Introducing American Sports to Japan: Baseball, Basketball, and Football[1] in the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa Eras (1868-1934)

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Introduction

According to a survey conducted by the Washington Post and the University of Massachusetts Lowell in 2017, 37% of respondents chose "football" as their "favorite sport to watch" while 11% selected "basketball," 10% "baseball," 8% "soccer," and 4% "ice hockey." These data support the view that football, basketball, and baseball are America's three major sports.[2]

On the other hand, according to the 2009 U.S. Census Bureau Statistics on sports participation, basketball is first with over 24 million players; soccer comes second with approximately 13.5 million players; baseball comes third with 11.5 million, followed by volleyball with 10.7 million and football with approximately 9 million.[3] In terms of TV viewership, however, baseball is nearer the top, as evidenced by another set of data that shows, for each sport, which game has recorded the largest number of TV viewers since 2005. With 112 million viewers of the 2016 Super Bowl, football comes first, while baseball comes second with its 2016 World Series 7th Game (40 million viewers). These are followed by basketball with its 2016 NBA Final 7th Game (30.8 million viewers).[4]

In Japan, meanwhile, a 2011 government survey showed that more than 8 million people play baseball, followed by soccer with 6.4 million. Volleyball and

basketball follow in 3rd and 4th places, respectively. However, football, or American football as it is called by the Japanese, does not even enter the top 20 in terms of its playing population, which is a mere 19,000.[5]

In summary, first, as the US has a total population of over 320 million, nearly three times larger than that of Japan, its sporting population in each game is naturally large. The numbers of players of its top five games all exceed that of Japan's no. 1 game, baseball. Second, if one uses multiple criteria for consideration, football, basketball, and baseball can be appropriately viewed as America's three major sports. In Japan, on the other hand, baseball (or *yakyu* as it is known) and soccer should be viewed as the two major sports. Third, America's most preferred sport, football, occupies a very low rank in Japan, while America's second most preferred sport, basketball, is the last of the four most-played sports in Japan. Conversely, Japan's most-played sport, baseball, only occupies the third place of the five most-played sports in the US. These contrasts highlight the differences between the US and Japan in terms of their sports culture and landscape.

Given these differences, it is interesting to consider how this ranking of America's three major sports originated and developed in Japanese history. To answer this question, this paper will first introduce the pioneers in Japanese history, both American and Japanese, of modern sports, who had much to do with their introduction. It will then be argued that of these pioneers, only Americans succeeded in spreading American sports broadly and systematically. Lastly, the differences between the American and Japanese pioneers, and among the three sports, will be explained in terms of their respective organizational networks and historical contexts.

1. Baseball and Horace E. Wilson

Four people are frequently mentioned as pioneers of baseball in Japan: 1.

Horace E. Wilson, who will be discussed in detail shortly; 2. Leroy Lansing Janes, who taught from 1871 to 1876 at the Kumamoto *Yogakko* (Western school), a domanial school that promoted Western studies in the southernmost main island of Kyushu; 3. Albert Bates, who, having brought from the States three balls and one bat, organized the first known formal baseball game in 1873; and 4. Hiroshi Hiraoka, who, having studied in the States from 1871 to 1876, established the Shinbashi Athletic Club in 1878, which is known as Japan's first formal club.[6] Hiraoka's correspondence with Albert G. Spalding also played an important role in the development of baseball in Japan.[7] Of these four, however, Wilson merits particular attention for two reasons: first, he introduced baseball in 1872, perhaps the earliest of all; and second, he taught at a forerunner of the Imperial University of Tokyo.

Wilson was born in 1843, in Gorham, Maine, in a dairy farming family. There is some lack of clarity around his academic record. According to Kazuo Sayama, Wilson's biographer, his entry in *Who's Who in California* says that he was a graduate of the College of Lafayette, but Sayama's research reveals that this record is unverifiable.[8] The highest academic credential that can be confirmed with documentation is his local high school diploma. After graduating from a local high school, he registered during the Civil War in the 12th Maine Regiment. After the war, he moved to San Francisco, where, at the Eighth Industrial Exposition in the spring of 1871, he was contacted by a Japanese government's representative and signed a seven-year contract (1871 to 1877) to teach English and liberal arts at a forerunner of the Imperial University of Tokyo.[9]

In 1872, Wilson realized that his students needed more physical exercise, and introduced them to the game of baseball. One of his contemporaries, to whom he taught baseball wrote:

> At the place where the High School of Commerce is currently located, there had been a school called *Nan-ko*, or South School, which changed its name to the First High School of the First University around 1872. It was the only western-style school at that time. Here, an American by the name of Wilson taught English and history, and always liked a ball game. He loved to hit a ball with a bat in the playing field and have us catch it.[10]

In this description, we can find one of the earliest scenes of baseball, or the use of baseball equipment, in Japan. Sayama argues that "as Wilson did not leave any record in relation to his teaching of baseball, he probably did not think he was doing anything special. He played just for the sheer love of baseball, or for fun, which was shared by his students."[11]

Wilson was sponsored by the national government, and a forerunner of the most prestigious national university. In this sense, one could hardly expect better or more reliable networks than those that were available to him. He did not have an impressive academic qualification, however. Under the national slogan of *Bunmei Kaika*, or Civilization and Enlightenment, the Japanese government sought to employ a large number of talented people from overseas, although foreign interest in employment in Japan's academic market was limited. Despite his mediocrity, therefore, Wilson was able to procure the job due to this fortunate imbalance between the number of positions available to foreigners, and the number of foreigners seeking such jobs. As Naturalist Hiroshi Aramata says: "[Foreigners who came to Japan] were mostly second-class people who made a success because of being second-class. They were liked and not rejected by the Japanese because, in being second-class, they would not deprive the Japanese of their original culture and identity."[12]

During Wilson's tenure, the school's name changed five times from South School, to First High School of the First University, to Kaisei (Opening and

Achieving) School, to Tokyo Kaisei School, and finally, to the University of Tokyo. This shows that the then Japanese education system remained extreme unstable and in these circumstances, Japan could not have expected highly qualified foreigners to teach there, even at the highest level.[13]

Wilson was born one year after Alexander Cartwright founded the Knickerbocker Base Ball Club of New York in 1842 and, like many youngsters of his generation, he grew up playing baseball and improved his skills at military camps during the Civil War. By the time he was discharged in Savannah, Georgia, in March 1866, he must have been a well-trained player, ready for coaching, and inspired by the American national slogan for westward movement, which ultimately led him to Japan. In the meantime, baseball was developing rapidly toward professionalization in the US. In 1869, the first professional team, the Cincinnati Red Stockings, came into being. In 1871, the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players diverged from the National Association of Base Ball Players, and in 1876, developed into the National League. In 1883, the above-mentioned Hiroshi Hiraoka wrote a letter to Albert Spalding, one of the leading figures in the movement toward professionalization, asking for a way to import baseball equipment to Japan. This letter brought unexpected good fortune to Japanese baseball. By way of reply, Spalding sent him balls, bats, clubs, mitts, bases, nets, and rule books for free, accompanied by the message, "I am sending these for the business and advertisement of our company. If your baseball develops and spreads with the equipment of our company, we would happily receive a flood of orders from your country, which would produce huge profits." Due to his role with Hiraoka, Spalding can also be counted amongst the pioneers of baseball in Japan.[14]

Given that baseball was introduced to Japan in the early phase of its modern nation state building, it is understandable that most of the pioneers were American. In due course, the number of Japanese students who went

abroad for a time and returned with updated knowledge and information about Western cultures increased sharply. It was only then that basketball and football were introduced. It is noteworthy, however, that even then, those who played dominant roles in the games' spread were mostly American.

2. Basketball and Franklin H. Brown

At least three Japanese people were involved in the earliest phase of Japan's basketball development, before the arrival of Franklin H. Brown, who set out on his YMCA missionary and educational activities in 1913. These are Genzaburo Ishikawa, Jinzo Naruse, and Hyozo Ohmori, none of whom succeeded in bringing about the game's popularization.

Genzaburo Ishikawa was one of the 18 youngsters who played basketball under the guidance of the game's creator James Naismith, on the birthday of basketball on December 21, 1891. Ishikawa was born in 1866 in a samurai family of the area that is now Gunma prefecture, a little over 40 miles north of Tokyo. In 1886, at the age of 20, he came to San Francisco to study at a YMCA school. He was transferred to Springfield YMCA, Massachusetts, and enrolled in its general business staff training program. Although he was a contemporary of Naismith, Naismith completed his one-year program to be employed as an instructor in the year following Ishikawa's arrival. Naismith now became Ishikawa's teacher.[15]

A famous photo shows Naismith in the center surrounded by his 18 students, one of whom was Ishikawa.[16] Ishikawa also left a sketch, which would later be used for the game's 50th anniversary greeting card of 1941.[17] Yet, Ishikawa does not seem to have done much to promote the game in his home country, as he had a successful career in business at Mitsui & Co., and died in 1956 at the age of 90.

Jinzo Naruse and Hyozo Omori were among the earliest Japanese people

to introduce basketball to Japan. Naruse became President of Japan Women's University in 1901, and on this university's first Sports Day, presented what he called "Japanese-style basketball," which was less competitive, and more recreation-oriented than the original.[18] Naruse's game was positively evaluated in one newspaper, which reported on the sport, comparing it with tennis, another favorite sport among young females:

> How about basketball? Unlike tennis, which is now very popular, basketball has not spread in the women's school yet. One reason is that this game has arrived just recently, but another reason is that not many people know about it in the women's school. At present it is played only at the Women's Higher Normal School, women's universities, the Peeresses' School (Gakushuin), and a couple of others. This game is more beneficial and interesting as a physical exercise than tennis, and it is more practical and tasteful than tennis because it can involve more people together (eight at each team, sixteen in all).[19]

While Naruse's recreational basketball did not spread beyond women's college campuses, Ohmori could have done better, because through YMCA networks, he seized the initiative in promoting Western-style physical education. Having studied in Springfield YMCA's athletics training program, Omori returned to Japan in 1908, and taught at Tokyo YMCA, Keio University, and Japan Women's University. He also participated in the 1912 Stockholm Olympics as team manager. Unfortunately, however, he died young of tuberculosis in 1913 at the age of 37.[20]

Franklin H. Brown was born on December 10, 1882, in Ontario, New York, and grew up in a pious Christian family who attended Baptist Church. In 1904, he entered the YMCA's athletics training program in Downers Grove in a far

southwestern suburb of Chicago. He excelled as an athlete, coming third in the school's gymnastics competition. At the 4th General Assembly of 1912, the Japan YMCA announced a three-year plan for its development, in which it requested the training of athletic program staff and the building of physical education facilities. For this purpose, it requested the North American YMCA to dispatch an expert who could help its Japanese branch carry out the three-year project and Brown was duly appointed for the job.[21]

Brown came to Japan in 1913, and inspected the YMCA facilities in Kobe, Kyoto, Yokohama, and Tokyo. From February 1915, he began to teach in Kobe and coached basketball in the Kasai area. However, when the Tokyo school completed its new gymnasium in 1917, Brown moved to Tokyo and worked actively coaching the game until 1930 when, at the age of 48, he returned home. It was during the years that Brown worked in Tokyo that basketball developed nationally and internationally. In 1917, the first international match at the Far Eastern Championship Games was held. In 1924, Waseda, Rikkyo, and the Tokyo College of Commerce (forerunner of Hitotsubashi University) organized the Japan Intercollegiate Basketball League.[22]

In 1912, just before Brown's arrival in Japan, the Emperor Meiji died, and the new Era of Taisho began. The ending years of Meiji are known for various levels of reactionary and conservative movements against Meiji reforms from earlier years, but with the opening of a new era, typically represented as "Taisho Democracy," the waves of liberalism resurged, and the nation began to re-open its door to the West once more.

One episode conveys the cultural climate of the late Meiji years well. What follows is an experience of Michio Ogasawara, who would later rise to the Directorship for Physical Education at the Ministry of Education. In April 1912, Ogasawara entered Wakayama Middle School and played catch ball on the school grounds. His teacher reported the incident to his father and advised

him to warn his son against playing baseball in the future, as it was a sport for "bad boys." His father agreed and forbade his son from playing the sport, telling him that the Asahi Newspaper had reported extensively about the harms of baseball.[23] In the newspaper he was referring to, baseball came under severe criticism 26 times in 1911, with Inazo Nitobe, a renowned educator and author of *Bushido* (samurai ethics), calling it "a game for pickpockets" in which they wish to "deceive the opponent with tricks." A host of celebrities and educators followed suit, pointing out baseball's "poisons" one after another.[24]

As they entered the Taisho era, however, the tides gradually shifted in baseball's favor. In the fall of 1914, the games of the Tokyo Intercollegiate Baseball League began, initially consisting only of Keio, Waseda, and Meiji, but steadily expanding by enrolling Hosei, Rikkyo, and Tokyo Imperial University to eventually form the Six-University League in 1925, an event that continues today.[25]

In the meantime, by the 1910s, basketball had developed enormously in the US. It was incorporated into the YMCA's recruitment strategy with the aim of monitoring and educating immigrants who were concentrated in cities. As Gorn and Goldstein argue:

> [B]asketball, unintentionally, became a major sport to recruit new members for the YMCA. Even though basketball had been invented to meet a precise set of needs and circumstances, and James Naismith had never intended it to change the shape of urban recreation, the game he invented probably made possible the extraordinary expansion of organized, supervised play in the early twentieth century.[26]

Along with football, it was now counted as one of the two new major sports. However, unlike football, which was predominantly played among students at

high schools and colleges, basketball was taught and coached by middle-class reformers to train the minds and bodies of young people of the working class and immigrants, at elementary and secondary schools, YMCA gymnasiums, playgrounds, and settlement houses. The introduction of basketball to Japan should thus be interpreted as an extension of the YMCA's educational goals and strategies.

3. Football and Paul Rusch

With respect to Japan's initial contact with football, two persons and two organizations claim our attention. One of the two, Heita Okabe, was coached in football by Amos Alonso Stagg at the University of Chicago during the 1910s, and published *The Sports of the World* in 1925 with a commentary of the game that is known as the first ever published in Japan.[27] The two organizations, the Imperial Naval Academy in Etajima, Hiroshima, and the Tokyo Higher Normal School, attempted to adopt the game into their curriculums—the former in 1927 and 1928, and the latter in 1929 and 1930—although neither actually succeeded. It was only through the efforts of the second aforementioned person, Paul Rusch, that the game spread among college students and the Japanese began to play it at a larger scale and organizationally. It is for this reason that Rusch is known as the "Father" of football in Japan.[28]

Paul Rusch was born in Louisville, Kentucky, on November 25, 1897, and graduated from a two-year management course at a business school. Having worked at the Louisville & Nashville Railroad and Standard Oil in Kentucky, he volunteered for the US Army in France during the First World War. In 1925, he came to Japan as an International YMCA staff member as part of the rescue project for the Kanto district, which had suffered serious damage from the Great Earthquake of 1923. However, his predilection for smoking and drinking meant that he clashed with the YMCA's stoic Protestantism. Never-

theless, he gradually cultivated closer ties with the Anglican Church in Japan, the church of his family's faith, which took a more lenient position in relation to liquor and tobacco. Although Rusch at one time seriously considered returning home to take up a career in the hotel business, he was finally convinced to stay in Japan, at least for another year, by Bishop John McKim and Bishop Charles S. Reifsnier of Rikkyo University to teach English and economics on its campus. Rusch then moved his residence from his YMCA house to Building No.5 on Rikkyo campus, in which Japan's first American football community was established in 1934.[29]

Thus, the core of Rusch's human and organizational networks shifted from the International YMCA to the Anglican (Episcopal) Church and Rikkyo University. Both of his new sponsors gave Rusch adequate economic support with stable funds from the United States and other regions of the world. Rusch also developed strong ties with the Japan American Association (JAA), where influential Americans and pro-American Japanese leaders gathered. Indeed, the JAA continued to serve as a solid basis for Rusch's activities until the Pacific war ultimately severed the US-Japan bond.[30]

In 1931, Japan launched its invasion of Northeastern China, using an explosion at Japan's South Manchuria Railway as a pretext, although this event was in fact staged by Japanese military personnel. Prime Minister Wakatsuki and his successor Inukai failed to control the situation. To stabilize the economy, the government suspended the operation of the gold standard system, and prohibited the export of gold. As a result, the dollar-yen exchange rate collapsed, as the dollar skyrocketed from 2 to 3 yen, and then to 5 yen. In those days, *Nisei*, or second-generation Japanese Americans, had dual Japanese and American nationalities, which guaranteed them access to higher education in both nations. Since the anti-Asian immigration acts of 1921 and 1924, the parents of the *Nisei*, or *Issei*, who were first-generation Japanese immigrants,

had grown weary of the racism and discrimination against them. Nostalgia and the depreciation of the yen also attracted both the *Issei* and *Nisei* to education in Japan.[31]

At the time, to study at an American university cost approximately $50 per month, or 250 yen at the rate of 5 yen/dollar; in Japan, 25 yen per month, or approximately 1/10 of the cost in the US due to the devaluation of the yen, could provide a comfortable living in a 8-tatami-mat room with two meals a day. Thus, even with the round-trip transpacific travel expenses, college life in Japan proved far more economical than that in the US. As Susumu Hoshina, playing manager at Hosei University football team, recollected: "[T]here was a mood in the Japanese American community in favor of education in Japan. In my case, I did not have a concrete purpose, but I wanted to see my mother's home country."[32]

The *Nisei* Japanese, however, did not always find friends in the home country. As the *Nisei* came to realize, many Japanese thought that because the *Nisei* were also American citizens, they would fight for the US not Japan if war broke out. Thus, the *Nisei* lived very stressful lives, with many seeking refuge in the international community that Paul Rusch had worked so hard to create in the increasingly anti-American environment. The *Nisei* from Waseda, Meiji, and Rikkyo, who gathered around Rusch, sometimes released their frustration by drinking too much, or even rampaging, and playing sports promised to be one option to mitigate their tensions. At the same time, there were Japanese students who had seen football in American movies and had developed a curiosity and even a yearning for the American sport, which was not at the time accessible on Japanese campuses. Observing that many *Nisei* students were in trouble, Rusch sought a way to save them through the sport that was so far almost unpracticed in Japan and that would allow them to mingle with curious Japanese native students. Rusch considered the *Nisei* to

be Japanese as they had Japanese blood; moreover, he considered that, like their Japanese counterparts, they had the right to enjoy their prime. Thus, in a bid to save the many troubled *Nisei* students he observed during these hard times, Rusch and his close associates founded the Tokyo Collegiate American Football League on Rikkyo campus in 1934.[33]

Shingo Hattori, a Rikkyo alumnus, explained Rusch's decision as follows:

> Since the early Showa years (the late 1920s) there had been a tendency in Japanese athletics toward specialization, in which coaches induced athletes to focus on one game only. Against this trend, Rusch wished to introduce the season system in which athletes played a different game in each season, which was a normal practice amongst American athletics. Then, the Japanese could also produce all-round players, who could take a break off-season when they could concentrate on studying.[34]

By this time in the United States, football had become "a consuming phenomenon" in universities and colleges. According to Gorn and Goldstein:

> College football, …, stood at the center of the cultural transformations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It assisted in the redefinition of American middle- and upper-class masculinity…It provided a public spectacle of upper-class display; and it furnished an experience of corporate, collective, quasi-military physical combat for sons of national and local elites.[35]

As this implies, the position of football in American campus life became so dominant that, in many universities, the power of alumni on the Board of Directors far exceeded that of faculty. With this transformation of American

higher education as background, it is also understandable that Rusch chose football as a means to intervene in student life on Japanese campuses. It was merely ironic, therefore, that football fostered class socialization and character building "at the expense of academics," because Rusch expected Japanese students to study more, not less, by introducing the American season system. This aspect of his wish, however, never materialized in Japan.[36]

Conclusion

Despite the efforts by pioneering Japanese, it was ultimately Americans who managed to spread the sports of baseball, basketball, and American football more effectively and on a larger scale. The prime reason for the difference lies in the degree of organization and structuring available to Americans through institutional networks: those of the Japanese government and Tokyo Imperial University and its forerunner in the case of Wilson, of the YMCAs in the case of Brown, and of the Anglican/Episcopal Churches and Rikkyo as well as other prestigious private universities in the case of Rusch.

As for the positions of the three sports in Japan's sporting culture and landscape, it was the scale of the organizational network and the timing of their introduction that made the difference. Baseball enjoyed the double advantage of organizational support and timing. It spread in the very optimistic and pro-Western era of *Bunmei Kaika* via the networks of the very first government-sponsored university, with the elite largely selected as players. Basketball, meanwhile, enjoyed the full support of the YMCA, although its spread was not yet as extensive as baseball. Furthermore, it had to overcome the anti-American, anti-Western sentiments that arose in the late-Meiji years, although the resurgence of liberalism during the Taisho era facilitated its spread. Finally, despite Rusch's idealism and enthusiasm, football only received commitment among the relatively limited, and mostly Japanese American, world of private univer-

sities. In addition, Rusch had to deal with the intensifying anti-American hostilities by the Japanese during the 1930s.

The framework that positions three major American sports in Japan's sporting culture and landscape today had already been shaped by the 1930s, and seems to have persisted through the Pacific War years when US-Japan relations underwent a near-total redefinition.

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1 Drawing on the general practice of American scholars, this article refers to the American-born game of football just as "football," and the global game of football, or association football, as "soccer."

2 Washington Post-University of Massachusetts Lowell-National Sports Poll, published on September 26, 2017. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/page/2010-2019/WashingtonPost/2017/09/06/National-Politics/Polling/question_19049.xml?uuid=tmQ6tJMLEeeEgo3Jp68p-Q#] (retrieved on October 10, 2017). The same site contains information about the survey's methodology: "This Washington Post-UMass-Lowell poll was conducted August 14-21, 2017, among a random national sample of 1,000 adults reached on cellular and landline phones. The margin of sampling error for overall results is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. Sampling, data collection and tabulation was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI) of Princeton, NJ."

3 Table 1249. Participation in Selected Sports Activities: 2009, U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States 2012 (retrieved on October 10, 2017). This source's comment on methodology: "Data are based on a questionnaire mailed to 10,000 households. The questionnaire asked the male and female heads of households and up to two other household members who were at least seven years of age to indicate their age, the sports in which they participated in 2009, and the number of days of participation in 2009. A participant is defined as an individual seven years of age or older who participates in a sport more than once a year." The exact numbers are 24,410 thousand for basketball, 13,578 thousand for soccer, 11,507 thousand for baseball, 10,733 thousand for volleyball, and 8,890 thousand for football.

4 For football, see Mary Brown, "Super Bowl 50 Posts Near-Record TV Ratings With 111.9 Million Viewers," *Forbes* (February 8, 2016); for baseball, "World Series TV ratings: Epic Game 7 was off the charts," *USA Today* (November 3, 2016); for basketball, Frank Pallotta, "NBA Finals game 7 audience tops 30 million, biggest in 18 years," *CNN Money* (June 20, 2016). All three sources are

retrieved on October 10, 2017.

5 Kazuo Sakakibara, “Beat America, Information as Weapon, Strategy Analysis with Local Human Network, American Football World Championship Open on 9th,”［榊原一生「打倒米、武器は情報力　現地人脈使い戦略分析　アメフット世界選手権、9 月開幕］*Asahi Newspaper*, Evening edition, Sports section (July 8, 2015); Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, ‘2011 Social Life Basic Research’［総務省統計局「平成 23 年社会生活基本調査」http://www.stat.go.jp/data/shakai/2011/gaiyou.htm (retrieved on October 11, 2017).

6 National Newspaper Athletics Department, *History of Japanese Baseball* (Tokyo: 2000)［国民新聞社運動部『日本野球史』新版］renewed version by Museum Library Editing Department, 8-9.

7 Ibid., 13-14.

8 Sayama emphasizes that *Who's Who in California*, which contains information about Wilson's educational career, says “College of Lafayette,” not “Lafayette College,” which is well-known as a prominent institution. Kazuo Sayama, *Play Ball! In 1872: The Life of Horace Wilson*［佐山和夫『明治 5 年のプレイボール　初めて日本に野球を伝えた男―ウィルソン』］(NHK, 2002), 106-108.

9 Ibid., 116; also, Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams: How Baseball Linked the United States and Japan in Peace and War* (University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 13-14.

10 Sayama, 118.［今（筆者注、明治 29 年）の高等商業学校のところに南校という学校あり。明治 5 年ころは、第一大学区第一番中学と名付けて、唯一の洋学校なりしが、英語歴史などを教うるウィルソンといえる米国人あり。この人、つねに球技を好み、体操場に出てはバットをもちて球を打ち、余輩にこれを取らせて無上の喜びとせしが］.

11 Sayama, 61-62.

12 Hiroshi Aramata, *Opening Foreign Countries Helpers' Struggling Stories*［荒俣宏『開化異国助っ人奮戦記』］(Shogakkan, 1991), 14.［二流人だから日本にきた。二流人だからこそふしぎな活躍ができた。二流人だからこそ日本人に好かれた。また二流人だからこそ、日本が拒絶しなかった。かれらに日本文化そのものが強奪される危険性は少なかったからである］.

13 Sayama, 60.

14 National Newspaper Athletics Department, 13-14.

15 Yutaka Mizutani, *Basketball: its Birth and Development*［水谷豊『バスケットボール物語　誕生と発展の系譜］(Taishukan, 2011), 9-18.

16 This photo can be found at http://mamechishiki.aquaorbis.net/mamechishiki/basketball0120/ (retrieved on October 17, 2017).

17 This card can be found at http://tailchaser.halfmoon.jp/genzaburo/02.html (retrieved on October 17, 2017).

18 Hironori Tanigama, “Development of basketball research in early modern Japan”[「谷釜尋徳「近代日本におけるバスケットボール研究の発展史―学問体系把握に向けた一試論―」] *The Japan Journal of Basketball Studies* vol. 2 (2016), 43.

19 *Yomiuri Newspaper*, April 23, 1907.［バスケットボールは如何、テニスの盛大なるに反して何いうものかバスケットボールは各女学校に普及せぬ、勿論此の技が新来してからまだテニスの様に年月が経たぬと云ふ点もあらふが一つは各女學校に此の技の遊戯法を知っている人が少ないのも其原因の一つであらう、今現に此遊びをして居る學校と云へば高等女子師範、女子大學、学習院女学部、その他二三の女学校である、此の遊戯は運動としては遥かにテニスなどよりも有益で興味も多い、そして多人数（双方合して十六人）が同時に遊ぶことの出来る遊戯であるから実益と趣味とは遥かにテニス等に勝って居る］(partly quoted by the source in note 18).

20 Yutaka Mizutani, *The Olympics under the Midnight Sun: In Search of Illusive Hyozo Ohmori*［水谷豊『白夜のオリンピック 幻の大森兵蔵をもとめて』］(Heibonsha, 1986), 226.

21 Mizutani, *Basketball*, 115.

22 Mizutani, *Basketball*, 129-132.

23 Sakaue, Yasuhiro, *Sport as a Power Device: National Strategies of Imperial Japan*［坂上康博『権力装置としてのスポーツ 帝国日本の国家戦略』］(Kodansha, 1998), 5-6.

24 Tokyo Asahi Newspaper, August 29, 1911.［私も日本の野球史以前には自分で球を塗ったり打棒を作ったりして野球をやった事もあつた　野球と云ふ遊戯は悪く云へば巾着切の遊戯　相手を常にペテンに掛けよう、計略に陥れよう、塁を盗まうなどと眼を四方八面に配り神経を鋭くしてやる遊びである。］(partly quoted by the source in note 23).

25 Sakaue, 18.

26 Elliott J. Gorn & Warren Goldstein, *A Brief History of American Sports* (University of Illinois Press, 1993, second edition), 174.

27 Hitoshi Kawaguchi, *A Brief Biography of Heita Okabe, the First Introducer of American Football to Japan*［川口仁『岡部平太小伝―日本で最初のアメリカンフットボール紹介者』］(Kansai American Football Association Football History Workshop, 2004), 14-27.

28 Yamanashi Nichinichi Newspaper, *Do Your Best and It Must be First Class*［山梨日日新聞社『清里の父 ポール・ラッシュ伝』］(Yamanashi Nichinichi Newspaper, 2004), 129-141.

29 Toshiyuki Ijiri & Koji Shiraishi, *Truth…Father of Football Paul Rusch: 1934 The First Game*［井尻俊之、白石幸次『1934 フットボール元年〝父〟ポール・ラッシュの真実』］(Baseball Magazine, 1994), 23-28.

30　Tokuji Ogawa, “Fathers of Japan’s Football: Memories of its Birth,” Japan American Football Association, *Limitless Progress: Fifty Years of Japan’s American Football*［小川徳治「日本フットボールの父たち 誕生の思い出」日本アメリカンフットボール協会『限りなき前進 日本アメリカンフットボール五十年史』］(Japan American Football Association, 1984), 32-33.

31　Tokuji Ogawa, “The Dawn of Football,” *Fifty Years of St. Paul’s University American Football Team*［小川徳治「フットボールの夜明け」『立教大学アメリカン・フットボール部五十年史 : 1934 年-1984 年』］(St. Paul’s University American Football Team 50th Anniversary Committee, 1984), 32-33.

32　Ijiri & Shiraishi, 33.［なんとなく日本に行くというムードになっていた。私の場合、これといった目標があったわけではなかったが、母親の祖国・日本を見ておきたかった］.

33　Takuya Kumazawa, “Sport Diplomacy and Japanese-American Friendship in Japan: A Case Study of American Football in Japan between 1933 and 1937”［熊澤拓也「戦前日本のスポーツ外交と日米親善―1933 年から 1937 年までのアメリカンフットボールを事例として―」］*Japan Journal of Sport Sociology* 23(1) (2015), 70-71.

34　Ijiri & Shiraishi, 37-38.［だが、昭和の初め頃はすでにそうだった。その前は、例えば明治の伊集院さんなどは相撲がメインでラグビーもやった。早稲田の浅尾さんもラグビーをやったり、陸上をやったり…。いつの間にかそうなってしまったのかもしれない。それに対してアメリカの学生スポーツというものは、ベースボールは春に始まり、9 月に終了。フットボールは 9 月から、12 月一杯。バスケットボールは 11 月から 4 月頃まで。シーズンがはっきりしていてその間に色々な競技をやっていく。『そうした中でオールマイティなプレーヤー、スペシャリストが出てくるのではないだろうか。シーズン制を取らなければ選手の持つ可能性をつぶしてしまう。シーズン・オフというものがあって、学生はやはり勉強をしなければいけない。勉強が第一でスポーツは体育でその次に来る。』］.

35　Gorn & Goldstein, 169.

36　For a work in English that discusses early years of Japan’s American football, see also my “‘We will Try Again, Again, Again to Make It Bigger’--Japan, American Football, and the Super Bowl in the Past, Present, and Future,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* (13 July 2017), 2-4.