, in physical education classes, sports festivals, and students’ military reviews. Foucault also mentioned ceremony as a form of examination imposed by the disciplinary power.⁹⁰

85 Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual*, 145, 150.

86 Caruso, “Der Turnenunterricht in den Volksschulen des königlichen Bayern,” 672–73.

87 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138.

88 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138, 170.

89 The role and function of examinations have also been under-researched in the history of education. The existing research focuses on differentiating and individualizing functions of the examination. See, e.g., “Praktiken der Prüfung” [Examination practices], *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 63, no. 3 (2017).

90 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187–88.

In sports festivals, which were often connected to political ceremonies, the students' marches was observed by their schoolmates, teachers, alumni, and parents. In the nineteenth century, schools primarily organized their own sports festivals. In the twentieth century, however, more joint sports festivals were organized and students' sporting events became a public and political issue that involved not only students and teachers but also aristocrats and ministers. Shortly before the First World War, on June 8, 1914, the Kaiser Turnen was held in Berlin to celebrate the inauguration of the new sports stadium. It featured around 10,000 participants, was attended by aristocrats, the Minister of Education, the Minister of War, the Minister of Agriculture, and other high-level officials, and was apparently the first mass sports event directly observed by the emperor.⁹¹ These kind of ceremonial scenes, in which the head of state inspects a mass of moving people, could also be observed in the following decades, both in Germany and Japan.

The setting of the ceremonial examination is different from the Panopticon, which Foucault argued is the ultimate realization of a modern disciplinary institution. According to Foucault, power was traditionally what was seen, what was shown, and what was manifested, and those on whom power was exercised remained largely invisible.⁹² Subjects of disciplinary power, conversely, have to be constantly seen, while the origin of power remains invisible. In the Panopticon individual prisoners become the object of constant observation. They themselves can never be sure whether they are being observed at any moment, and this unequal gaze causes the internalization of disciplinary individuality. In military reviews, however, students knew exactly when they were seen. The students' military parades I analyzed were more similar to the military parades of Louis XVI in France. On a medal created to commemorate the spectacular military review of Louis XIV held in 1666, the king is depicted commanding the exercises with a baton, and several uniform ranks of soldiers are shown. Foucault took this medal as evidence of the moment when the most brilliant figure of sovereign power is joined to the emergence of the rituals proper to disciplinary power and as entering the disciplinary age of the infinite examination and of compulsory objectification.⁹³

Ceremonies of discipline like military parades (disciplined bodies and the "inspecting gaze") do not convey the image of the sovereign's power directly, but they can visualize the effects of power through the disciplined collective bodies—it is not the sovereign but rather the object of the sovereign's gaze that is brought into focus.⁹⁴ Prior to Louis XIV, the king's body was not a metaphor, but a political reality

91 Schröder, "Das 'KaiserTurnen' im Berliner Stadion," 259, 262.

92 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187.

93 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187–89.

94 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 188, 191.

whose physical presence was necessary for the function of the monarchy.⁹⁵ At the time, a ceremony was a spectacular expression of potency. However, among the techniques of power developed in the modern era, it was not the king’s body, but disciplined bodies and an inspecting gaze toward them that gained great importance.⁹⁶ Foucault describes this review, the “parade,” as a ceremony of disciplinary power. In this ostentatious form of examination, disciplinary power manifests its potency essentially by not showing itself but by “arranging objects”—presented as “objects” to be seen and controlled, the subjects do not directly receive the image of the sovereign power, but their legible and docile bodies accentuate its effects.⁹⁷ The holding of such spectacular reviews would last for a surprisingly long period. Even in the twentieth century, the military review, this type of expression of power was reintroduced and involved not only soldiers but also youths.

In the German Empire, the emperor would travel around to supervise military reviews. From 1876, the emperor held military ceremonies in different regions, which contributed to the integration of regions that had become a part of the empire after 1871.⁹⁸ Military victories and other older types of ceremonial occasions were connected to the annual review ceremony such as the victory in Sedan. In Japan, imperial ceremonies quickly transformed from the premodern to the military review style. Since not all people were aware of the existence of the emperor at the beginning of the Meiji era, the emperor traveled around Japan and presented himself as the new sovereign in the first two decades. Along his path, roads and streets were paved and telegram wires were laid. At the same time, the emperor inspected military maneuvers from 1872.⁹⁹ Traveling around and presenting oneself was a widespread means of affirming one’s political power. According to Roy Strong, who explored royal festivities and pageantry, the ceremonial procession was a political weapon in the hands of monarchs since the sixteenth century, at the latest.¹⁰⁰ Processions are a formidable demonstration of power and, according to Strong, consolidated support for a regime, popularized its attitudes, took them down to the roots of local government, and made concrete the abstraction of the crown in the actual presence of the ruler.¹⁰¹ Clifford Geertz

95 Foucault, “Body/Power,” 55.

96 Foucault, “The Eye of Power,” 155.

97 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 187–89.

98 Vogel, *Nationen im Gleichschritt*, 38.

99 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 146.

100 Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450–1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 77–78.

101 Strong, *Art and Power*, 77–78.

also suggested that kings can travel around the countryside and take symbolic possession of their realm. When kings travel, make appearances, attend fetes, or confer honors, they almost mark the activity as a physical part of themselves.¹⁰²

From 1880, the journeys of the Japanese emperor were gradually replaced by different types of political rituals.¹⁰³ In these new rituals, the emperor's body was still present, but the main actors were the disciplined mass of people who were observed by the emperor. For instance, the victory at Port Arthur became the Army Memorial Day and was celebrated through a military review supervised by the emperor. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, both in Germany and Japan, the emperor inspected soldiers but not students. Students practiced marching and were inspected by teachers and the military, but not by the emperor. In the German Empire, students watched marching parades, and some students even stood on the parade field, but they were never the main objects of the emperor's inspection. From the 1930s, however, students themselves became an object of direct inspection by the highest political power in both countries, namely Hitler and Hirohito. By marching and performing mass gymnastics, the participants visualized and constructed the power relationship between the people, who were being observed and inspected, and the sovereign, who observed and inspected.

Moreover, the experience of collective movements, especially large-scale ceremonies, often evoked a sense of togetherness. They created feelings of belonging, at first on the level of schools, and then laid an experiential foundation for a so-called "patriotic feeling." As discussed in Chapter 4, the march-past supervised by the political leader and the fact of being directly seen by the sovereign seems to have evoked intense feelings among the students, according to their comments in the school club magazines that I analyzed. Following Ute Frevert and Christoph Wulf's notion that feeling can be developed, sensed, and differentiated with the help of language and imagination, I would argue that the intense feelings evoked through collective bodily experiences were named and differentiated in school ceremonies. These feelings were likely partially caused by anxiety about performing and being seen in grand public ceremonies, and sensory factors such as images and utterances may have strengthened their intensity.¹⁰⁴

Of course, it is difficult to define patriotic feeling precisely, but regarding the Jahresberichte and the school club magazines, I would say it was a feeling of to-

102 Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma," 153.

103 Fujitani, *Tennō no pējento*, 145.

104 Ute Frevert and Christoph Wulf, "Bildung der Gefühle" [Education of feelings], *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 16 (2012): 7.

getherness connected to honor and readiness to fight. So-called patriotic feelings likely cannot exist without an attachment to local groups like schools, youth organizations, and hometowns. One Japanese student emphasized this idea in his essay in the First Tokyo Secondary School’s school club magazine: the school is the center of education and to love one’s school and to respect one’s teachers are first steps on the ladder of loving one’s country and being loyal to it.¹⁰⁵ Social affiliation can be experienced through collective movements and through the resonance created by them; through concrete experiences an abstract form of society can be built.¹⁰⁶ For students, this sense of belonging was first and foremost a feeling of belonging to their classroom or school, upon which a more abstract feeling of national belonging can be constructed, for instance.¹⁰⁷

As Judith Butler has suggested, identity (as a bodily and social reality) is constructed through performative actions: repeating certain gestures and movements creates a cultural body, and through these stylized performative actions collective identities can be formed.¹⁰⁸ Thus, I would argue that participants both represented the abstract ideal “nation,” and at the same time constructed it through the shared uniform motions and associated feelings of solidarity. The events were not only driven by macro-structural forces, but also by children’s and youths’ activities. As we have seen in the student’s essay, participants might have even been convinced of their social reality, the nation-state, the power relationships in it, and even the patriotic feeling toward it. This also sheds light on the complex processes of modernization in which not everything that existed prior to modernization was abandoned. Rather, old collective actions and rituals remained, or were partly renamed and reintroduced, and contributed to sustaining the totalitarian system.

In this book, I predominantly focused on the unifying character of physical education and school ceremonies, which provided shared experiences among those who could participate in these activities.¹⁰⁹ The number of marching events was increased and the importance of the unified gait was emphasized, while strong soldiers were admired. However, those who were regarded as undesirable members of the community, owing to their racial, physical, or mental characteristics,

105 First Tokyo Secondary School, *Gakuyūkai zasshi* 21 (1986): 10–11.

106 Alkemeyer, “Verkörperte Gemeinschaftlichkeit,” 339–41; McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*, 152.

107 Alkemeyer, “Verkörperte Gemeinschaftlichkeit,” 343–45.

108 Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution,” 519–20, 524–28.

109 For instance, in the German Empire, Volksschule and gymnasiums shared the same handbook for physical education, and marched basically in the same manner, though their students belonged to completely different social classes.

were excluded from marching events.¹¹⁰ They were excluded from the social group that was visualized, represented, and constructed or reconstructed through political marching events. Metaphorically speaking, the excluded people were trampled on by those who were permitted and encouraged to march. In this sense, marching was a simple means of separating “normal” and “abnormal” children and demonstratively place the ideal of “normal” children under the spotlight while concealing “abnormal” children, who were deemed undesirable.

As I have demonstrated in this book, the “normal body” or “normal gait” was not necessarily determined by the statistical results of mass examination and observation, but rather by pedagogical ideals and state intentions. On a theoretical level, the “normal body” was closely intertwined with the medically ideal body, the political body, and the expectations of an ideal personality. On a practical level, the ideal body was a product of school programs like physical education. Thus if we discuss the association of beauty with mass marching and the fascination toward it, we should also consider those who were not able to belong to the marching group.

As far as participation is voluntary, marching can be regarded as a performance in which some students present what they are good at. However, if it is introduced to a school program and becomes obligatory for all students, marching may function not only as a means of group-building but also as a mean of exclusion. Walt Disney’s anti-Nazi propaganda film *Education for Death* also criticized this point, that German people marched on with millions of comrades and trampled on the rights of others. Interestingly, it also resonates with the words of Jakob Sahl, who taught at Dokkyō Secondary School from 1927 to 1941. Having trained in the liberal Weimar Republic but later joined the Nazi Party, Sahl seems to have been aware of both the negative and positive aspects of marching performance. According to his students, Sahl used to say:

“Boys, have the most beautiful dreams, but walk carefully.”¹¹¹

110 The eugenics law in Japan and Germany and the Aktion T4 tell us that totalitarian regimes tend to set a solid frame of ideal men, namely, useful soldiers. Those who deviated from the ideal were object of exclusion. In extreme cases, some of them, like people with disabilities, were labeled as a “social burden” or “useless existence” and discriminated against or even killed.

111 This is a translation of the German words of one of the alumni of Dokkyō Secondary School, “Jugend! hat schönste Traum, aber trapt Sicher,” which might be more grammatically correct as “Jugend! Habt den schönsten Traum, aber trabt sicher.” It is unclear why Sahl used to say this, as his students’ recollections have not shed light on his personal beliefs. Dokkyō Gakuen, *Dokkyō hyakunen*, 4: 40–42.

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