

*E. John B. Allen & William D. Frank*

## The Russo-Japanese War: 1905 Crisis Year for Military Skiing

### Introduction

A year prior to the start of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905, Vyacheslav von Plehve, Minister of the Interior of Imperial Russia, purportedly said to his colleague, Aleksei Kuropatkin, Minister of War: “What we need is a small, victorious war to tamp down revolution in Russia.”<sup>1</sup> Assassinated by elements of those very revolutionary forces only a few months into hostilities with Japan, von Plehve never realized that his idealized war would be neither short nor victorious, and certainly did not stem revolution in Russia. Rather, the Russo-Japanese War instigated two major crises in Russia in 1905: a people’s revolution in the streets of St. Petersburg and a significant loss of prestige among the European imperial powers as Russia absorbed a crushing defeat at the hands of a nascent Asian empire, manifested by signing the Treaty of Portsmouth in August 1905. Concurrently, on the European

continent, Norway and Sweden side-stepped all-out war through prudent negotiation by the Norwegian prime minister Christian Mikkelsen with King Oscar II of Sweden. Thus, the world's major military action during 1904–1905 took place some 5000 miles from the heartland of Europe, yet on the continent itself, war had been averted. Diplomacy, it appeared, had triumphed. The war also had one other major effect: it forced the army commands to reconsider their attitudes towards a brand-new form of warfare—on skis.

All of these events were separated by an enormous distance: but the common geographical determinant was latitude. Potential war in Scandinavia as well as actual war in Manchuria and Korea involved winter-time military preparation. From about 1890 to 1905, European political leaders had—to varying degrees—provided funds for troops on skis largely because the powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Russia—Italy, too, though hardly a power—and England were combining into a variety of security arrangements with one another. France felt bound to defend its mountainous border with Italy. However, from around 1902 on, France's major antagonist was Germany, and securing the Vosges range with troops seemed far more important than securing the mountains of the Haute Savoie and Alpes Maritimes. And this would have to be accomplished in winter as well as summer. In addition, the imperial scramble seemed to be ending, and what had once been a French and British rivalry was now turning into an Entente, becoming ever more cordiale in the face of the unpredictable Kaiser of Germany. Generally speaking, a few military nations, including Japan,<sup>2</sup> had thought about providing troops with skis prior to the Russo-Japanese War and some countries had implemented a program, but it was this east Asian war that pressured the High Commands into action, and ski troops became a special part of the military units among the European powers.

## The Military – Civilian Relationship

In this same fifteen-year period, a unique relationship emerged between the military and civilians in the development of recreational skiing. The

catalyst for this phenomenon was the ski traverse of Greenland by Fridtjof Nansen in 1888 and the subsequent publication of his tale. Nansen's Paa ski over Grønland was immediately translated into English as *The First Crossing of Greenland* and into German as *Auf Schneeschuhen durch Grönland*. Noteworthy is that Nansen's out of the ordinary experiences underlay the sport of skiing. A number of outdoorsmen read Nansen and were so captivated by his long third chapter on the use of skis that they were swept up in 'Nansen fever.'<sup>3</sup> Many Europeans took to skiing in various regions, especially those within reach of the network of railroads. In Russia the situation was somewhat different because civilian skiing and military skiing was already well-established within the empire's Grand Duchy of Finland. The winter exploits of the Finnish Rifle Battalions and the export of skis—particularly those manufactured in the Oulu region—enhanced the reputation of Finland throughout Europe as a regional center of ski expertise. The Russian Empire therefore had a reliable source for both equipment and men in addition to the requisite know-how for their utilization.

Nansen fever was perhaps most virulent in Germany where affected individuals founded the earliest ski clubs in Munich, Braunlage, and Todtnau between 1890 and 1891. These clubs invariably initiated competitions. Early organized ski events were largely experimental, often based on the formulation of skating and track-and-field meets. Club officials made up the rules with results published in newspapers and in a growing number of specialist journals such as the *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*. Right from the start, German skiing was social, but included only part of the qualities that Nansen found so important.<sup>4</sup> As Nansen was crossing Greenland in 1888, he was the embodiment of *ski-idrat*.<sup>5</sup> This Norwegian word (*idrott* in Swedish) contained a philosophical/psychological belief that healthy outdoors exercise drawn from the ancestral past was not just the foundation for a strong individual but for a region, even a country.<sup>6</sup> There was no word for *Idrat* in English or German, and translators used the word 'sport,' precisely the aspect affluent vacationers enjoyed about skiing. The sport required bodily exercise while providing excitement and other-worldliness, a simulation of Nietzsche's *Gefahr und Spiel*—danger and play. The new enthusiasts were club men, and they had a grand time enjoying themselves in the snow. A number

of them were army officers who supplied additional aspects to the sport. Around 1900, officers displayed a seriousness in their own skiing, as well as to other club members and spectators while still enjoying themselves.<sup>7</sup> This seriousness gave credence to the notion that skiing was of real military value.

The immediate problem for all skiers was how to obtain and then manage their equipment. A few men had been to Norway and brought back skiing knowledge with them: Lieutenant Monnier<sup>8</sup> of France; Wilhelm Paulcke<sup>9</sup> representing the Todtnau Ski Club, who later raised a volunteer ski unit in Germany, and Paulcke's compatriot Hauptmann Vorweg,<sup>10</sup> who inspired skiing in the *Erzgebirge*. There were others who had Norwegian contacts and, after seeing the odd illustrated article, wrote to an acquaintance and even obtained skis.<sup>11</sup> Norwegian forestry and mining students who were scattered across hill country in Germany, Austria and Switzerland also took to skis when snow was on the ground, thus providing an example for the local inhabitants.<sup>12</sup>

In Austria, Major Schadek von Dagenburg wrote out by hand his *Instruction (and Advice) on the Use of Skis* ready for distribution by the winter of 1894–95. A revised printed version was published in 1897.<sup>13</sup> Leutnant Udy's book, self-published in 1894 in Laibach (today's Ljubljana) received less attention.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps his analysis was too early to appeal to a military not yet ready for commitment to ski troops. The most influential how-to ski book was published by Mathias Zdarsky in 1896.<sup>15</sup> Zdarsky had holed up near Lilienfeld, two hours by train west of Vienna, for six years experimenting with Norwegian skis, eventually to design his own skis "better in nine ways than Norwegian models" as he put it in his advertisements.<sup>16</sup> The k. u. k. (*kaiserlich und königlich*—imperial and royal) command was impressed not only by Mathias Zdarsky's skis, but also by his technique and teaching methods. He began to influence a few army officers to the extent that he was engaged to give his first military ski course in 1903.<sup>17</sup>

As skiing became popular among civilians in town and country alike, the number of clubs grew apace in the 1890s. In Germany, there were clubs in the mountainous areas such as the *Schwarzwald* (Black Forest) and Vosges, in small communities like St. Blasien and mid-size towns like Pforzheim, and in Munich, Frankfurt am Main, and Berlin as well.<sup>18</sup>

In Austria, skiing developed in Vienna, capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in high society's enclave of Semmering, in the market towns of Mürzzuschlag and Graz, and in Salzburg. That is, in central Europe, as skiing became part of winter activities, it began to take on something of a nationalistic endeavor, especially where the military were concerned.

In his third chapter of the crossing of Greenland, Nansen writes that "the sport [skiing] is perhaps of far greater national importance than is generally supposed." Here, Nansen is addressing the cultural nationalism of Norway: in order to promote its freedom from Sweden (under whose jurisdiction it had come in 1814), his country had to generate the cohesion of an entire land split between coastal fjords and inland valleys, with poor transportation networks, but with a common history glued together from folkloric sagas and eddas. Above all was the difficulty not only of valley dialects but three semi-official languages, *Bokmål* for intellectuals, *Kirkmål* for churchmen, and *Landsmål* for bureaucrats. As in the rest of Europe and the world, nationalism in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century was a powerful motivation for governments to harness their populations. Imperialism was this same nationalism manifested through military power, a notion turned on its head when the Japanese defeated the Russians in 1905. Here was a crisis on the world stage.

## Europe and the lessons from the Russo-Japanese War

During China's Boxer Rebellion of 1898–1901, Russia had sent a contingent of troops into Manchuria, ostensibly to protect the railway system. In the aftermath of the rebellion, Russia ignored the demands of other powers to withdraw the troops, and by 1903 it was evident that Russia intended to stay in Manchuria indefinitely. The government repeatedly ignored formal diplomatic requests from Japan to clarify its potential spheres of influence in Manchuria and Korea. Heartened by a military alliance with Great Britain signed in 1902, the Japanese navy attacked and sank Russian battleships at anchor near Port Arthur in February 1904.



The Japanese print Rokoku no gōgai-uri [vendor of Russian special edition] by Kobayashi Kiyochika, 14 May 1904.

This woodblock print is one in a series of eighty-five grouped under the title Nihon banzai: Hyakusen hyakushō [Long live Japan! One hundred selections, one hundred laughs] that appeared between March 1904 and April 1905 during the Russo-Japanese War. These prints combine coded visual imagery with verbal puns and riddles that were easily understood by Kiyochika's contemporaries but difficult for the modern reader to parse: each print requires detailed knowledge of Japanese traditions and symbols in addition to familiarity with both Japanese and Russian commanding officers,

uniforms, the theater of war and the government's official reporting from the battlefields.

In this particular image, a well-dressed Russian couple observes a Russian newspaper courier who is ringing a bell and shouting "Special edition on the recent defeat at Port Arthur!" Special editions only appeared after military victories: this print refers to the sinking of the battleship Petropavlovsk which went down with around 680 crew members and vice-admiral Stepan Makarov on 13 April 1904. The word-play in the text conflates the price of the special edition (six sen or four sen) with Russia's "difficult battle" or "deadly battle." The image of the newspaper courier may be a caricature of General Aleksei Kuropatkin, Russia's Minister of War. Rather than Kuropatkin's typical military uniform seen in other prints from this series, the courier wears a garish checkered suit and high boots, perhaps in mockery of western capitalists who helped finance Russia's war effort. The head bandage (holding aloft the twin ensigns of the Russian Imperial Navy) combined with the courier's skis may reference images of Russian first aid workers made popular in the west during the early stages of the Russo-Japanese War.

The ensuing Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 was an unmitigated disaster for the Russian Empire: two of its three fleets were destroyed; the Russian army was overrun and defeated in Manchuria in 1904 and again at the battle of Mukden in 1905; Port Arthur was besieged for nearly six months and surrendered in 1905; and back home, massive strikes, mutinies, and political uprisings helped instigate the Revolution of 1905 and brought about only a half-hearted change on the part of Tsar Nicholas II; his October Manifesto satisfied neither people nor power brokers. Although the European powers sent observers to the far-eastern theater of war, and aspects of the fighting were obvious even from thousands of miles away, most military brass failed to comprehend how contemporary developments such as large-caliber artillery, rapid fire machine guns, mines, mortars, quick railroad communications, and telegraph links had changed warfare's organization and tactics. The Russo-Japanese War spanned the Eurasian continent but it had global dimensions as well. For example, the United States helped to finance the Japanese war effort, then mediated Japan's peace negotiations with Russia. This was also an imperialist war: both countries were fighting for control of Manchuria and Korea. The most unexpected result was that an Asian country, open to the West for only half a century, had decimated the Russian armed forces and was not about to be brow-beaten by western countries during the peace negotiations.

Military industrialization produced killing fields for the empire but no victory, just exhaustion. Among all this modern weaponry, the one unit that registered success was Russia's Hygiene Corps made up of surgeons, medical students and stretcher-bearer medics,<sup>19</sup> some on skis, pulling toboggans of supplies and makeshift stretchers with skis bound together to carry off the wounded.<sup>20</sup> The use of simple skis fashioned with ancient techniques alongside the machinery of modern warfare gave succor to at least a few who were lucky enough to be saved. It is worth noting that the observers' reports read by the European high commands never mentioned medics on skis although one does refer to the use of sledges to remove the Japanese wounded over the ice.<sup>21</sup> The rest of Europe took note of the Russian Hygiene Corps mainly through the popular French press, one that was partially financed by the Tsarist regime to insure money from Russian bonds was available. The full pa-



ge colored pictures in *Le Petit Journal* and *Le Petit Parisien* were aimed precisely at a bourgeois public that was ready to equate the importance of skiing with the importance of the military, thus bringing on a heightened effort for the support of ski troops.



Russian medics  
Russian sanitary workers depicted in *Le Petit Parisien* 10 April 1904.  
Russian medics as part of Tsarist propaganda to influence French bondholders to support imperial Russia in the war against Japan.



## Rise of Policy concerning Ski Units in Europe

During and after the Russo-Japanese War, reports such as the one written by Adalbert Dani von Gyamata und Magyar-Cséke of the Austro-Hungarian Empire flooded off the European presses.<sup>22</sup> The European High Commands parsed these publications but, on the whole, ignored the potential lessons contained within. At the turn of the century, the connection between sport and national health was of particular concern to the military leaders: in 1905, at the very founding of the German Ski Association, part of Article 1 of its constitution called for “upgrading the physical performance of youth, and training of skiers for the army,” the two notions now considered inseparable.<sup>23</sup> In the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War, a new note concerning winter warfare was sounded immediately in Austrian, German, and French calls for the organization of military ski units. In 1906, k. u. k. Oberleutnant Hermann Czánt drew attention to the fighting in the bitter cold of the war in the very first paragraphs of his *Militärgebirgsdienst im Winter* (published in 1907).<sup>24</sup> Czánt’s book was translated into French in 1908,<sup>25</sup> to join other ski-related manuals such as Capitaine Rivas’s *Petit manuel du skieur* published in 1906 and four years later Commandant Bernard’s *Guide du skieur*.<sup>26</sup>

Around this time, the mountainous Vosges region became central to French military planning: *Revanche*—revenge—for the loss of Alsace and Lorraine during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 informed the nation’s defense of the Vosges. Just east of the mountains lay Germany’s *Schwarzwald* with its history of early ski activity. Especially influential was Wilhelm Paulcke who had written *Der Skilauf* in 1899 with a chapter dealing with military ski development. His book was revised in 1905 and translated into French in 1910. Of particular alarm to those manning these mountains was his effort to raise a volunteer unit of military skiers for deployment on the Vosges front.<sup>27</sup> In 1907, skiing became part of the winter program for physical education in different parts of Germany: in Altenau in the Harz, and obligatory in all Hochsauerland (to-day’s North-Rhine Westphalia) and *Riesengebirge* (now lying astride the Polish-Czech border) schools.<sup>28</sup> That is, there was a growing realization of the necessity of ski-equipped troops for the European armies.

One can sense a crisis in military planning leading to a combination arms-and-personnel race for ski units.

The Prussian War Ministry ordered skis from Max Schneider as early as 1891–92 to be distributed among rifle battalions in Ortelsberg and Kirchberg (now Szczytno and Rozwarzyn in Poland), in Colmar (now in France), and in Goslar for experiments with troops involved in winter deployments.<sup>29</sup> In 1895, units based in the *Riesengebirge* received wide publicity in England and France when featured in full page drawings in *The Illustrated London News* and *L'Illustration*.<sup>30</sup> Further developments ensued in 1905 with military ski courses given in the *Riesengebirge* and Hohenelbe<sup>31</sup> (now Vrchlabi in the Czech Republic) and military patrol races the next year in Thuringia.<sup>32</sup> Germany's mountain artillery regiments incorporated three skiers into each of three patrols in 1910.<sup>33</sup> As it became obvious that France and Italy were also increasing their military ski units, the Prussian War Ministry ordered 10,000 pairs of skis from manufacturer Christian Lehmann in Brigach in the *Schwarzwald*.<sup>34</sup> All of these positive developments notwithstanding, it seemed pointless, from Germany's perspective, to attend ski races in Pontresina, Switzerland because in comparison to the training, equipment and clothing of Swiss, Austrian, French, and Scandinavian ski troops, those of Germany were woefully inadequate. This perception of inferiority may have stemmed from the Kaiser's visit to Switzerland in 1912: he had asked his hosts, "Can your people ski?" and received the direct reply, "On command, your Majesty, every one!"<sup>35</sup>

This bold reply belied the fact that the Swiss were not quite that well-prepared. Like other European nations, the Swiss government had tip-toed into ski training by ordering six pairs of skis for the military in 1893 and 200 pairs the following year. The "Winter Tactics Course with Skis for Gotthard officers" proved a failure in February 1904 because the "older and portly" officers had a difficult time although the younger ones did well. After the Russo-Japanese War, the government funded courses for officers and NCOs annually from 1907 on. Eventually though, the Swiss military teams did well in races and began to garner attention abroad.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps most significantly, beginning in 1912, a military delegation formed part of the central committee of the Swiss Ski Association.<sup>37</sup> Since there was compulsory enlistment, military and

civilian objectives joined seamlessly for the promotion of skiing among the youth of Switzerland.

The situation was quite different in France, yet nowhere in Europe was skiing discussed with more intensity in the years leading up to World War I. Uppermost in French leaders' minds was the necessity "to regenerate the race after the humiliations and anguish of 1870"—the defeat of France by Prussia.<sup>38</sup> Ski units would have to be formed to guard the mountainous eastern frontiers facing Germany and Italy. It would not be easy; reduced fertility rates compounded the problem of a declining population. This was especially the case in mountain villages, the most likely locations from which ski recruits would be drawn. Capitaine Henri Clerc, first commander of the military ski school at Briançon, suggested that the degeneration of the race was due to the habits of villagers during the winter when peasants lived under the same roof as their animals and rickets was endemic.<sup>39</sup> In 1909 all of the twenty-two works submitted for a prize contest to find out the cause and effect of a low birth rate stressed France's military decline as a major consequence. Inside or outside marriage, what France needed was "combatants and the mothers of combatants."<sup>40</sup> Significantly, immediately after the Russo-Japanese War, the civilian *Club Alpin Français* (CAF) was put in charge of French skiing by the *Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques* in 1906.<sup>41</sup> CAF then made Henri Cuënot's Winter Sports Commission responsible for the development of skiing and it accepted without reservation the notion that skiing, patriotism, and the military were inextricably conjoined in the development of "strong men and strong soldiers."<sup>42</sup> CAF immediately organized an International Ski Week which it continued annually thereafter at Chamonix, Morez, Eaux Bonnes, Lioran, and Gérardmer. In the same way as cycling's Tour de France bonded all parts of the nation together, so the CAF meets incorporated skiing into French patriotism, and the military events were always a high point of the competitions.<sup>43</sup>

At CAF's First International Ski Week at Mont Genève, near Briançon in 1907, the French Minister of War gave permission to invite the Alpini, Italy's mountain troops, who marched through a specially constructed *Arc de Triomphe* proclaiming on the French side CAF's motto "Pour la Patrie par la Montagne" (For the Fatherland by way of the Mountains) and on the Italian side "L'Amour de la Montagne abaisse

les Frontières” (Love of the mountains clears away frontiers). “The ski is becoming the tie between nations,” enthused *La Vie au Grand Air*.<sup>44</sup> In a manner similar to their counterparts in France and Austria, a few Italian officers had joined civilians north of Turin to enjoy escapades on skis. Tenente (later General) Oreste Zavattari wrote a number of books on winter war maneuvers and, along with other officers, advocated skiing to the government.<sup>45</sup> After the Russo-Japanese war, officers of several different alpine regiments were ordered to attend a ski instruction course given by Harald Smith, a well-known Norwegian residing in Switzerland.<sup>46</sup> In 1906, several skiers from an Alpini company competed at a major meet at Oulx on the French border.<sup>47</sup> By 1912, Alpini officers gave special ski courses for guides and porters.<sup>48</sup> In addition, the Italian High Command published *Istruzione sull’ uso dello ski* (Instruction concerning the use of skis) in 1908, complementing the Ski Club of Milan’s 1907 *Vade Mecum dello Skiatore* (Handbook of skiing).<sup>49</sup> Certainly the Italian Alpini were a force to be reckoned with if winter war should come to the region of the Alps where Italy shared borders with France and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1912, “no one,” wrote the British representative to the now annual ski congresses, “could fail to be struck by the enormous significance of ski-running both as a sport and,” so that no reader would miss the point, “as a military necessity.”<sup>50</sup>

## Russia and Military Skiing: The Role of K. B. E. E. Eimeleus

Despite all of the preparation and discussion about military skiing throughout Europe prior to World War I, only the Russian ski medics had any experience of actual battle experience using skis. It is no surprise that in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War, Russia made an attempt to get troops proficient on skis. It was left to K.B.E.E. Eimeleus, a student and then instructor at the Nicholas Cavalry School,<sup>51</sup> to detail such a program to bring Russian military skiing into the modern world. His methodology was so influential that it transferred from the Russian Empire to post-Revolutionary Finland during the Winter War

of 1939–40 and then back to Russia as the Soviet regime undertook its winter land battles of World War II against Nazi Germany.

Kalle Bror Emil Aejmelaesus-Äimä was born in Porvoo, Finland in 1882. His life story is the stuff of legend. In a short decade and a half, he managed to travel the world for athletic competitions in weightlifting and athletics; volunteer for military duty against Great Britain during the Boer War; work as a plantation supervisor and battle guerrilla insurgents in South America; join the United States Cavalry for a two-year stint in Texas; break mustangs, fight Indians and engage in saloon gun fights in the American Southwest; single-handedly subdue mutineers as a deep-water sea captain; ride with the King Edward VII Hussars in the Imperial Russian Army; participate (for Russia) in modern pentathlon against George Patton at the Stockholm Olympics of 1912; and survive World War One as a cavalry officer with the Trans-Amur Cossacks. After the end of the war, he served fourteen years as adjutant to the first two presidents of Finland, Kaarlo Juho Ståhlberg and Lauri Kristian Relander. Eimeleus married in 1933 and moved to Germany the following year. He died in Kiel at the age of fifty-three in 1935.<sup>52</sup>

Although skiing as a sport for individuals was thriving in major metropolitan areas such as Moscow and St. Petersburg,<sup>53</sup> the military required group action for the infantry. Thus, any military course would have to provide individual ski instruction and then a method to explain how to function together in military formations. In the capable hands of Lieutenant Eimeleus, such a course of military instruction took shape at the Main Gymnastics-Fencing School in St. Petersburg during the winter of 1910–11. The result was a 148-page book *Lyzhi v voennom dele* (Skis in the Art of War) published in 1912. Eimeleus relied on his Finnish upbringing and a reading knowledge of Finnish, Swedish, Norwegian, English, German, and Russian, to stay abreast of the current state of ski manufacturing and waxing, and keep up to date on health issues. He embraced new technological developments and found himself in the ideal position to transfer this knowledge, both practical and theoretical, to officers and recruits after the debacle of the Russo-Japanese War.<sup>54</sup> He was also keenly interested in indigenous skiing in the far reaches of Siberia where shorter skis were useful for going into the woods, longer ones for open-field travel and so on. His analysis is of particular interest



in two significant ways: he was the first to incorporate word explanation and photograph into the description of movements on skis, and his book was the first major work on the development of skiing in Russia, one that was geared to the military but also, he hoped, to civilian outdoor enthusiasts.

This wide-ranging book comprises thirty-one chapters that guide a new skier from an initial introduction on health and physiological significance of skiing to a short outline of skiing's history. Eimeleus details types of skis, wood to use in their manufacture, their upkeep and repair along with a discussion of poles, footwear and clothing. The bulk of the book deals with instruction and rules for competitions. Several of these chapters provide specific programs for systematic instruction including a schedule of forty one-hour sessions, enough time, in the author's opinion, to produce competent skiers with the ability to move in groups. In his final chapter, Eimeleus has seven specific recommendations for the use of ski troops in time of war: for guard duty, in reconnaissance work, as a communication service, in guerrilla action, during battle, as a sanitary service, and for border and coastal guards.

Understandably, Eimeleus emphasizes the contribution of the Sanitary Service during the Russo-Japanese War, the only arm of the military that actually used skis in a combat situation. Along with a diagram of a sled fashioned from four skis upon which a stretcher could be positioned, he advocated the use of a long, light sled from Sweden (*sparkstötting*) with seat and backrest. A medic could stand on one sled-runner on one ski and push with his other foot, easily managing 10 versts an hour (6–7 mph). “In the latest Russo-Japanese War,” Eimeleus writes, “sanitary workers had skis and also used them for foraging. But, in fact, up to this point, scant attention has been paid to the army's use of skiers in battle on the offensive.” In his recapitulation toward the end of his treatise, Eimeleus pleads for reincorporation of skis in military action, so inadequately employed in Russia's war with Japan. He has formulated a system of training so that military management, training, equipment, clothing, and weapons would preclude another debacle.

## Conclusion

Russia's alarming defeat during the Russo-Japanese War was the crisis that compelled European powers to consider seriously the provision of troops prepared for winter warfare. As an increasingly unsteady diplomacy after the Russo-Japanese War failed to bring peace in the early years of the century, each European nation put pressure on their governments to fund mountain troops and skiing soldiers who eventually manned the Alpine redoubts, the Vosges frontier, and fought on the Carpathian battlefields from 1914 to 1918.

## References

- 1 Sergei Iu. Witte, *Vospominaniia: Tsarstvovanie Nikolai II*, Book 1. Slovo, Berlin 1922, 423.
- 2 Jirō Nitta, *Death March on Mount Hakkōda. A Documentary Novel*. Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley 1992, 189. See also "Skidsport i Japan," *Ny Tidning för Idrott* Number 12, March 1903, 101–103. Carl J. Luther, *Untitled ms in Luther Archive*, presently being accessioned at the *Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln*, Cologne, Germany.
- 3 Georg Blab, who later wrote a popular ski manual, explained like "many others, so it was with me, that the impulse to practice the sport came through Dr. Fridtjof Nansen's epoch-making book." Georg Blab, *Anleitung zur Erlernung des Schneeschuhlaufens*. Hamburg-Richter, Munich 1895, 5. For others, see E. John B. Allen, *The Culture and Sport of Skiing from Antiquity to World War II*. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst 2007, 64–65.
- 4 Fridtjof Nansen, *Paa ski over Grønland*. H. Aschehoug, Kristiania 1890, 78.
- 5 Åke Svahn, "Idrott und Sport. Eine semantische Studie zu zwei schwedischen Fachtermini," *Stadion* Volume V, 1979, 20–41.
- 6 Allen, 2007, 18–19.
- 7 See, for example, Oberleutnant Viktor Sieger, *Diary*. *Winter!Sports!Museum! Archives*, Mürzzuschlag, Austria.

- 8 Henri Clerc, "Rapport des experiences de skis exécutées dans les environs de Briançon par le 159me. Reg. D'Inf. au cours des hivers 1900–1901 et 1901–1902," 66. Copy of handwritten ms in Musée Dauphinois, Grenoble, France. Monnier, himself, wrote several articles in *Les Alpes Illustrées*, Volume XLVI, Number 4, 27.2.1902; in *L'illustration*, Number 3080, 8.3.1902; in *Armée et Marine*, Volume IV, Number 12, 23.3.1902.
- 9 Letter Wilhelm Paulcke to Ski Club Todtnau, Baden-Baden, 25 November 1892. Handwritten ms in Todtnau Ski Club archives, privately held. "Freiwillige Ski-Korps," *Der Winter*, Volume VI, number 5, 2 December 1911, 86–88.
- 10 Letter O. Vorweg to [Cil—Carl Luther], Herischdorf bei Warmbrunn, 10 February 1908. Handwritten ms in Luther Archive.
- 11 Letter, Nicolay Noodt to Max Kleinoscheg, Trondheim, 11 December 1890. Handwritten ms in *Winter!Sports!Museum!*, Mürzzuschlag.
- 12 Olaf Kjelsberg, a Norwegian engineer working in Winterthur, skied across the Prugel Pass (1,554 m) in 1893. This inspired the folk in Glarus to start a ski club that year. *Winterthurer Tagblatt* cited in Eduard Neff, "Erinnerungen eines Skiveteranen." *Die Alpen*, Volume V, 1929, 41. Alexander von Steiger, "Prugel und Schild im Winter 1892/93." *Ski [Swiss]*, Volumes 24–25, 1929, 53–58. See also *Ski [Swiss]*, Volume 28, 1892, 497 claiming 1892 is probably an error. See also letter Charles King to *The Times* 22.3.37, 8.
- 13 Major Schadek von Dagenburg's hand written manuscript, 24 November 1893, Zdarsky Archives, Lilienfeld, Austria. O. Schadek, *Anleitung für den Gebrauch der Schneeschuhe und Schneereifen*. Kaiserliche-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei. Wien 1897.
- 14 Raimond Udi, *Kurze praktische Anleitung über den Gebrauch, die Konservierung und Erzeugung des Schneeschuhes für Militärzwecke*. Udi. Laibach 1894.
- 15 Mathias Zdarsky, *Lilienfelder Skilauf-Technik*. Hamburg, Richter 1896, and which, eventually, went through 13 editions, the last in 1925.
- 16 Advertisement of 1902/03 in Luther Archive. Patent 31.366, registered in 1896, granted in 1899. Karl Engel of Lilienfeld held Zdarsky's patents. Theodor Hüttenegger, "Duell-Forderung wegen einer Skibindung." *Ski + Tennis/Windsurf*, January 1988, 36.
- 17 Oberst Viktor Sore, "Zdarsky und der Militärskilaufl," *Zdarsky. Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstage des Begründers der alpinen Skifahrweise* 25. Februar 1936. Ed. Dr. Erwin Mehl. Wien—Leipzig. Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk 1936, 100.
- 18 Listed among other facts in Gerd Falkner, *100 Jahre deutscher Skiverband*. 3 volumes. Planegg, Deutscher Skiverband 2005, III, 4–13.
- 19 *The Russian Medical Service. Report by Col. W.H.H. Waters, C.V.O., C.M.G., Royal Artillery in The Russo-Japanese War. Medical and Sanitary Reports from Officers attached to the Japanese and Russian Forces in the Field. His Majesty's Stationary Office, London 1908*, 211. Captain William V. Judson, *US Army, Russia in War and Revolution: General William B. Judson's Account from Petrograd, 1917–1918*. Kent, OH, Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio 1998.
- 20 Two French weeklies recorded the medics on skis, both with fine color drawings. *Le Petit Journal* 10.4.1904 and *Le Petit Parisien* 10.4.1904, both came to be supported by

- the Tsarist Ministry of Finance. Sanche de Gramont, *The French. Portrait of a People*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York 1969, 229.
- 21 *The Russo-Japanese War. Medical and Sanitary Reports*, 211.
  - 22 One example: General Oscar de Négrier in *Revue de Deux Mondes*, was immediately translated as "Lessons of the Russo-Japanese War." Hugh Rees, London 1906.
  - 23 "Satzungen des deutschen Skiverbands," *Falkner*, 100 Jahre Deutscher Skiverband, II, 151.
  - 24 Hermann Czánt, *Militärgebirgsdienst im Winter*. C.W.Stern, Wien, Leipzig 1907, 1.
  - 25 *Alpinisme et service militaire*. Charles Lavauzelle, Paris 1908.
  - 26 Capitaine Rivas, *Petit manuel du skieur*. Paul Vollaire, Briançon 1906. Commandant Bernard, *Guide du Skieur. Fabrication et théorie du ski. Le ski dans la montagne*. Chapelot, Paris 1910.
  - 27 Wilhelm Paulcke, *Der Skilauf*. Universitäts-Buchdruckerei U. Hochreuther. Freiburg i. Breisgau 1899. The 1905 edition was translated into French as *Manuel de ski*. Berger-Lavrault, Paris 1910. For the volunteer unit, see "Freiwillige Ski-Korps," *Der Winter*, Volume VI, Number 5, 2 December 1911, 86–88.
  - 28 Allen 2007, 131 gives a number of examples.
  - 29 Letter Max Schneider to Cil (Carl Luther). Rostock, 13 July 1930. Handwritten ms in Luther Archive.
  - 30 *The Illustrated London News* 9.2.1895; *L'illustration* 17.12.1895.
  - 31 "Der Ski in den Armeen," *Allgemeines Korrespondenzblatt*, Number 9, 3.2.1905, 93.
  - 32 Max Ehrhardt, *Die Entwicklung des Wintersports im Thüringer Walde*. Perthos, Gotha 1908, 37.
  - 33 *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*, Volume XXXI, 25.12.1910, 1700.
  - 34 *Der Winter*, Volume VII, Number 8, 19.12.1912, 232.
  - 35 *Münchener Zeitung* 8.1.1914 cited in "Militärischer Skilauf und Heeresmeisterschaften." Edited by E. Hepp. Typed ms in Luther Archive.
  - 36 Artillery Lt. H. Koenig, "Anfänge des Militärskifahrens in der Schweiz." *Allgemeine Schweizerische Militärzeitung* Number 1–2, 1944, 1–46. See also Howard V. Knox, "Use of Ski, or Skee, in Foreign Armies." *Royal United Institute Journal*, Number 53, 1909, 225.
  - 37 Capitaine Hans Farmer, "Le développement du ski dans l'armée Suisse," *Revue du Ski*, 1.1.1931, 28.
  - 38 Henry Cuénot, "Le ski, ses origines en France et le rôle du C.A.F. dans son développement," *La Montagne*, Number 231, March-April 1931, 98.
  - 39 Clerc 1901–1902.
  - 40 Joseph J. Spengler, *France Faces Depopulation*. Duke University Press, Durham 1938, 122–130. Richard Tomlinson et al., "France in Peril," *History Today*, Volume 35, 1985, 24–31. Camille Mauclair, *La magie de l'amour*. Ollendorff, Paris 1913, 140.
  - 41 Pierre Arnaud et Thierry Terret, "Le ski, Roi des sports d'hiver," in *Histoire des sports*. Ed. Thierry Terret. L'Harmattan, Paris 1996, 160.

- 42 Henri Cuënot, "Rôle de la Fédération Française de Ski." *Neige et Glace*, 16.1.1926, 133–134.
- 43 See "Reglements de Ski pour les concours et les courses." Louis Magnus et Renaud de la Fregeolière, *Les Sports d'Hiver*. Pierre Lafitte & Cie. Paris 1911, 307–318.
- 44 *La Vie au Grand Air*, 11.4.1908.
- 45 For example, *Gli ski nella Guerra d'inverno sulle nostri Alpi*. Boghera, Roma 1900.
- 46 Giulio Graziolo-Lante, "The Italian Alps: an Expedition with the Turin Ski Club." *Year-Book of the Ski Club of Great Britain*, Volume 1, Number 2, 1906, 21.
- 47 J. Tissot et H. Maige, "Le Congrès du Ski-Club Italien à Oulx." *Revue Alpine*, Volume XII, Number 2, Février 1906, 52.
- 48 Bernard Janin, "Le Tourisme dans les Grandes Alpes Italiennes: Breuil-Cervinia et Valtour-nenche." *Revue Géographique Alpine*, Volume LII, Number 2, 1964, 217.
- 49 K.S., "Der Ski im fremden Armeen, 1. Italien." *Ski [Swiss]*, Volume 9, 1913, 75–76, *Militärische Presse (Wien)* 30.3.1910, 2. Francesco Bertani and Antonio Rossini, *Vade Mecum dello Skiatore*. Ski-Club Milano, Milano 1907.
- 50 W.H. Weedon, "The Fifth International Ski Congress at Christiania," *Year-Book of the Ski Club of Great Britain and the National Ski Union*. Volume II, Number 10, 1914, 401.
- 51 Eimeleus graduated in 1908 and returned as an instructor in late 1911. K.B.E.E. Eime-leus, *Skis in the Art of War*. Translation and Commentary by William D. Frank with E. John B. Allen. Northern Illinois University Press, an imprint of Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London 2019, xxv.
- 52 For details, see William Frank's Introduction in Eimeleus, 2019.
- 53 William D. Frank, *Everyone to Skis! Skiing in Russia and the Rise of Soviet Biathlon*. Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, IL. 2013, 26–37 and Frank, "Mud in the Tracks and Soviet Wax: Nikolai Vasil'ev at Russia's First International Ski Race, 1913," *Journal of Sport History* Volume 44, Number 3, Fall 2017, 421–437.
- 54 For what follows concerning Eimeleus, see Eimeleus 2019. This will not be end-noted again.