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# THE BRITISH JU-JITSU SOCIETY AND THE INFLUENCE OF KODOKAN JUDO ON EARLY JUJUTSU IN THE U.K.

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### DOI

10.18573/mas.166

### KEYWORDS

Jujutsu, Judo, BJS, Budokwai, Kata, Kodokan

### CITATION

Brough, David; Bradić, Slaviša; Callan, Mike; Gatling, Lance; Jones, Llyr. 2022. 'The British Ju-jitsu Society and the influence of Kodokan Judo on early jujutsu in the U.K.'. *Martial Arts Studies* 13, 42-60.  
doi:10.18573/mas.166

### ABSTRACT

In the United Kingdom (U.K.) in the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras there was an explosion in the popularity of the Japanese martial art *jujutsu*, with seemingly invincible Japanese exponents touring and taking on all comers in the music halls. As this early wave of popularity subsided a number of organisations were established to continue the practice of *jujutsu*, and other Japanese martial arts. Most notable of these was The *Budokwai* in London, established in 1918 by Gunji Koizumi, which from 1920 would become one of the foremost *judo* clubs in the West. Recent discoveries shed light on another organisation from this era called the British Ju-jitsu Society (BJS). Established in 1926, the BJS co-existed with The *Budokwai* and had member clubs throughout the U.K. Here, we provide an overview of the BJS, its activity, and insights into its operation and legacy.

## INTRODUCTION OF JUJUTSU AND JUDO TO GREAT BRITAIN

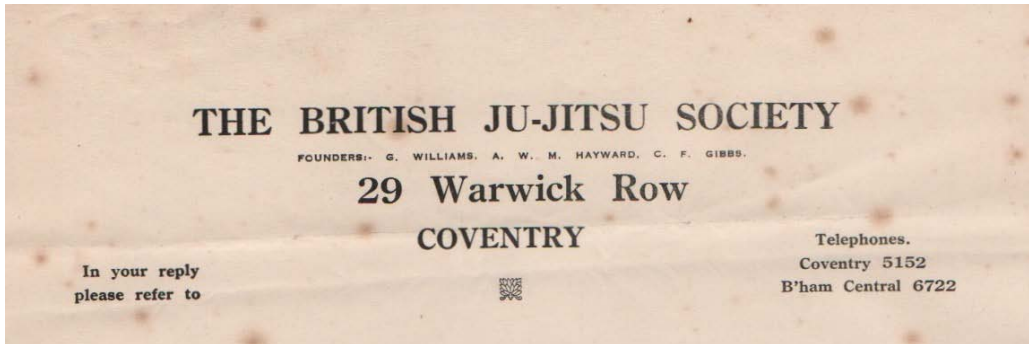
*Jujutsu* – literally ‘yielding art’ – a family of Japanese close combat systems was introduced to the U.K. by Edward William Barton-Wright who established his personal eclectic martial arts system ‘Bartitsu’ in 1899 [Wolf 2008: 18]. Although Bartitsu was relatively short lived, it had a profound effect on the spread of jujutsu, and *judo* (‘yielding way’) from Japan to the West. A result of correspondence with the founder of *Kodokan Judo*, Jigoro Kano<sup>1</sup> and others, Barton-Wright brought over talented young *jujutsuka* (jujutsu practitioners) to teach at his club. Notable among these were Yukio Tani and Sadakazu Uyenishi. The Bartitsu club closed in 1903 and Tani and Uyenishi (and others such as Taro Miyake) set up clubs, toured music halls giving demonstrations, competing against wrestlers, and teaching students. Barton-Wright subsequently took a step back from teaching martial arts and concentrated on a rather unsuccessful venture of electrotherapies ultimately for the treatment of rheumatism [Wolf 2008: 28].

In 1918 Gunji Koizumi established the *Budokwai* (The Way of Knighthood Society) in London, as the West’s first society dedicated to the teaching of Japanese martial ways. Joining Koizumi at The Budokwai, Yukio Tani became the chief instructor. In July 1920, Kano travelled to London on his way to the Antwerp Olympic Games. Before the trip he had been advised of the diligent efforts of Koizumi in teaching jujutsu to the British by judo black belt Yui Yokoyama, a member of the Genyosha Dark Ocean Society (an ultranationalist secret society) who had travelled to London earlier and observed The Budokwai [Kano 1921]. The Budokwai also became a sort of Japanese cultural centre for Japanese people living around London. The U.K. enjoyed more Japanese immigration than the rest of Europe combined (12,000 of over 22,000 total during 1868-1923 [Ichihashi 1931]), so early Budokwai recruiting was largely Japanese, including initially drawing Japanese workers from Koizumi’s lacquerware business [Goodger 1981]. In his trip to London, Kano was joined by judo 4<sup>th</sup> dan Hikokichi Aida [Kano 1921]. Kano and Aida were met by Koizumi and Budokwai Secretary William E. Steers, whom Kano already knew; Steers had previously travelled to

Japan twice, and in 1912 became only the second European to receive a Kodokan 1<sup>st</sup> dan from Kano [Wolf 2010].

Kano pursued a strategy he used often in Japan – co-option. When Kano began expanding judo across Japan, he colluded with school administrators to place budo qualified physical education instructors in key schools. However, some schools had already chosen local jujutsu instructors to teach, or some surviving instructors held significant status in their communities. Rather than compete with these established teachers, Kano began co-opting them by offering them advanced Kodokan judo rank, that brought them into the Kodokan network of schools and Kodokan-rules based competition. After traveling to Antwerp for the Games, Kano returned to London and (presumably after consulting with Aida) promoted jujutsuka Koizumi and Tani to 2<sup>nd</sup> dan Kodokan judo. Thereafter Aida stayed with The Budokwai for 15 months, his expenses covered by Kano and Koizumi, teaching and bringing The Budokwai into the fold of Kodokan judo [Wolf 2010]. Other jujutsu clubs persisted. The ‘School of Japanese Self Defence’, initially established in Golden Square, London, by Uyenishi and subsequently run by his student William Garrud, lasted until the late 1920s [Brough 2020]. At this time there were areas of jujutsu activity dotted all over the country, a legacy of the touring and teaching exploits of the initial Japanese jujutsu pioneers and their students. Much of this activity would inevitably gravitate towards The Budokwai, but there were other movements at this time. This article focusses on the British Ju-jitsu Society (BJS), which appeared to have been an early governing body for the practice of jujutsu. The spelling *ju-jitsu* is used when related to BJS documents, which used this spelling exclusively. Practically forgotten, recently unearthed documents shed new light on its existence and operation.

<sup>1</sup> Japanese names in this article are presented given name first and family name second – instead of traditional Japanese usage that places the family name first.



**Figure 1:** A letterhead of the BJS c1926. The original letter is currently held by the British Ju-Jitsu Association (GB)

## THE OPERATION AND PRACTICE METHODS OF THE BJS

The first reference to the BJS in the British Newspaper Archive is 23 June 1926 [*Worthing Gazette* 1926]. An article in *The Daily Mail* discussing the BJS published in March 1927 states that it was established 'just over a year ago' [*Daily Mail* 1927], suggesting the BJS was established at the end of 1925 or beginning of 1926. Recently discovered documents include a letter of introduction to the Society which is signed by the 'Principal', a G. Williams. The letterhead (Fig. 1) shows the Society is based at 29 Warwick Row, Coventry, and that the founders of the society are G. Williams, A.W.M. Hayward, and C.F. Gibbs. Although not dated, the letter must have been produced from 1926 onwards. Also discovered is a membership form, with which one can enrol as a member, and request the badge, and to learn the 'secret sign' of the society. The membership form also offers a subscription to the monthly journal of the society, *The Jujitsuan*, and details the prices for the different sections of the syllabus as outlined below. The discovered documents of the BJS consist of a prospectus, a booklet called 'The Art of Jujitsu', authored by G. Williams, and then eight syllabus booklets. The booklet titles in order are as follows:

- Section 1 – Breakfalls
- Section 2 – Principal Throws
- Section 3 – Ground Locks
- Section 4 – Ground Manoeuvres
- Section 5 – Standing Defences
- Section 6 – Counters to Throws etc.
- Section 7 – Boxing Defences
- Section 8 – Nerve Pinches & Fatal Blows

In the prospectus the work of the society is described by the following 4 points:

- (1) *By publishing a monthly magazine called 'The Jujitsuan'*
- (2) *By teaching ju-jitsu by post by means of correspondence lessons*
- (3) *By conducting examinations in ju-jitsu and awarding diplomas to those who pass these examinations*
- (4) *By arranging for members to meet each other socially, by arranging demonstrations and championship contests, and by helping members to get the best books and to get in touch with the best teachers of ju-jitsu*

There were three examinations of the BJS. These were:

- 1) The Preliminary Diploma examination
- 2) The Intermediate Diploma examination
- 3) The Final Diploma examination

A member passing the Preliminary Diploma became a 'Graduate' of the Society. Passing the Intermediate Diploma made the member a 'Fellow' and upon passing the Final Diploma the member became a 'Master' of the Society. There appears to be no practical component to the examinations as they were conducted via correspondence, however certificates were issued for their completion (Fig. 2).



**Figure 2:** Diplomas awarded by the BJS. These awards are to Samuel Finn of Rochdale in 1933 and were provided by his granddaughter Susan Dobbins



**Figure 3:** Picture of Samuel Finn, the owner of the certificates shown in Figure 2. Picture provided by Susan Dobbins



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The badge of the Society is described in the prospectus as being 'artistically enamelled in dark blue round the outer circle and a light blue centre. The symbolic figure and the wording stand out in gilt. The design, altogether, is very pleasing and appropriate'. Some of the BJS badges survive today and one is shown here (Fig. 4). It is tempting to speculate that the symbol on the badge showing a hand gripping a wrist is in fact the secret symbol mentioned in the membership form.



Figure 4: A badge of the BJS from 1926

The prospectus states that there is only one rule: that members must not be guilty of unsportsmanlike conduct. Interestingly, the prospectus also states that the principals of the society do not give public displays and only do private demonstrations, though they will willingly assist in helping members give public exhibitions. The booklet 'The Art of Jujitsu' summarises some of the moves that appear throughout the syllabus booklets and provides a context for their use in self-defence situations.

Analysis of the throws in the BJS syllabus indicates a strong influence from Kodokan Judo (Table 1). Table 1 has been compiled by adding the name of the throws as they appear in order in Section 2 (Principal Throws) of the syllabus. The Japanese names, added subsequently, are chosen based on the diagrams and descriptions of the throws and cross referencing these with the list of recognised *nage-waza* (throwing techniques) as found on the Kodokan website [Kodokan n.d.] and in

authoritative texts on the subject such as that by Syd Hoare [Hoare 1994]. As can be seen, all throws taught by the BJS are found in *Kodokan Judo* and are either part of the original (1885) or revised (1920) *Gokyo* [Kodokan n.d.], or else are Kodokan recognised techniques. Figure 5 shows a technique from Section 2 of the syllabus which Williams states is a drawing based on a photo of him and his wife.



Figure 5: A figure from Section 2 of the syllabus (Principal throws). The throw is defined as the 'cross hook' in the syllabus (in Judo this throw is *O-soto-gari*) and the picture is a drawing based on a photo of Williams and his wife

Throw (English) – BJS terminology	Throw (Japanese)	Notes
The stop ankle trip	<i>Sasae-tsurikomi-ashi</i>	<i>Dai-ikkyo</i>
The knee trip	<i>Hiza-guruma</i>	<i>Dai-ikkyo</i>
The backward ankle sweep	<i>Ko-soto-gari</i>	<i>Dai-nikyo</i>
The forward drop, kneeling	<i>Uki-otoshi</i>	<i>Dai-yonkyo</i>
The hip throw	<i>O-goshi</i>	<i>Dai-ikkyo</i>
The shoulder throw	<i>Seoi-nage</i>	<i>Dai-ikkyo</i>
The outside hook	<i>Ko-soto-gake</i>	<i>Dai-sankyō</i>
The cross hook	<i>O-soto-gari</i>	<i>Dai-ikkyo</i>
The side drop	<i>Tai-otoshi</i>	<i>Dai-nikyo</i>
The spring hip	<i>Hane-goshi</i>	<i>Dai-sankyō</i>
The side cutaway	<i>Hane-makikomi</i>	<i>Dai-yonkyo</i>
Outside and inside arm roll	<i>Soto- and Uchi-makikomi</i>	<i>Dai-yonkyo</i>
The fireman's lift	<i>Kata-guruma</i>	<i>Dai-sankyō</i>
The inner thigh throw	<i>Uchimata</i>	<i>Dai-nikyo</i>
The side sweep	<i>Okuri-ashi-harai</i>	<i>Dai-nikyo</i>
The rear ducking throw	<i>Ura-nage</i>	<i>Dai-gokyo</i>
The front ducking throw	<i>Yoko-guruma</i>	<i>Dai-gokyo</i>
Windmill roll, or corner throw	<i>Sumi-gaeshi</i>	<i>Dai-yonkyo</i>
The ankle roll	<i>Uki-waza</i>	<i>Dai-gokyo</i>
The stomach throw	<i>Tomoe-nage</i>	<i>Dai-sankyō</i>
The falling ankle trip	<i>Yoko-gake</i>	<i>Dai-gokyo</i>
The knee roll	<i>Yoko-wakare</i>	<i>Dai-gokyo</i>
The squatting hip throw	<i>Tsurikomi-goshi</i>	<i>Dai-nikyo</i>
The inside hook	<i>O-uchi-gari</i>	<i>Dai-ikkyo</i>
The inside ankle trip	<i>Ko-uchi-gari</i>	<i>Dai-nikyo</i>
The scoop throws or lunge	<i>Sukui-nage</i>	<i>Dai-yonkyo</i>
The heel and thigh throw	<i>Kuchiki-taoshi</i>	
The scissors	<i>Kani-basami</i>	

**Table 1:** Throws of the BJS (Section 2 of the syllabus 1926). Notes have been added as to where in the Gokyo (groups 1-5 (1920): *Dai-ikkyo* (1), *Dai-nikyo* (2), *Dai-sankyō* (3), *Dai-yonkyo* (4), *Dai-gokyo* (5)) the throw appeared in the standard Judo throwing syllabus.

Section 2 of the syllabus, after describing the throws above, goes on to state: 'The fifteen formal throws which the Japanese practise are as follows, in the following order. They are the "grammar" of the art, and should be practised constantly, as a musician practise scales'. This view is not original to the BJS, but comes from Jigoro Kano who regarded *kata* (forms) as representing the 'grammar' of judo, and *randori* (free practice) as the 'creative writing' [Kano 2005: 24]. Fifteen throws are then listed, written exactly as follows:

- |                         |   |                       |
|-------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Forward Drop         | - | Uki-otoshi            |
| 2. Shoulder Throw       | - | Seo-inage             |
| 3. Fireman's Lift       | - | Kata-guruma           |
| 4. Hip Throw            | - | Uki-goshi             |
| 5. Spring Hip Throw     | - | Harai-goshi           |
| 6. Squatting Hip Throw  | - | Tsuri-komi-goshi      |
| 7. Backward Ankle Sweep | - | Okuri-ashi-barai      |
| 8. Stop Ankle Trip      | - | Sasae-Tsuri-komi-ashi |
| 9. Inner Thigh Throw    | - | Uchi-mata             |
| 10. Stomach Throw       | - | Tomo-enage            |
| 11. Rear Ducking Throw  | - | Ura-nage              |
| 12. Windmill Roll       | - | Sumi-gaeshi           |
| 13. Falling Ankle Trip  | - | Yoko-gake             |
| 14. Front Ducking Throw | - | Yoko-guruma           |
| 15. Ankle Roll          | - | Uki-waza              |

Bar a few mistranslations, this is *Nage-no-kata*, a kata developed by Kano to support the practice of various *nage-waza*, or throwing techniques. This evidence suggests that the BJS had adopted a significant element of the techniques and practice methods found in the Kodokan.

## THE ORIGINS OF BRITISH JUJUTSU

'The Art of Jujitsu' booklet written by G. Williams refers to the pioneering Japanese jujutsu, experts Tani, Miyake, and Uyenishi stating:

Many people still remember the sensation caused when Jujitsu first came to England, when Yukio Tani, Taro Miyake, Uyenishi, and other Japanese experts pitted their prowess against all comers in public and proved with marvellous ease that they were a match for men twice their size and could defeat our best boxers and wrestlers.

Thus, the BJS made reference to the activities, teaching, and literature of the early jujutsu pioneers and their students. However, the early pioneers of British jujutsu credited with bringing jujutsu to the U.K. such as Tani, Uyenishi, and Miyake, were students from the *dojo* of Yataro Handa in Osaka, and were not from the Kodokan [Wolf 2016]. In an interview with *Health and Strength* in 1904 and republished in volume 2 of *The Bartitsu Compendium*, Uyenishi stated he was the Champion of Osaka and a student of Yataro Handa [Wolf 2008: 358]. Although

Barton-Wright had some training in judo, he was also teaching *Shinden Fudo ryu* (Immovable Heart school) jujutsu techniques [Keegan 2019: 40]. Handa had a collaboration with *Fusen ryu* (Fusen school) jujutsu-expert Mataemon Tanabe, and their *dojo* became known for their expertise in competitive grappling or *ne-waza* [Wolf 2016]. Miyake had started to learn jujutsu with Tanabe before moving to Kyoto to train with a teacher called Uyemura, before moving to Osaka and training with Handa [Miyake 1905].

In an interview in 1915, Taro Miyake described his training. In this interview Miyake (freely conflating judo and jujutsu) states that the main schools of jujutsu in Japan at that time were Kano's Kodokan, which focused more on standing techniques (*tachi-waza*), and the Handa *dojo* which focused on ground techniques (*ne-waza*). This view is consistent with the suggestion by Stevens that Kano favoured *ne-waza* less than *tachi-waza* [Stevens 2013: 31]. However, we know that Kano did incorporate Tanabe's ground techniques into judo after observing the difficulty the Kodokan experts had against Tanabe in contests [Bowen 2011a: 138]. It is also very likely that students of Handa knew much of the Kodokan's standing techniques and Miyake states as much: 'Of course, every Kodokan expert knows more or less about Handa, and every Handa man knows a lot about Kodokan, but nevertheless they are each highly specialized, individual professions' [Wolf 2016].

Koizumi's training in jujutsu before he arrived in the U.K. in 1906 consisted of *Tenshin shinyo ryu* (Devine True Willow school) in Japan, and then some instruction in *Shin Shin ryu* (New Heart school) and *Akishima ryu* (Bright Island school) while on his travels through Korea and Singapore respectively [Koizumi 1960: 17].

Tani, Miyake, and Uyenishi would all have taken part in the intermural jujutsu contests taking place in Japan at the time, in what lay the foundation for '*Kosen Judo*' [Wolf 2016]. '*Kosen*' is an abbreviation for *koto senmongakko*, which is, in turn, a compound of two words - '*koto gakko*' meaning 'senior high-school' and '*senmon gakko*' meaning 'professional or technical university'. In the early 1900s, when the rules for judo competition were being formulated, the rules that came to be used for intermural contests tended to encourage and reward *ne-waza*. Consequently, *Kosen ne-waza* techniques and tactics became highly developed and refined. (See the text by Kimura et al. [2014] for a comprehensive guide to this aspect of Kodokan Judo.) Thus, the jujutsu that the early pioneers brought to the U.K. would have borne a similarity to the system practiced by the Kodokan. This is evident from the literature produced by the pioneers and should not be a surprise, as the core of judo's techniques had their origin in *ko-ryu* jujutsu. Judo did not immediately totally replace jujutsu (not in Japan, nor elsewhere); and judo as a mature system was created over an extended time-period of a few decades. Over this period Kano engaged with several jujutsu experts, from a range of schools, in his continuous search for effective techniques.

Throw in Japanese (Uyenishi)	Throw in English (Uyenishi)	Throw in Japanese (Kodokan)
<i>Ashi-harai</i>	The ankle throw	<i>De-ashi-harai</i>
<i>Hiza Guruma</i>	The knee throw	<i>Hiza-guruma</i>
<i>Kekaeshi</i>	The cross hook	<i>O-soto-gari</i>
<i>Koshi-nage</i>	The hip throw	<i>O-goshi</i>
<i>Hane-goshi</i>	The spring hip	<i>Hane-goshi</i>
<i>Hiki-otoshi</i>	The pull over side throw	<i>Tai-otoshi</i>
<i>Seoi-nage</i>	The shoulder throw	<i>Seoi-nage</i>
<i>Okuruashi</i>	The second ankle throw	<i>Okuri-ashi-harai</i>
<i>Yoko-sutemi</i>	Third ankle throw (or ankle roll)	<i>Uki-waza</i>
<i>Sutemi</i>	The stomach throw	<i>Tomoe-nage</i>
<i>Kugi-nuki</i>	The scissors	<i>Kani-basami</i>

**Table 2:** Throws described by Uyenishi in 1905. Shown are the throws as Uyenishi described them in Japanese, and English, and in the final column the name of the throw as it would be described by a Kodokan judoka if different

In 1905 Uyenishi wrote what would become a standard text on the subject for decades, *The Text Book of Ju Jutsu as Practised in Japan*. All the throws described in Uyenishi's book are well known to judoka, though the terminology used by Uyenishi is distinct and is described in Table 2. The adaptations to throwing techniques to render them safe for practice (i.e., throwing an opponent onto their back as opposed to their head) would have been common to all jujutsu schools training students for competition.

The throws described by Uyenishi either use the Kodokan terminology, a variation of the Kodokan terminology, or an apparently distinct terminology [Uyenishi 1952]. The precise origin of the distinct terminology used by Uyenishi is unknown and may come from the Handa dojo or elsewhere.

An early student of Uyenishi in the U.K. was Emily Diana Watts, who, in 1906, authored the book, *The Fine Art of Jujutsu*, in which she demonstrates a kata she calls the 'Landori' [sic.] kata, which is presumably an erroneous phonetic transliteration of *Randori-no-kata*. Watts also describes Kodokan judo's *Nage-no-kata* in her book (amongst other jujutsu techniques). It is essential that Watts' 'Landori' kata is not confused with Kodokan judo's 'Randori-no-kata' [Otaki & Draeger 1983], which is the collective name for *Nage-no-kata* (Forms of throwing) and *Katame-no-kata* (Forms of control) – i.e., the two kata that can help develop skills in free practice (randori). Watts' 'Landori' kata is interesting for several reasons outlined below and is described in Table 3.



**Table 3:** Throws of 'Landori' kata and Nage-no-kata as described by Emily Diana Watts (1906). NB: An asterisk (\*) indicates throws listed in the book but not demonstrated by Watts

Landori' kata as described by Watts			Nage-no-kata as described by Watts	
Throw as described by Watts	Kodokan nomenclature	Notes	Throw as described by Watts	Notes
Ashiharai (a)	De-ashi-harai		Uki otoshi	
Ashiharai (b)	Ko-soto-gari		Seoi Nage	
Kekayashi	Like O-soto-gari	Written kekaeshi by Uyenishi (1905)	Sukui nage	As per the Nage-no-kata standard before 1906
Hiza guruma			Uki goshi	
Hiki otoshi (a)	Tai-otoshi		Tsurikomi-goshi	Sequence is incorrect – should follow Harai-goshi
Hiki otoshi (b)	Tai-otoshi		Koshiharai	Harai-goshi
Tachi hikiotoshi (a)	Tai-otoshi		Okuri-ashi-harai	
Tachi hikiotoshi (b)	Tai-otoshi		De-ashi-harai	Watts describes as 'old friend ashiharai given in a different way'. Should actually be Sasae-tsurikomi-ashi
Koshinage	O-goshi		Uchi mata	
Seoi nage			Tomoe-nage	Watts calls it simply 'sutemi' in Landori kata
Sutemi	Tomoe-nage		Ura-nage*	
Yoko sutemi	Uki-waza		Tsuriatoshi*	As per the Nage-no-kata standard before 1905
Kuge nuki	Kani-basami		Yoko-gake*	
Koshi harai	Harai-goshi		Yoko-guruma*	
Uchi mata		Watts states that it 'really belongs to nage-no-kata'	Yoko wakare*	Should be Uki-waza

As seen in Table 3, Watts uses Uyenishi's terminology for throwing techniques for 'Landori' kata, and Kodokan nomenclature for Nage-no-kata. Also, while Nage-no-kata is organised into 5 distinct *waza* principles (*Te*-, *Koshi*-, *Ashi*-, *Ma-sutemi*-, and *Yoko-sutemi-waza*), 'Landori' kata seems to have no such logical organisation. Watts correctly states that Nage-no-kata belongs to the 'Kano School' in Japan [Watts 1906]. It should be noted, though, that at no point did Jigoro Kano personally name any 'system' after himself. However, this did not prevent others from using his name to distinguish his system (judo), through using 'Kano ryu', or 'Kano School'.

The 15-technique Nage-no-kata described by Watts is by and large the standard that she would have learnt around the time the book was written and incorporates most of the modifications that were made to the kata around then. Note that the *original Nage-no-kata*, formulated by Kano around 1885, contained 10 techniques and is lost. For completeness, the evolution of Nage-no-kata, as it is understood, from 1895 (when it became a 15-technique kata) to the present day is provided in Table 4 [Fournier 2020: 2; Gilon 2020].

**Table 4:** Development and evolution of Nage-no-kata [Fournier 2020: 2; Gilon 2020]

Nage-no-kata				
Grouping	1895	1902-04	1905	1906 onwards
Te-waza	<i>Uki-otoshi</i>	<i>Uki-otoshi</i>	<i>Uki-otoshi</i>	<i>Uki-otoshi</i>
	<i>Seoi-nage</i>	<i>Seoi-nage</i>	<i>Seoi-nage</i>	<i>Seoi-nage</i>
	<i>Sumi-otoshi</i>	<i>Suki-nage</i>	<i>Suki-nage</i>	<i>Kata-guruma</i>
Koshi-waza	<i>Uki-goshi</i>	<i>Uki-goshi</i>	<i>Uki-goshi</i>	<i>Uki-goshi</i>
	<i>Harai-goshi</i>	<i>Harai-goshi</i>	<i>Harai-goshi</i>	<i>Harai-goshi</i>
	<i>Tsurikomi-goshi</i>	<i>Tsurikomi-goshi</i>	<i>Tsurikomi-goshi</i>	<i>Tsurikomi-goshi</i>
Ashi-waza	<i>Okuri-ashi-harai</i>	<i>Okuri-ashi-harai</i>	<i>Okuri-ashi-harai</i>	<i>Okuri-ashi-harai</i>
	<i>Sasae-tsurikomi-ashi</i>	<i>Sasae-tsurikomi-ashi</i>	<i>Sasae-tsurikomi-ashi</i>	<i>Sasae-tsurikomi-ashi</i>
	<i>Uchi-mata</i>	<i>Uchi-mata</i>	<i>Uchi-mata</i>	<i>Uchi-mata</i>
Ma-sutemi-waza	<i>Tomoe-nage</i>	<i>Tomoe-nage</i>	<i>Tomoe-nage</i>	<i>Tomoe-nage</i>
	<i>Ura-nage</i>	<i>Ura-nage</i>	<i>Ura-nage</i>	<i>Ura-nage</i>
	<i>Tsuri-otoshi</i>	<i>Tsuri-otoshi</i>	<i>Sumi-gaeshi</i>	<i>Sumi-gaeshi</i>
Yoko-sutemi-waza	<i>Yoko-gake / Yoko-guruma*</i>	<i>Yoko-gake</i>	<i>Yoko-gake</i>	<i>Yoko-gake</i>
	<i>Uki-waza</i>	<i>Yoko-guruma</i>	<i>Yoko-guruma</i>	<i>Yoko-guruma</i>
	<i>Tani-otoshi</i>	<i>Uki-waza</i>	<i>Uki-waza</i>	<i>Uki-waza</i>

\* In 1895 it is not possible to know which of these techniques had been chosen.

It cannot be discounted that the 'Landori' kata may have been a randori kata of the Handa dojo, an invention of Uyenishi, or from some other unknown source. This information also suggests that Uyenishi may have had a working knowledge of Nage-no-kata. Although it is possible that a visiting Kodokan instructor may have taught Watts, Uyenishi is the only instructor Watts acknowledges [Watts 1906]. Kodokan exponents such as Akitaro Ono were in London in 1906 and may have had some bearing on this [Bowen 2011a: 223]. Anyway, it would seem reasonable to conclude that while Uyenishi and others coming from the Handa dojo were not Kodokan men, they may have had knowledge of nage-waza and kata as taught in the Kodokan.

What is clear, however, is that the throwing syllabus of the BJS appears almost entirely Kodokan derived (Table 1), and the Japanese terminology previously used by Uyenishi has been completely superseded by Kodokan nomenclature, suggesting additional judo influences in the intervening period between the heyday of Tani and Uyenishi, and the establishment of the BJS. Of course, The Budokwai had focused on teaching Kodokan judo since 1920 and so the influence of the Kodokan will have extended to students visiting the Budokwai from that period, or observing demonstrations, or reading related literature.

The term '*jujutsuan*' (in the BJS it is *jujitsuan*), as opposed to the more common *jujutsuka*, to describe someone who practises jujutsu appears in Uyenishi's 1905 book [Uyenishi 1952: 17]. From at least the third edition onwards of Uyenishi's book there is a forward by Percy Bickerdike, signed as a Member of the British Ju-jitsu Society [Uyenishi 1952]. In 1914 another of Uyenishi's students, William Garrud, published *The Complete Jujitsuan*. Garrud's book contains an evolution from the jujutsu taught by Uyenishi in that it includes a chapter on 'Jujitsu versus Boxing' where we see some of the throws adapted to combat a punch, rather than be executed from a grip [Garrud 1914]. Section 7 of the BJS syllabus also incorporates boxing defences. In Section 2 of the BJS syllabus, randori is described as 'Loose play' as opposed to the more common 'Free practice' or 'Free exercise'. The term 'Loose play' to describe randori was previously used by Uyenishi's student, Emily Diana Watts in her book [Watts 1906: 45], but was also a commonly used term to describe a freestyle wrestling contest in this period. Section 8 of the BJS syllabus, 'Nerve pinches & Fatal blows', contains a description of *atemi* (strikes) and a few pages on nerve pinches, but states that use of any of these techniques is forbidden in ju-jitsu contests – again following the Kodokan's custom and practice. Thus, while there is an influence of the jujutsu of the teachings and students of the early pioneers on the jujutsu of the BJS, there has also been an assimilation of Kodokan techniques.

## JUJUTSU OR JUDO?

Analysing the BJS syllabus it is difficult to distinguish between the jujutsu and the judo that were being practised at this time, and indeed it seems that the British protagonists from the time did not draw any distinction. Newspapers from this time often started with 'jujutsu' (or ju-jitsu) in an article's title but then shifted to using 'judo' interchange-

ably. It was only later that 'judo' become established as the dominant term, and 'jujutsu' still being used for *kobudo*, or 'old school' systems and for Western hybrids or derivatives. G. Williams wrote an article on the British Ju-jitsu Society for the *Health and Strength* annual in 1928 titled 'Ju-jitsu. Rapid expansion in 1927'. In this article Williams makes reference to the Budokwai as a jujutsu club in London. Williams wrote the following:

The year 1927 proved that ju-jitsu has become increasingly popular both at home and abroad. The Budo Kwai, of 15, Lower Grosvenor Place, S.W.1., the principal ju-jitsu club in London and affiliated to the Kodo Kwan in Japan, gave more displays during the year than ever and also enlarged its premises to make more room for the increase in members. Ju-jitsu in London has now spread amongst young lady workers who are to be regularly seen at the classes of the Budo Kwai.

The article went on to reference a further event at the Budokwai:

Another event of the year was the opening of the new exercise hall at the Budo Kwai in August. Mr W. Jackson who is an old member of the British Ju-jitsu Society, took part in the proceedings and distinguished himself by 'downing' three opponents one after the other in splendid style. [Williams 1928: 67-69]

It is clear from this article that, at least for Williams, there was little distinction between jujutsu and judo and since other authors also used the terms interchangeably, it seems reasonable to conclude that at this time ju-jitsu was a word commonly used to describe judo and vice versa. Indeed, Kano initially settled on the term judo as it was already used within jujutsu schools (including the *Kito-ryu* – School of the Rise and Fall – which he had practised), and as it avoided the negative connotations associated with the dangerous practise of jujutsu. Judo described the practise of jujutsu as a way of athletic and moral development, and thus the change of the name was not a technical reference, but the introduction of a new way of practice [Committee for the Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Jigoro Kano 2020; Lindsay and Kano 1888]. It was not until 1936 that the term judo replaced jujutsu in the Japanese school curriculum and arguably in preceding years judo had been regarded as one of the various styles of jujutsu.

Percy Longhurst, a former student of Tani and Uyenishi, had met Kano when he visited London [Bowen 2011a: 102], and was a prolific author on the subject. In the sixth edition of Percy Longhurst's *Jiu-jitsu and other methods of self-defence* he refers to the 'late Dr Jigoro Kano', dating the book as 1938 at the earliest. In this book Longhurst attempts to clarify the difference between jujutsu and judo as it was understood at the time. Longhurst writes:

It is perhaps well to make clear that the difference between Jiu-jitsu and the term 'Judo', generally used day to day when referring to the art, is nothing more than one of nomenclature. In Japan a variety of Jiu-jitsu 'schools' came into existence, each favoured by some notable teacher of the art. [Longhurst c1938: 6]

In an earlier publication of Longhurst's, *Ju-jutsu and Judo*, Longhurst offers the following definition: 'The modern word Judo, loosely used as though a synonym for Ju-jutsu, is the name of the most advanced, the best and most scientific, of these varieties of Ju-jutsu' [Longhurst 1928: 5].

There were of course philosophical differences, even if they were not widely appreciated at this time and if the effects of Kano's 1920 visit had yet to lead to the principles of judo being widely accepted. The practice of judo was based around Kano's principles of 'maximum efficiency', and 'mutual welfare and benefit'. In the BJS documents the philosophy is one of British fair play. Competing using jujutsu/judo for financial reward was frowned upon by the Kodokan and the Budokwai [Yamanaka 1920: 6]. Not so for the BJS, who actively sanctioned prize contests. It is possible that from 1912 Kano's views on amateurism were influenced by the founder of the Olympic movement Pierre de Coubertin. Kano founded the Japan Amateur Athletic Association in 1911 in order to be able to select a team for the 1912 Olympic Games, and met Baron de Coubertin in Stockholm in 1912, the first of several meetings [Committee for the Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Jigoro Kano 2020]. So, was the BJS a jujutsu or a judo organisation? It is unclear that they were even aware that there should be any difference.

## THE MAIN PROTAGONISTS OF THE BJS

The article in the *Health and Strength* annual of 1928 goes on to give an overview of BJS activities [Williams 1928]. The article states that the BJS increased its membership by over 2000 over the preceding year, and listed a number of BJS clubs around the U.K. [Williams 1928]. Thus, although the BJS provided teaching by correspondence, this seems to have been practised, largely, by a few affiliated clubs. The clubs named in the article are listed in Table 5. The rapid growth of the BJS was also mentioned in the press. A newspaper article in 1927 promoting jujutsu to women, reports that the BJS is enrolling over 250 new members per month, and notes that undergraduates, clergymen, doctors, barristers and policemen are among the people taking up jujutsu [*Daily Mail* 1927].



Name	Address
A.J. Morgan	22 Burgos Grove, Greenwich, S.E.10.
J. Bell	13 Huxley Road, Edmonton, N.18.
A.E. Butcher	19 Fairland Road, Stratford, E.15.
W. Fry	13 Buckingham Palace Gardens, S.W.1.
A. Banister	51 Balfour Road, Highbury, N.5.
W. Pearson	The Paragon Institute, 40 Paradise Street, Liverpool
J. Smith	19 Chestnut Grove, Victoria Road, Wavertree, Liverpool
H. Bryce	17 King's Lane, Stretford, Manchester
R. Stubbs	45 Milton Street, Bradford, Manchester
P. Bickerdyke	52 Basinghall Street, Leeds
P. Wilkie	180 West High Street, Buckhaven, Fife
C. Bowman	318 Perth Road, Dundee
G. King	34 Bluevale Street, Dennistoun, Glasgow
J. Kirkwood	209 Fulton Street, Knightswood, nr. Glasgow
J. McHaffie	77 Abercorn Street, Paisley
J. Hipkiss	'Veronica'. Slade Road, Little Sutton, Birmingham
J. Whittaker	9 Shrubbery Terrace, Coralie Street, Brookfields, Birmingham
W. Saddington	1 Garlic Row, Cambridge
Capt. Harriss	16 Station Road, Cambridge
G. Footitt	18 Kenwood Park Road, Sheffield
Messrs Ambler & Bennett	17 Ovenden Road Terrace, Halifax
C. Daniels	Mos Room, Merton House, 14 De Parvs Avenue, Bedford
H. Evans	18 New Road, Ammanford, Carmarthenshire
S. Dyson	198 New Hay Road, Oakes, Huddersfield
L. Twigger	Trent Cottage, Farndon Fields, Newark, Notts.
O. Sinclair	Ridgeway House, Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire
A. Meldrum	2 Links Place, Burntisland
J. Monen	26 Bell Street, Old Swan, Liverpool
J. Partington	12 Milton Street, Bolton, Lancashire

**Table 5:** *Clubs of the BJS 1927 (Williams 1928)*

In addition to listing BJS member clubs, the *Health and Strength* article describes a competition of the BJS: the return match for the British Ju-jitsu Championship between James Hipkiss of Birmingham and Alf Morgan of London, which took place at the Folk House, Erdington, Birmingham on 13 December 1927. The article describes a closely fought match over four rounds with Hipkiss the victor. The article describes what happened next:

Mrs. Williams, wife of the President, presented Hipkiss with the silk championship kimono and sash. This kimono is made like a ju-jitsu jacket of orange coloured silk with a blue collar and blue sash. The kimono bears the monogram of the Society in gold silk, with the words, 'British Ju-jitsu Champion, 1927'.

A picture of Hipkiss wearing his championship kimono and performing a scissors throw on Alf Morgan at the British Ju-jitsu School, Church Street, Birmingham, was published in *The Birmingham Gazette* [1928]. The contests of the BJS were conducted under rules drawn up by the British Ju-jitsu Championships Committee [Williams 1928]. In 1928 the membership of the Championships Committee is as shown in Table 6.

Name	Address
Peter Gotz	75 Jamaica Road, Bermondsey, S.E.1.
A.E. McCarthy	80 Harford Street, Stepney, E.1.
Frank Dawson	24 Salsbury Road, Manor Park, E.12.
C. Boxsell	Tekoa, Dorset Road, Merton, London, S.W.
J. Monen	26 Bell Street, Old Swan, Liverpool
A. Butcher	19 Fairland Road, Stratford, E.15.
J. Hipkiss	'Veronica'. Slade Road, Little Sutton, Birmingham
G. Faulkner	26 Meverton Road, Erdington, Birmingham
H. Essex	150 Newhall Street, Birmingham
John Smith	19 Chestnut Grove, Victoria Road, Wavertree, Liverpool
L.R. Smith	155 Derby Road, Kirkdale, Liverpool
W. Pearson	The Paragon Institute, 40 Paradise Street, Liverpool
W. Saddington	1 Garlic Row, Cambridge
A. Rees	6 Morlars Terrace, Tonna, Neath, Glam.
W. Jackson	Police House, Tollesbury
S. Dyson	198 New Hay Road, Oakes, Huddersfield
C. Bowman	318 Perth Road, Dundee
H. Tester	97 Glencoe Road, Chatham
A.J. Morgan	22 Burgos Grove, Greenwich, S.E.10.

**Table 6:** British Ju-jitsu Championships Committee [Williams 1928]

As stated above, the contest described by Williams [1928] was the return match for the British Ju-jitsu Championship. Richard Bowen describes the first contest, taking place on 16 March 1927 in London, as an equally gruelling affair with Hipkiss emerging victorious with Morgan retiring due to an injured knee [Bowen 2011b: 18]. Morgan had won a title from Harry H. Hunter, who was calling himself European Ju-jitsu Champion, and who was author of the book *Super Ju-jitsu* [Hunter 1927]. Hunter's book suggests he was European Ju-jitsu Champion between 1924 and 1927. It is unclear where Hunter got the title from, but an article published in 1921, when Hunter was based in Ramsgate, suggests he was being matched for the European Ju-jitsu Championship [The Thanet Advertiser and Echo 1921]. There is also a record of Hunter giving a jujutsu demonstration with BJS member W. Saddington from Cambridge (see Table 5) [The East Kent Times 1922].

Interestingly, another jujutsu student called Ernie Hurrell was active in the early 1920s and was a one-time European Ju-jitsu Champion [Fairhurst 1991: 22]. There is an article from 1923 where Hurrell, then of Bristol, challenged Hunter for the Ju-jitsu Championship of England [The Advertiser and Echo 1923], so it is possible they met. Hurrell ultimately opened a dojo in Chester [Fairhurst 1991: 22]. By 1925 Hunter had a dojo/gymnasium at 78 Shaw Street in Liverpool and appeared in the local press stating that he had learned jujutsu in Japan over 20 years previously [The Liverpool Echo 1925].

Incidentally, Hunter's book, *Super Ju-jitsu*, was published by the European Ju-Jitsu Association, for which the address given was the same as Hunter's dojo, suggesting the organisation, and perhaps championship, was Hunter's creation [Hunter 1927]. The exact source of Hunter's jujutsu is unknown, but we know he left Liverpool for Canada in 1929 and in a newspaper article in *The Gazette*, Montreal, in 1939, he states he first learned jujutsu in Yokohama while stationed there with the Navy in 1904 [The Gazette, Montreal 1939]. Hunter's obituary in 1941 states he died aged 57 in Montreal, was a native of Ramsgate, and had served in the Navy for 13 years, losing sight in one eye during the Great War. It also states he taught jujutsu to numerous police forces [Advertiser and Echo 1941].

Bowen records that, upon beating Hunter, the BJS wrote to Morgan on 26<sup>th</sup> August 1926, congratulating him on his victory over Hunter. On 31<sup>st</sup> August 1926, the BJS again wrote to Morgan asking him to join the BJS and issuing him a certificate confirming him as a 'Master of the British Ju-Jitsu Society'. The BJS also asked Morgan whether he would consider a controlling stake in the organisation [Bowen 2011b: 421]. Upon winning Hunter's title and then joining the BJS it is possible that Morgan's title became that of British Ju-jitsu Champion. Hipkiss joined the Budokwai in 1929, but as they would not allow professional wrestling/ujutsu he was soon asked to tender his resignation [Bowen 2011b: 20].

During this period, however, Hipkiss gave demonstrations with Tani and other Budokwai members. For example, at the Aston Amateur Boxing club Tani and Budokwai members including Matsutaro Otani (Fig. 6) gave a judo demonstration while Hipkiss had a jujutsu contest

with Fred Perks, before giving a catch-as-catch-can wrestling demonstration with BJS member George Faulkner [Birmingham Gazette 1930]. In another article, Hipkiss (described as 'the British Ju-jitsu exponent') 'will try conclusions' with Yukio Tani, 'the well-known Japanese wrestler', at an exhibition [Birmingham Gazette 1931]. It is possible that this interaction only happened because Hipkiss joined the Budokwai, or perhaps Hipkiss joined the Budokwai because of an existing interaction with the BJS, which may help us understand the Kodokan influence described above.

We know that Hipkiss defended his British Ju-jitsu title on many further occasions and when he authored his book *Unarmed Combat* in 1941 he stated on the title page that he was British Ju-jitsu Champion [Hipkiss 1941]. Interestingly *The Kilmarnock Herald* reported in 1933 on a contest for the British Championship between the holder Dave Munro of Rutherglen and David McInally of Kilmarnock, who was a Master of the British Ju-jitsu Society (Coventry) and instructor to the Kilmarnock police [Kilmarnock Herald 1933]. This suggests that there were multiple titles, perhaps for different weight classes, or that there were titles endorsed by groups other than the BJS. There is no record in the British Newspaper Archive of a contest between Hipkiss and Munro or McInally. Hipkiss helped to establish many judo clubs in the Midlands, and after World War 2 worked as an osteopath, and was even one time a trainer at Birmingham FC [Smith 1965]. James Hipkiss died in 1979 aged 82.



Figure 6: Yukio Tani throwing Matsutaro Otani in a demonstration [Longhurst 1935]

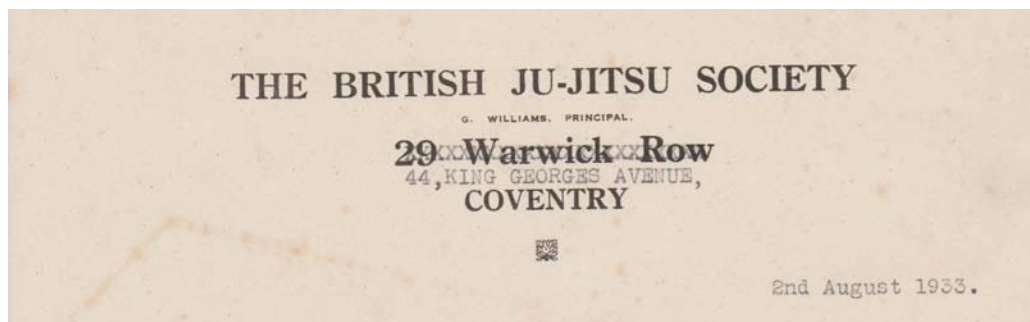
## The British Ju-jitsu Society and the influence of Kodokan Judo on early jujutsu in the U.K.

David Brough, Slaviša Bradić, Mike Callan, Lance Gatling & Llyr Jones

Percy Bickerdike was another prominent member of the BJS. Bickerdike was a physical culture instructor in Leeds and taught classes at the Burmantofts Y.M.C.A. In a 1930 newspaper article, Bickerdike was described as a 'Master of the British Ju-jitsu Society and a Physical Culture expert' [*Leeds Mercury* 1930]. In 1932 in a display of physical culture at Leeds Town Hall, Bickerdike gave a lecture on jujutsu followed by a demonstration assisted by John Crow (retired amateur champion of Leeds), and Hubert Fell. After this demonstration, Bickerdike refereed a contest for the amateur Championship of Leeds between R. Owen and H. Raisin British, in which Owen was the victor [*Leeds Mercury* 1932a; *Leeds Mercury* 1932b].

In 1934 a group of girls of the Leeds Health and Strength club from the Burmantofts Y.M.C.A., trained by Percy Bickerdike, were pictured giv-

ing a jujutsu demonstration [*Leeds Mercury* 1934]. When Bickerdike was 40 he suffered an accident whilst taking part in exercise that developed into a long and painful illness until his death at age 43. In his obituary he was described as expert in gymnastics and Indian club swinging as well as jujutsu and, in a potentially distant echo of Barton-Wright, was said to be 'deeply interested in the electrical treatment for rheumatic conditions, in which direction he did much good work in conjunction with the medical profession' [*Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury* 1943]. Other mentions of the BJS in the British press include the Dundee Y.M.C.A. where William Keith and Charles Bowman, Master of the British Ju-jitsu Society, were giving instruction in jujutsu [*Evening Telegraph* 1927; 1928].



**Figure 7:** The letterhead from correspondence with Samuel Finn from 1933. Provided by Susan Dobbins

Other than what has been described above, there is little record of the BJS in the newspaper archives and what there is vanishes from the mid-1930s. By 1933 the BJS was using a new letterhead in correspondence, with only G. Williams noted as the principal. Further, the address 29 Warwick Row no longer appears in use as it is struck out and replaced with 44 King Georges Avenue (Fig. 7).

The BJS was not the only option for those wishing to learn jujutsu. In addition to the Budokwai, there were independent clubs and other organisations being formed. For example, in Liverpool in 1928 Gerald Skyner established a jujutsu club [Keegan 2019]. Notably, Skyner's dojo was associated with the Japanese judoka Mikinosuke Kawaishi for a period of several years in the 1930s [Keegan 2019]. Kawaishi who had first studied jujutsu and judo at the Kyoto-based *Dai Nippon Butokukai* (Greater Japan Association of Martial Virtue), and subsequently the Kodokan, was an active teacher in the U.K., including helping to establish the 'Anglo Japanese Judo Club' in London in 1932. It is probable that it was during this time that Skyner was associated with him [Keegan 2019: 85]. Kawaishi would leave the U.K. under a cloud in 1936 and it seems that at this point Skyner's 'Liverpool Jiu Jitsu & Judo Academy' was affiliated to the 'International & South African Jiu Jitsu Society' with Jack Robinson in South Africa [Bowen 2011b: 214]. Skyner's dojo then appears to have been independent up to his death in 1971.

Another jujutsu dojo from this era was 'The Alpha Ju-jitsu School' established by Jack Britten allegedly in 1924 [Keegan 2019: 73]. Britten made a point of stating on a business card that there was no connection between his club and any other [Keegan 2019: 75]. In an article for the *Merseyside Sporting News* on the 14<sup>th</sup> of December 1946 Jack Britten discusses jujutsu [article reprinted in Fairhurst 1991: 21]. In this article Britten is described as the 'Principal' of The Alpha Ju-Jitsu School in Liverpool, and uses the term 'jujitsuan' to describe someone practising jujutsu, suggesting a possible influence of the BJS. Furthermore, on a business card Britten describes himself of being of 'Master grade' [Keegan 2019: 75] – all terminology consistent with the BJS. Britten ends his 1946 article with an endorsement of Koizumi and the Budokwai as a good jujutsu school in London [Fairhurst 1991: 21]. Britten is also known to have commented that the techniques he taught derive from 'The House of Kano' [Fairhurst 1991: 20], perhaps suggesting he did not learn from the first Japanese arriving in the U.K. from the Handa dojo, or their students.

## SUMMARY

So, what can we say about the BJS? In his discussion of the BJS and other professional schools, Bowen [2011b: 21] suggests that while most



were a 'rip off', some may have been genuinely interested in teaching judo (jujutsu) for a modest return. The BJS provided literature to members in the form of the monthly *Jujitsu* magazine, an organised syllabus and certificates. There were BJS sanctioned championships, and it seems that it perhaps catered for a need to which the Budokwai was opposed.

As can be seen from the above, in 1928 the BJS was well supported with member clubs throughout the U.K., suggesting that the BJS provided the British jujutsu community with a governing body of sorts. From the evidence presented the BJS appears to be a genuine attempt to manage and coordinate jujutsu activities within the U.K. The jujutsu taught seems largely based on Kodokan judo, with other influences incorporated, indicating that judo had largely superseded the jujutsu taught by Uyenishi and other graduates of the Handa dojo.

It is unclear what happened to the BJS in the end. It may have been that as Budokwai-affiliated clubs expanded the BJS could no longer attract students. The more direct association with Kano and Japan certainly would seem to have been attractive to potential students in the U.K.; judo and other aspects of Japanese culture had captured the imagination of the West as a way to explain Japan's success in fighting and winning against its recent enemies, China and Russia, immensely larger land empires that tiny Japan had to cross oceans to engage and defeat. While the climate may have been conducive for the popularity of judo, the most authoritative Japanese judo histories ascribe the Budokwai's success squarely on the leadership of Gunji Koizumi [Maruyama 1967].

The legacy and impact of the BJS is hard to quantify. As a professional jujutsu school, the BJS instructed thousands of students in the techniques of judo and jujutsu that will have filtered into the fabric of British martial arts. For example, in addition to the Leeds Y.M.C.A. where Percy Bickerdike will have trained many people in jujutsu and judo, he also organised physical training for unemployed youths at junior instruction centres through which 16000 young people passed [Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury 1943]. It is possible that jujutsu was a component of this training. James Hipkiss is largely responsible for the establishment of judo and jujutsu in the Midlands. All over the country clubs were established that seeded new enthusiasm for jujutsu and judo that can only have supported the current levels of activity seen today. Indeed, some modern organisations can trace a link back to the BJS. For example, Richard Morris, who was for a while a leading instructor in the British Ju-jitsu Association and World Ju-jitsu Federation in the 1970s and 1980s was at first a student of Alf Morgan [Keegan 2019: 101], and there may be other examples.

#### Acknowledgements

*With special thanks to Susan Dobbins, who provided information on her grandfather Samuel Finn and who uncovered his collection of BJS documents and made them available. Thanks to Tony Wolf of the Bartitsu Society for many informative discussions and insights. Thanks to Tony Underwood of the British Judo Council for information on James Hipkiss and for many useful discussions on early British jujutsu and judo. Many thanks to Martin Dixon of the British Ju-jitsu Association (GB) for providing additional documents of the BJS. Thanks to Kirby Watson for providing feedback on the draft manuscript.*

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### Journal DOI

10.18573/ISSN.2057-5696

### Issue DOI

10.18573/mas.i

*Accepted for publication 16 January 2023*

### **Martial Arts Studies**

Journal design by Hugh Griffiths

Issue layout by Lucy Aprahamian



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