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Manga's Global Century: A History of Japanese Comics, 1905-1989

By

Andrea J Horbinski

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

and the Designated Emphasis

in

New Media

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Andrew E. Barshay, Chair
Professor Mary Elizabeth Berry
Professor Abigail De Kosnik

Spring 2017

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Abstract

Manga's Global Century: A History of Japanese Comics, 1905-1989

by

Andrea J Horbinski

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Andrew Barshay, Chair

This dissertation describes the origins and history of manga (Japanese comics) from 1905-89 as a form of sequential art which, while created in Japan in the early 20th century, was influenced by cinema and comics from abroad in addition to indigenous artistic predecessors. Manga's history as one of the three great world sequential arts traditions is best understood by comparing manga to comics and bandes dessinées, as I do, in order to evaluate local conditions in Japan more accurately, demonstrating that different factors in each country produced different outcomes and developmental trajectories for each medium as part of the global history of the twentieth century. I consider multiple aspects of manga—its status as a form of Japanese mass media, its transnational position as one of multiple global sequential art traditions, and its distinctive history as a medium of expression in which fans and creators have at all points played equally important, and at times not easily divisible, roles—to tell the story of manga's beginnings as it moves into its next hundred years.

In particular, I describe the history of competing publishing platforms and formats within manga's development to demonstrate that manga became widespread in Japanese society less because of any intrinsic quality of comics than because of the affordances of the platforms and formats through which it was distributed. Transformations in platform and format were related to the expansion of audiences for manga, as what began as medium devoted to political satire for adults expanded to encompass children and then to young adults in the 1950s and 1960s. Finally, I pay due attention to the development since 1975 of manga fandom, the dôjin sphere, as an unofficial but extremely consequential site of manga production which has now come to dominate the professional manga industry, even as manga has become a subordinate component of the anime media mix.

To Spike, Max, and Joey,
The best flock ever

and

In memory of Christine Horbinski

Table of Contents

- Dedication i
- Table of Contents ii
- List of Figures iii
- Acknowledgments v

Introduction 1
Part One: Origins, 1905 - 1928 11
- Overview 13
- Chapter One - The Origins of Japanese Comics 16
- Chapter Two - Arresting the Fleeting Moment: Manga Turns Modern 33
- Conclusion: 1928 53

Part Two: Manga During Wartime, 1928 - 1945 54
- Overview: A tale of two types of manga - or is it? 55
- Chapter Three - Norakuro and Friends 57
- Chapter Four - The Manga Men 76
- Conclusion: Eating vegetables, rereading manga 99

Part Three: Manga in the Postwar, 1945 - 1963 100
- Overview: Nowhere to go but up 102
- Chapter Five - The Manga Pulps and the God of Manga 104
- Chapter Six - Manga for who? Kashihonya, the gekiga boys, and the ban bad books movement 126
- Conclusion: Postwar platforms 142

Part Four: Manga in the Age of Anime, 1963 - 1975 145
- Overview: Shambling towards the postmodern 148
- Chapter Seven - Seeking Alternatives: *Garo*, *COM*, and the Maturation of Manga Fan Culture 151
- Chapter Eight - The Emergence of Seinen Manga and the Shojo Revolution 175
- Conclusion: Tankôbon: The meaning of a format 204

Part Five: Manga Turns Postmodern, 1975 - 1989 205
- Overview: Applauding the DJ 210
- Chapter Nine - Something postmodern going on 211
- Chapter Ten - Lost in Wonderland 230
- Conclusion: Still preoccupied with 1989 252

Conclusion 253
References 258
Bibliography 280

List of Figures

1. The July 1878 cover of *Japan Punch*.
2. A cartoon from *Marumaru Chinbun* referencing the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, 7 February 1880.
3. An Ippyô manga originally printed in *Jiji Shinpô*, January 1899.
4. Kitazawa Rakuten's cartoon for the 4 July 1896 edition of *Box of Curios*. Note signature of "Y. Kitazawa," his birth name.
5. Cover of the first issue of *Tokyo Puck* depicting Tsar Nicholas II.
6. "Desertion of National Army," *Tokyo Puck* centerfold from March 1908.
7. Cover of *Jiji Manga* depicting women menaced by motorcars, 20 March 1921.
8. Norakuro and his fellow recruits line up for inspection in *Norakuro nitôhei*, 1933.
9. Norakuro harmonica ad in *Shônen Kurabu* depicting Tagawa Suihô at lower top right, 1934.
10. Cover of *Norakuro shinkangakkô*, January 1936 *Shônen Kurabu* freebie.
11. Cover of *Norakuro jôtôhei*, 1932.
12. The Norakuro Harmonica Band in Minidoka Internment Camp, Idaho, June 1943.
13. Shrinking issues of *Yônen Kurabu* from 1933, 1941, and 1944.
14. Cover of *Yomiuri Sunday Manga* #38, 19 July 1931.
15. Yanase Masamu, *Kanemochi kyôiku*, 1930.
16. The cover of the January 1930 *Manga Man*.
17. Cover of *Manga Nippon* by Katô Etsurô, December 1944, depicting the hundred million ready to fight to the death.
18. Detail of 2015 flyer from Hasegawa Machiko Museum depicting Sazae-san and her creator.
19. *Kodomo Manga Times*, August 1950.
20. *Manga*, August 1948.
21. Cover of *Manga Shônen* #1, December 1947.
22. Cover of *Garo* #1, September 1964.
23. Cover of *COM*, May 1967.
24. Cover of *Big Comic* #1, April 1968.
25. Internal ad from *Big Comic* #1: "*Big* breaks the mould like my big breasts break the frame"
26. Cover of *Berusaiyu no bara* vol. 11 depicting Oscar de Jarjeyes
27. Cover of *Heart of Thomas.*
28. Cover of *Kaze to ki no uta* vol. 3 depicting Serge and Gilbert
29. Cover of final print issue of *June*, February 2013. The name was allegedly derived from French writer Jean Genet (1910-86)
30. May 2017 issue of *Be Love* with art from Showa 24 creator Yamato Waki's current manga, *Ishtar no musume*
31. Screen cap from DaiCon III opening animation depicting the schoolgirl protagonist as captain of a *Yamato*-esque starship in typical Lolicon style

32. Screen cap from DaiCon IV opening animation depicting now-teenaged protagonist (in Playboy bunny costume) sky-surfing on a sword amidst fighter planes: typical otaku aesthetics
33. Screen cap from DaiCon IV opening animation depicting the bishôjo protagonist dueling Darth Vader

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Despite the fact that I have—manifestly—written a dissertation, I have never felt that I knew how to write a dissertation. I have instead set out from the beginning to write a book, and the result of that effort is what you now hold in your hands, or more likely, what you are now viewing on your screen. No matter. Many people have contributed to the making of this book, and to making me a historian, both knowingly and unknowingly: this statement is no less true for being familiar, if not trite. Having reached the end of my road with this project, or at least a major milestone, it is a pleasure to at last be able to give at least some of my supporters the recognition they so richly deserve.

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LLAP.

Berkeley, California
May 2017

Introduction

What is manga?

This book is a history of manga, which is to say, of Japanese comics. But simply defining "manga" as "Japanese comics" and moving on would mean missing a very large chunk of that very history, for how manga came to mean what it does now, and *not* any of the other things it could (and, in some contexts, still does) mean, is a good part of the story told here.

What, then, are the problems with this simple definition? Several spring to mind immediately, not least of which is the question of what are "comics," and also, what makes some comics "Japanese" and not others? In his pioneering book *Understanding Comics* cartoonist Scott McCloud (b. 1960) defines "comics" as "juxtaposed pictorial and other images in deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer."[1] This is a useful first attempt, but what McCloud sees as a virtue of his ultimately very general definition—the fact that it includes Egyptian tomb painting, Mayan historical codices, and the Bayeux Tapestry, among many other artworks—is not sufficient for the purposes of history, because if comics are so omnipresent globally throughout time there's no way to analyze them meaningfully. Such a definition can easily be read to deny (art) history outright, and in fact, I would argue that McCloud's definition is also not sufficient for the purposes of discussing, defending, or developing the medium, either: so it's just as well that in the very same chapter McCloud welcomes future writers disagreeing with his views about how to define comics. I am one of those future writers, and I do just that.

Drawing on McCloud in the same way that he draws on Will Eisner, then, I would stipulate that "comics" are *a mass medium which juxtaposes pictorial and other images in*

deliberate sequence, intended to convey information and/or to produce an aesthetic response in the viewer. This modified definition avoids the pitfall of being overly prescriptive with respect to materials, tools, and production processes that McCloud rightly deplores while also retaining enough historical specificity to be useful, because mass media are products of mass society, which is itself the signal feature of modern times. More about these anon; for the time being, which is to say, for the remainder of this book, we can take "manga" to be "comics produced in Japan" and move on to the problems with that specific equation. Indeed in many ways, this book is an answer to the questions that this formulation raises.

To start by complicating matters yet further, when speakers of English say "manga," we have for the last twenty-five years or so generally meant a specific kind of Japanese comics (which are generally called "manga" in Japanese), but this specific kind of Japanese comics is by no means the only kind of comics in Japan. "Manga," as generally understood in English, means the mainstream comics that are marketed to all segments of Japanese society, first published in magazines at varying intervals and later collected into volumes, and which are often used as the basis for anime and other platforms in the so-called contents industry, or vice versa. Indeed, this particular strand of manga has the historical distinction of being the progenitor of anime, and thus of what is in Japan called "the media mix," often known in English as "transmedia storytelling."

But there are other kinds of comics in Japan, most of them known as "manga" but some of them called "kommikusu" (comics). The former category includes newspaper (generally four-panel) comic strips, pornographic comics known as eromanga, so-called "alternative" comics called gekiga, and non-professionally published comics known by the umbrella term dôjinshi but frequently featuring characters from professionally published manga. "Kommikusu" generally denotes comics from abroad, whether translated into Japanese or imported as-is. None of these other kinds of comics are the focus of this book per se, but all of them will feature in its pages at least once, since all of them have contributed to the development of the manga which is its focus. So, while this book is *a* history of manga, it is by no means the *only* history of manga.

The above paragraphs already hint at the different ways in which manga can be defined. What is manga? Manga is a form of *sequential art* created in Japan, influenced by cinema and comics from abroad as well as by indigenous artistic predecessors. This is to say that manga is a *medium of expression* usually associated with, but not limited to, several common publishing formats that have shifted over the past hundred years as manga's own expressive methods have changed. To speak of publishing formats is to say that manga is a form of *mass media*, which means by definition that it reaches a wide *audience* of readers, and that it is produced by an *industry* of creators, editors, and other professionals engaged in its publication and promotion for profit. People create society just as people make history, so speaking of audiences and industries highlights the fact that manga is at its base created by, and connects with, individuals both in Japan and around the world. Since the beginning of this story, engaged readers—*fans*—have played a key role in manga's development and promotion, but the story of manga is not reducible to a story of key individuals.

This book, then, tells the history of manga from roughly 1905 to 1989, tracing its emergence as a hybrid subgenre of painting around the turn of the twentieth century to its reaching the cusp of its current global prominence as the most successful of the world's three major sequential art traditions (the others being American comics and Franco-Belgian bandes-dessinées). In some ways this story is one of "the descent of mass media"—from the newspapers of Yokohama and Tokyo, to the newspaper-sized periodicals *Tokyo Puck* and its rival in Osaka, to the magazines of the Taisho and early Showa era aimed at boys and girls of all ages, to the winnowing of all forms of media in the censorship and privation of the war years. Manga emerged from this bottleneck to take on the forms that are more or less familiar to us today, so although newspaper manga have continued since then, we will leave such publications at approximately the end of Occupation censorship.

When they are not claiming it as a thousand-year Japanese tradition or a legacy of the early modern Edo period, most histories of manga begin in the early 1950s with the work of the famous manga creators (mangaka) Tezuka Osamu and Ishinomori Shôtarô.[2] But starting the story of manga after the war ignores its prewar origins in the late 19th century, and this foreshortening has the unfortunate effect of occluding manga's transnational origins. Comics did not start in Japan, and mangaka were influenced by comics traditions from outside Japan at every point in manga's development. Similarly, there are many people whose careers predate Tezuka and Ishimori (as he was then known) whose works helped make manga what it is today. The names of Kitazawa Rakuten, Okamoto Ippei, Tagawa Suihô and Takemiya Keiko will become very familiar before the end of this book.

My approach has been to attempt to balance attention to each of these aspects of manga—its status as a form of Japanese mass media, its transnational position as one of multiple global sequential art traditions, and its distinctive history as a medium of expression in which fans and creators have at all points played equally important, and at times not easily divisible, roles—to tell the very twentieth-century story of manga's beginnings as it moves into its next hundred years. I have at every point done my best to give each of manga's aspects equal weight, but it is probably true that histories of manga could be written from each of these single perspectives, and so by necessity this book will be both too long for some people's tastes and too abbreviated for others. No doubt some readers will be outraged to see familiar figures get shorter shrift than is usual in favor of what may at first seem to be less important people, aspects, or phenomena. Again, this is the story that I am telling, but it is by no means the only one possible.

At the same time, a single volume history of manga, and moreover *this* history of manga, which unites new media, fan studies, and historically based analyses, is at this point in time more necessary than ever. My choice of 1905 for a start point is somewhat misleading, as it is impossible to understand the foundation of *Tokyo Puck*, Japan's first manga magazine, in that year without going back in time to the 1860s and the beginnings of periodicals along with the modern Japanese publishing industry. 1989 is less familiar as an inflection point in the history of manga than in the history of the world entire, but in the event, it was less the death of Tezuka or the fall of the Berlin

Wall than the so-called Miyazaki incident in July of that year that exerted a huge influence on manga's development.

In many ways, the changes that manga has undergone since then are part of a very different world order, one that moreover may already be ending. In 2012, Japan acceded to negotiations to the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a secretly negotiated multilateral international trade treaty which among other things sought to implement U.S.-style copyright maximalism in signatory countries without importing U.S. provisions for fair use. While the TPP appears to have floundered in the fraught politics of 2017, the point at hand is that the grey area in Japanese law which has allowed the dôjinshi market to flourish at events such as Comiket, the biannual dôjinshi fair which is the largest fan gathering in the world, was for all intents and purposes about to be extinguished and may well be under threat again soon. Since its foundation in 1975, Comiket and the fan sphere it has nurtured has increasingly become the engine of fashion, taste, and innovation for the contents industry (anime, manga, and video games) as a whole, with Comiket and Comitia serving as outlets to find new professional talents as well as offering professional and fan creators alike profitable alternatives to the industry itself. Any change to the legal and customary regime surrounding the dôjin world would be potentially devastating to the contents industry as a whole, manga included.

Even as one pillar of the manga industry in particular, and of the contents industry of which it is part in general appears to have survived a potential brush with demolition, there are serious concerns about the future of the very publishing format around which this book itself is structured. Sales of serial manga magazines, each published at a given interval, aimed at a particular market defined by genre, age, and gender (and in fact, all three being taken to stand for each other), and containing single chapters of as many as a dozen different manga titles, have been falling steadily for years in Japan, and there is currently much handwringing among professionals and critics as to what to do in light of this fact. With an eye to the experience of ebooks in English-speaking countries, and to the recent history of American comics in particular, I am confident that reports of the impending death of manga are greatly exaggerated. But it would be fatuous to deny that the rise of ebooks or the mainstreaming of American comics (partly through transmedia storytelling) have greatly changed their respective publishing industries, and that they are still continuing to do so; and while historians are not supposed to predict the future, it seems self-evident that changes of a similar scale must be in store for manga as it enters its second century. Indeed, as this book demonstrates, the rise of the internet has already had a similarly marked impact on manga; in a very real way, the internet is what made this book possible. But it does seem clear that the magazine format is waning, a significant concern given that magazines have been the key to manga's development since the 1930s, if not since 1905. In many ways, the key concern of this book can be understood via the prism of the magazine format, and how it came to be what it now is.

Here, then, on the cusp of these changes for manga, seems a particularly suitable time to pause for a retrospective.

Approaches I take

The three perspectives I outlined above—regarding manga as a local example of a transnational phenomenon; looking at it as one form of Japanese mass media; and regarding it as a particularly rich site of interaction between audiences—correspond roughly to the three fields of scholarship in which I am trained. Looking at manga from a transnational perspective is a lens that I have acquired from my background in *history*, transnational analysis being one of the newest phenomena in the oldest field of scholarship in existence. Investigating manga as a form of mass media is a habit of thought that I owe to my background in *new media*, an interdisciplinary field which may be considered to have begun in 1945, but whose methods and approaches can be profitably adapted to look at earlier media phenomena, as well as the most contemporary developments in the global mediascape. Finally, regarding manga as a site and as a product of the interactions among audiences and producers—and seeing both as, on some level, equally important if not the same—is a debt I owe to *fan studies*, a young scholarly camp whose ideas about objectivity in scholarship, among many other things, are very much my own. At this point, a word about the specific approaches I have used from each field is probably in order.

Even in the highly unlikely case that there is only one historical methodology, it is certainly fair to say that no two historians can agree on what it is. In aligning myself with the cause of transnational history, I am seeking in particular to get beyond the reductive framework of the nation-state, which too often produces tautologies or foreshortened pictures rather than more accurate representations of the richly complicated and connected world of the past. Even a cursory survey of primary sources from the casually multilingual and international world of the late 19th and early 20th century reveals that manga did not grow up in a local Japanese vacuum. By seeking to place manga in a global story about that world, rather than solely within the limited frame of "Japan" and the nation-state, I am in part insisting that manga is better understood in its global context: if manga is properly understood as a form of mass media that is one of the world's three great sequential art traditions, its origins are much easier to understand.

Getting beyond the nation-state does not mean disregarding it entirely, and in any case, it would be highly suspect to ignore what has undoubtedly been the most influential factor in manga's history, namely, the fact that it is the (dominant) *Japanese* form of sequential art. But comparing manga to American comics and to Franco-Belgian bandes dessinées at certain key points helps us to evaluate local conditions in Japan more accurately, allowing us to understand how different factors in each country produced different outcomes for each medium. It also allows us to appreciate the role that the Japanese empire played in the dissemination of sequential art throughout East Asia and the Pacific, and the ways in which manga and the empire in the wartime period were both fundamentally in tension with themselves. A transnational approach also allows us to talk about similarities between these three traditions, and to realize that in the 21st century world of digital contents distribution over the internet, these three media may in fact be re-converging.

Talk of media and convergence brings me to new media, a discipline that I have struggled to define for skeptical historians since I became affiliated with it. Let me say at the outset that new media is the study of (old) media in transformation, a definition which can be applied to manga at any point in its history, but most particularly at its beginnings and in its recent past. New media is many things, but it is emphatically *not* a form of literary analysis by other means. In approaching manga as a form of new media and/or from a new media perspective, I am concerned first and foremost with its form—in digital parlance, we might say, its *format*—rather than its content(s). How the form of manga has changed over time is in many ways the central story of its development, which is to say, its history. But the key thing to appreciate about manga in particular—and perhaps, about any form of new media in general—is that the form and the content of manga are at times one and the same. Indeed, this is literally true of manga, which leading Japanese critics usually analyze in terms of character, linguistic expression, and framing (i.e. paneling and layout), and which in its contemporary forms often dispenses with a frame altogether.[3] This "indeterminability of the frame," as Itô Gô has called it, means that at times in its history the evolution of manga's style of artistic expression in fact changes its form or even its format. These shifts in form-as-content cannot be neglected, but neither am I willing to reduce the history of manga to the history of its aesthetics. Indeed, it is a central contention of this book that, along with format, the question of *platform* has been far more relevant to the history of manga than artistic style.

Arising out of the intersection of media studies, anthropology, queer studies, and ethnography, the relatively young academic field of fan studies has been animated by the dual conviction that discussion of fans and their creations and practices are meaningful, relevant, and worthwhile, and that the best position to undertake such discussions is a hybrid one which rejects the questionable notion of "objectivity" in favor of an embedded subjectivity that is critical but engaged, both of oneself and one's fellow fans. At its most basic level, applying a fan studies perspective to the history of manga yields the foundational insight that overlooking the history and development of manga fan cultures, particularly since 1975, is to completely neglect a huge and central part of the story of how and why manga has become what it now is. Moreover, many aspects of manga in the 1970s and 1980s in particular would be completely opaque without a working understanding of science fiction and media fan cultures, which are emphatically locally distinct but which also share some important transnational commonalities with other fan cultures and communities worldwide. Fans of manga and anime of all genders have been subjected to an at times withering barrage of scorn and contempt from academics and commentators worldwide over the past thirty years. By adopting the perspectives of fan studies to consider both manga's history and my own in fandom, I am attempting both to redress some of these wrongs and to provide an honest accounting of a story whose importance has been critically underestimated heretofore.

In that vein, I had assumed in the year 2017 that it was not necessary to state the blindingly obvious, namely that manga and anime are not solely "racist, sexist perversion" as one so-called scholar who should have known better recently described

them in my presence. Similarly, I would have expected better than to read an otherwise sensitive and perceptive commentator's blanket assertion that "the bulk" of manga in general, "whatever its technical and commercial achievements, amount to little more than palliatives and distractions for the bored and beleaguered of one of the most apolitical consumer societies on the planet."[4]

There is little to say in the face of such unreasoning prejudice. But I do want to take the time to clearly outline my own fundamental beliefs: the first is that pop culture matters, not as an opiate of the masses but for its own sake, because its audiences find in it meaningful representations that are not solely inane distractions from their daily lives. Stories matter, and how pop culture does the work that it does should be of interest to any serious scholar of the humanities or social sciences. It is certainly the case that pop culture does not promote any kind of universal set of values, no matter what values you would like it to promote, but it is also the case that its very polyphony can and does give creators the space to create representations that contest and talk back to dominant cultures and mores as well as reconstitute them.

By the same token, audiences and fans can and do find multiple meanings in pop culture products, and do not simply mindlessly adhere to the values that such media allegedly espouse. This practice of meaning-making is an active form of consumption, parsing, and reassemblage that is a creative process in its own right, and the work that fans and audiences do in creating meaning from the media they encounter—whether that meaning-making takes the form of cosplay, dôjinshi, or simply deciding what they thought of a movie—is valuable in and of itself. Nor do I agree with the idiotic view that consumption or consumerism under our current regime of post-Fordist capitalism is somehow related to morality prima facie: I do not accept the idea of "guilty pleasures," and not consuming pop culture is not any more or less virtuous than consuming pop culture. Virtue, quite simply, has nothing to do with it.

Finally, and on a related note, I want to make clear that the narrow-minded conception of "politics" which equates that nebulous field solely with participating in the workings of electoral democracy is a function entirely of the socioeconomic privilege which its adherents on both sides of the Pacific hold. Those of us who are not part of the dominant group(s) in society are well aware that simply existing as oneself in society can be and often is a fiercely political act. By the same token, the question of representation is vital to those who do not see themselves in pop culture by the unspoken default. Rather than perpetuate such ignorant stereotypes and stigma, this book seeks to contest them directly.

Note on sources

The bulk of the research for this book was conducted at the National Diet Library in Tokyo from 2014-15. One of the difficulties in researching the history of manga is that the exigencies of Japan's twentieth century have resulted in an archival record that is patchy at best. The Diet Library's collections are second to none overall, but they are not always the most user-friendly; I was able to consult many of the periodicals discussed

in this book in the original, but many are only available in digitized format. A list of these sources follows in this section.

Japan's print culture is marvelously self-reflexive. I was able to examine many of the periodicals discussed in this book via reprinted volumes, either of original editions or collected scholarly efforts. Shimizu Isao's *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* series in particular drew together many examples of early periodicals which are not held by the Diet Library, and was invaluable not only as a source of primary material but also of analysis with which I frequently disagree. Many other early printed materials were available to me through museum exhibits and exhibition catalogues. Still other sources came via reprinted anniversary editions of various manga.

In the course of research, I consulted archival collections at many other libraries around the world: the research collections of the Kyoto International Manga Museum come first in this list, but I also examined holdings at the Yokohama City Archives, the Bancroft Library at the University of California, the Cotsen Children's at the Princeton University Library, the Kindai Bungakukan in Komaba, Tokyo and the Harvard-Yenching East Asia Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts. I also availed myself of the research library and display collections of the Centre Belge de la Bande Dessinée in Brussels and the Yonezawa Yoshihiro Memorial Library in Tokyo, the latter of which is the most complete archive of Japanese manga fan materials, primarily dôjinshi, in existence. The Musee Hergé in Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium also provided a stimulating occasion to think comparatively about comics worldwide in a beautiful setting. The staff of the Billy Ireland Museum and research library made my visit to Columbus, Ohio both memorable and profitable. My first research trip to the University of California, Riverside, where I spent an extremely valuable week with the extensive Fred Patten Collection at the Eaton Science Fiction Library, remains crucial to how I have structured my thinking about this project overall.

In attempting to wrap my brain around more than a century's worth of material I have mostly relied on the work of other scholars to fill out my picture of the Japanese publishing industry at large beyond the narrow confines of manga, particularly at the beginning of the twentieth century. I am indebted to these scholars and to all the others whose work on twentieth-century Japan I have consistently drawn upon for helping me to accurately illuminate my own corner of the story of Japanese popular culture in the twentieth century.

One type of sources remained frustratingly elusive, however. Although many mangaka, particularly those who died old, have published memoirs of many stripes, and I was frequently able to consult interviews with them in contemporary publications, these sources are more often than not frustratingly impersonal. The majority of the memoirs and interviews are at best vague but most often simply silent about creators' personal lives and relationships. It was not my intention and certainly is not my preference to have written a history that almost entirely ignores the subject of sexuality for the first 75 years it covers, and it is certainly not my belief, after spending years with these subjects and their work, that all of the mangaka discussed in this book were heterosexual. Further speculation on this point, however, would almost certainly not serve my purpose in making this argument in the first place. Suffice it to say that

what we now call queerness exists and has existed in Japan for a good long time, and manga is no exception to that reality.[5] Whether as scholars, manga readers, or fans, we do ourselves, creators, and audiences a grave disservice by assuming that any or all of them are necessarily straight.

Note on names, styles, and terms

Ironically for a book that makes the claim that manga is the Japanese form of comics, rather than an entirely separate medium, I use quite a lot of Japanese words and names. I worked for six years on the staff of the pioneering popular culture journal *Mechademia*, and in this book I have used a version of the *Mechademia* style guide, developed by Prof. Christopher Bolton, which I have further modified to suit my own views on the matter. The major break with *Mechademia* style is my rendering loanwords as their English equivalents rather than as transliterated Japanese, with the caveat that Japanese English usage is not always the same as American English. Japanese names appear in this book in Japanese order, which is to say, family name followed by given name; the exception is the few figures in manga who are referred to by their given names in accordance with artistic habit. Japanese words do not appear in italics; the only italics used in this book are in fact for emphasis or to denote the titles of media in accordance with the Chicago style guide. I have retained long vowel markers in titles and in those Japanese words that are not sufficiently familiar to fans of Japanese pop culture, but I have silently dropped the long vowels from such words as "shonen" and "shojo" in recognition of their increasing currency in English-language publishing and fan cultures.

The usage of Japanese words in English scholarship is a matter of some debate among manga scholars writing in English. One camp holds that using Japanese words is needlessly obfuscatory, if not exoticizing, but I personally take a different view. Some words in this book, such as "otaku," "shonen," and "shojo," have become sufficiently familiar to people interested in manga and anime that translating them into English would be confusing. To my mind, there is also value in retaining the Japanese terms precisely because their direct English translations can be misleading. Saying "manga artist" for "mangaka" is literally correct, for example, but is misleading in the general comics context, as artists and writers are almost always two separate people in mainstream American comics, and this is in fact one of manga's interesting and distinguishing characteristics as a comics tradition: Franco-Belgian comics are roughly about fifty/fifty, as are so-called "indie" American comics. Hence, I tend to say "mangaka" or "manga creators" interchangeably, but in all cases my usage is specific.

Likewise, my retention of terms such as "shojo manga," "seinen manga," and "kodomo manga" is meant to reflect how people concerned with these things discuss them in English; translating "seinen manga" as "adult manga," by contrast, would be unclear due to the dual meaning of "adult" in this context. Following the lead of Japanese speakers in using their preferred labels for categories of manga is also meant to avoid mushy and misleading terminology such as the awkward neologism "male girls' manga" coined by one scholar to describe the bishôjo and Lolicon dôjinshi created

by and aimed at men. People in the manga industry and dôjin sphere would never use the term "shojo manga" to describe these dôjinshi, as featuring girls is not the only qualification for what makes shojo manga girls' comics, and by employing the Japanese terms I am attempting to short-circuit these potential confusions entirely and restore some much-needed precision.

Similarly, I have adopted the language of the Japanese-language fan scene more or less wholesale to avoid creating false equivalences and to hopefully avoid some hackneyed habits of stigma. I use "dôjinshi" almost exclusively to refer to non-professionally published comics, for example, because the English terms "zine" and "fanzine" still largely conjure up images of badly Xeroxed screeds and desktop publishing—although production values for physical fanzines are changing rapidly in some English-language fan spheres thanks to the influence of tumblr and the impact of Japanese fan cultures. By contrast, however, I sometimes employ the term "fanworks" as a synonym for "dôjin works" or "dôjin goods," though not when said works are original contents not related to professionally produced media. "Otaku" and "fujoshi" are likewise rendered as-is into English, because they are (or were) specific terms denoting specific groups of fans and fan practices. Although specific stigmas are still attached to these terms in the Japanese context, "fanboy" and "fangirl" are not any better and may again have misleading connotations.

All of which is to say that a great deal of jargon seemed unavoidable, drawing as this book does on all aspects of the manga sphere, not just the professional manga industry, as well as English language fan cultures. I have done my best to define terms in the text as I go along, but the blame for any remaining unclear points rests of course with me.

Part One: Origins, 1905 - 1928

Overview

The question of origins is tricky on a number of levels. One of the cardinal tenets of history as a profession is the notion that everything changes over time, and its observational corollary is that there is very little, if anything, new under the sun. In the case of manga, the question of origins is partly a question of terminology, but it is also a question of politics, and the question itself has a history that is separate from manga as a medium.

As almost any introduction to manga will tell you, manga are Japanese comics, and the word "manga" was first used in the Edo period (1600-1867) by the ukiyoe (woodblock print) artist Hokusai to describe his "overflowing pictures." Those two facts are essentially the only two things that just about everyone interested in the questions of the history of manga can agree upon.

Notwithstanding the fact that comics are not an ancient art form, significant strands of scholarship and popular discourse on manga (the bulk, though by no means the entirety, of it in Japan) insist that the medium has its roots in the late classical period of Japanese history, or that a direct line can be drawn from Hokusai's ukiyoe prints to the volumes of *Fullmetal Alchemist* sitting on my bookshelf. (The former argument tends to encompass the latter, again notwithstanding the fact that Hokusai unequivocally coined the term.) Perhaps the most famous proponent of the latter argument is the Japanese contemporary artist Takashi Murakami, who is probably best summed up as the twenty-first century's answer to Andy Warhol. Murakami, who made his name by exploiting the otaku aesthetic and collaborating with Louis Vuitton, thereby collapsing the distinction between fine art and mass-produced luxury consumption, tends to

collapse manga into its mobile heir anime—a by no means uncommon tendency. But for our current purposes it is sufficient to note, as historian Thomas Lamarre has discussed at length, that Murakami's genealogy of contemporary Japanese popular culture jumps directly from the early modern Edo period to the postmodern era (very roughly, from the 1970s to now) in order to avoid the problems of what Japan did in the modern era.[6]

What Japan did in the modern era was, essentially, modernization and empire. After the Meiji Restoration of 1867 overthrew the old Tokugawa shogunate and installed an oligarchy of low-ranking, patriotic, disaffected samurai in its place in the name of "restoring imperial rule," the Japanese state adopted and adapted the lineaments of an externally proven sociopolitical order to confront a changed geopolitical situation on the strongest footing possible. But whereas in the 7thC that model had come from China, in the 19thC China was an object lesson of the dangers of not adopting the emerging Euro-American model of sovereign nation-states. The 1870s in particular witnessed the first efflorescence of what is usually termed the "new imperialism" of modern, industrial empires: Great Britain, France, and other industrialized Euro-American powers roamed over the globe, subjugating an increasing percentage of its land and peoples to the combined might of nationalism and imperialism. They did so, moreover, armed not just with technologically advanced weaponry but also with a new philosophy that justified their conquests not merely on a moral but on a scientific basis.

Japan's attempts to modernize—and therefore its implicit assertion that it could modernize and industrialize—called into question the very racial and civilizational order that the Social Darwinist ideology of the new imperialism depended on for its moral and scientific justification. Some of the Japanese anxiety about being "modern enough" can unquestionably be traced to the fact that Japan was intruding on a racial world order that considered non-white people, such as Japanese, to be biologically and civilizationally inferior; only by proving that Japan could successfully adopt modern Western customs could it theoretically overcome its non-white background. All of which meant that as the Meiji program of modernization and industrialization began in earnest in the 1870s, in other words, it seemed clear that there were only two choices available: eat or be eaten, and if Japan was going to eat, that naturally led to the question of whom.

The answers were Korea and then Taiwan: Japan embarked on a strategy to dominate Joseon Korea from the 1870s, which brought it into conflict first with Qing China and then with imperial Russia. Japan and China opened hostilities in August 1894 in what came to be known as the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. At stake was not only the question of who would be paramount in Korea but also whether the Qing Dynasty's attempts to modernize its military had worked, a question that was settled decisively in the negative by the quick work that Japan's new-style army made of the Qing troops. The Qing Dynasty sued for peace just eight months later, in February 1895; by the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki that ended the conflict, the Qing government formally recognized Korea as belonging to the Japanese sphere of influence. Equally importantly, the Qing government agreed to pay a massive indemnity—200 million

taels of pure silver—and to cede the island of Formosa, aka Taiwan, to Japan, as well as the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria.

Japan was forced to retrocede the Liaodong Peninsula by the Triple Intervention at Russia's instigation, setting up ten years of jockeying for primacy in Korea and Manchuria that ended with the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, which was short and victorious, but not for the Russian Empire. The Japanese Army trounced the Russian forces on land, and in the most humiliating blow of all, the Baltic Fleet, the pride of the Russian Navy—which had literally sailed around the world, since the British closed the Suez Canal, to break the siege of Port Arthur, which it arrived too late to do anyway—was destroyed in a single disastrous engagement with the Imperial Japanese Navy. Just three ships limped home to tell the Russian government of the fleet's annihilation, which many Russians initially claimed had in fact been perpetrated by the British, whose decision to enter into the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902—Great Britain's first treaty of friendship with a non-Western power—was thereby vindicated.

Japan's victory over Russia and its annexation of Korea in 1910 seemed to confirm its membership amongst the modern powers, and this period saw the undoing of the unequal treaties, beginning with Great Britain in 1902. It was at Britain's invitation that Japan entered World War I in 1914, which had a very different character in northeast Asia than it did in Europe, where the unprecedented slaughter of the battlefields in France and Belgium proved epochally shattering of cultures, societies, and empires. For Japan, by contrast, WWI was another short victorious war: the Navy handily occupied all of Germany's colonies in Asia, from Qingdao in northeastern China to the South Seas Islands, and Japanese industry grew rich by selling arms to the European combatants and by replacing European products on global markets as European societies reoriented their industrial production for total war.

1919 in many ways was an epochal year for the Japanese Empire. The Paris negotiations over the Treaty of Versailles confirmed Japan's retention of Germany's Asian colonies—the South Seas Islands were held under the guise of League of Nations Mandate territories, requiring the Japanese to file reports to the League about the islands' progress towards "development"—but they also dealt a stunning blow to Japan's attempts to normalize itself on the world stage when the negotiations failed to add a clause in support of racial equality to the League of Nations charter. The virulently racist Woodrow Wilson in fact overturned the clause's passage under the excuse that certain powers (read: Britain and the United States) would never support it, which proved correct, notwithstanding the fact that the United States in fact never joined the League. This affirmation of the global racial hierarchy and other perceived snubs at the Paris negotiations left Japanese elites feeling increasingly isolated from and resentful towards the Euro-American powers.

At the same time, nearly fifteen years of urban agitation for party government and greater participation in politics resulted in party government in 1918, which in Andrew Gordon's phrase "produced an amalgam: an increasingly and uneasily partisan bureaucracy, increasingly bureaucratic parties, and a less obstreperous military."[7] The two political parties that contested in the era of party government, the Seiyûkai and the Kenseikai/Minseitô, articulated two differing visions of the boundaries of legitimate

political participation: the Seiyûkai a conservative vision that denied labor rights and advocated a gradualist approach to suffrage, and the Kenseikai a more liberal idea that had space for union organization as well as both male and female suffrage.

The boom times in Tokyo were brought to a temporary halt in September 1923, when the Great Kanto Earthquake, a magnitude 7.9 temblor, struck just before noon on the first of the month. As many people were at home preparing lunch over open cooking fires, large portions of Tokyo and Yokohama were devastated by the fires that followed the earthquake in a familiar pattern. The earthquake broke the water mains that could have helped put out those fires, and the fires burned for two days. Somewhere between 100 and 140,000 people died, either in the quake itself, the fires, or the landslides or tsunami that struck parts of Kanagawa prefecture.
The all-powerful Home Ministry declared martial law, and in the ensuing paranoia wild rumors spread that Korean partisans were poisoning wells and deliberately committing arson, with the result that resident Koreans, as well as Chinese subjects, and other people mistaken for non-Japanese, including Okinawans and people who didn't speak the Tokyo dialect, were murdered by mob violence, frequently with the active cooperation and collusion of the security forces. Somewhere between six to 10,000 people were murdered as part of this pogrom in the first week of September. Although the Army was thereafter tasked with "protecting" resident Koreans, mobs continued to attack police stations in which resident Koreans were being detained in "protective custody," Army officers often handed those same Koreans over to mob justice or participated in the murders themselves. It became clear to all concerned that as the capital rebuilt from the quake, the pace of modern life had increased both qualitatively and quantitatively, and manga entered a new era along with it.

It is the contention of this book that it is precisely in the modern era of Japanese history (1868 to now) that is where the story of manga starts, and that both of these discourses about manga's origins have their origins in specific circumstances in the modern period. Manga is a modern medium: it is a form of mass media that relies on, and was created by, the mass audiences that only exist in modern society; and formally speaking, especially as it continued to evolve, its means of expression draw heavily on other mass media of the 19th and 20th century, particularly film. None of this is to deny that manga is Japanese; that much is obvious. But what makes it Japanese is not some unchanging essence of tradition that reaches back however many hundreds of years: rather, manga became what it is today by virtue of its occupying a particular place in Japanese society, and by the interactions between what it could do as a medium (in other words, its *affordances*) and its historical circumstances, which were themselves the product of the larger situation of Japanese society as a whole.

To sum up, then: the history of manga in Japan is less than 125 years long, and though it does not quite have the aura that an invented thousand year tradition might be said to bestow, the richness of its short, dynamic history is compelling. Moreover, it has evolved from its limited origins into a platform for a bewildering variety of phenomena. The story of manga, as of any medium, is also the story of the people who engaged with it both as producers and as audiences, and their story is also an important part of what makes manga distinctive.

This chapter charts the emergence of manga as a modern phenomenon that was at the beginning of its history—which I date from 1905, but which has important "foreshocks," if you will, in 1891 and earlier—thoroughly international; manga in Japan would not have arisen without the example and at times direct instruction of Euro-American cartoons and cartoonists. Moreover, that process of influence continued over the course of manga's history and was particularly acute until approximately 1937, although this chapter ends in approximately 1928. By then, manga had expanded from an art form that consisted exclusively of high-collar political satire to a field that encompassed a staggering variety of subjects, artistic styles, and forms of expression.

Chapter One:
The Origins of Japanese Comics

The tanuki and the train: Ponchie at the crossroads

Like many innovations in modern Japanese history, the story of manga starts in the port city of Yokohoma, where, in the early 1890s, a young Japanese artist named Kitazawa Rakuten, trained in Japanese as well as Western art styles, was tipped to inherit the job of cartoonist for the *Box of Curios* newspaper. Rakuten's friend Frank Arthur Nankivell (1869-1959), who held the position at the time, had decided to sail for the United States, and Rakuten took the job after him, making him the only Japanese person on staff. An admirer of the great liberal thinker Fukuzawa Yukichi, whose *Jiji Shinpô* newspaper he later worked for, Rakuten began imitating the *Jiji* practice of referring to the cartoons he drew by a more high-class (or, in Meiji parlance, "high collar") phrase: "manga." By the end of his life, Rakuten would be universally hailed as its grandfather. And while there's more than a little irony in the fact that using the term "manga" was originally a high-class way of talking about newspaper cartoons, given later developments, Rakuten and *Jiji* were trying to differentiate themselves from and elevate their work above what they saw as a debased medium, that of "ponchie." What was ponchie, and why did they want to distance themselves from it?

The history of magazines and newspapers in Japan goes back to the 1860s, in the midst of the so-called "bakumatsu" period that ended with the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the institution of a reformist, oligarchical government of disaffected samurai in the name of the restoration of imperial rule. The bakumatsu period began in 1853 with the arrival of U.S. Commodore Perry's so-called "black ships," and the new port city of Yokohama, where foreigners were eventually confined, was a key site in the 15 years of disorder and innovation that followed. Although Japan had had a vibrant

print culture since the middle of the Edo period, supported by a highly commercialized economy and spectacularly high rates of literacy, Euro-American style periodicals had not been part of it.

That changed beginning in the 1860s, first with the foreigner-produced *Japan Punch* in 1863 and then with the short-lived *Seiyô zasshi* in 1867. As the name indicates, *Japan Punch* was modeled on the satirical *Punch* magazine in Britain and was aimed mostly at the resident foreigners of Yokohama, while *Seiyô zasshi*, whose founder coined the Japanese term for "magazine," consisted mostly of translated articles from abroad and was aimed at educated Japanese who were interested in that sort of thing: in the event, not many of them, as the magazine folded in 1869. *Seiyô zasshi*'s swift demise owed as much to a mismatch between its aspirations and its production technology as it did to the fact that the market for its product had not yet been created: the magazine was printed using the woodblock method, which meant that it cost a lot of time and resources to produce compared to movable type.[8]

Japan Punch is visibly a part of the tradition of British caricature; not surprisingly, as its founder and publisher Charles Wirgman (1832-91) was British by birth, and pronounced noses and satirically exaggerated bodily characteristics abound in its pages. Its first issue in May 1862 boldly proclaimed that it would "be the official organ for the publication in Japan of Jollyfications emanating from His Ethereal Majesty's Customhouse and Boathouses in this country."[9] But though many Japanese scholars prefer to take *Japan Punch* out of the main lineage of Japanese publications because it was not published by Japanese people, reading *Japan Punch* with an eye toward its legacies reveals that it was indisputably influential on the Japanese-produced media that came after. Its habit of referring to itself in the third person was picked up by other periodicals, most famous among them being *Osaka Puck*, and in particular, it is casually multilingual in a matter-of-fact 19th century way which is surprising to contemporary eyes and which would have been offensive to many readers in the 20th century. English predominates, but French, German, Italian and even Latin appear occasionally: Birgman wanted his magazine to be read, and it was. *Japan Punch,* which he published monthly beginning in 1865, lasted until 1887.

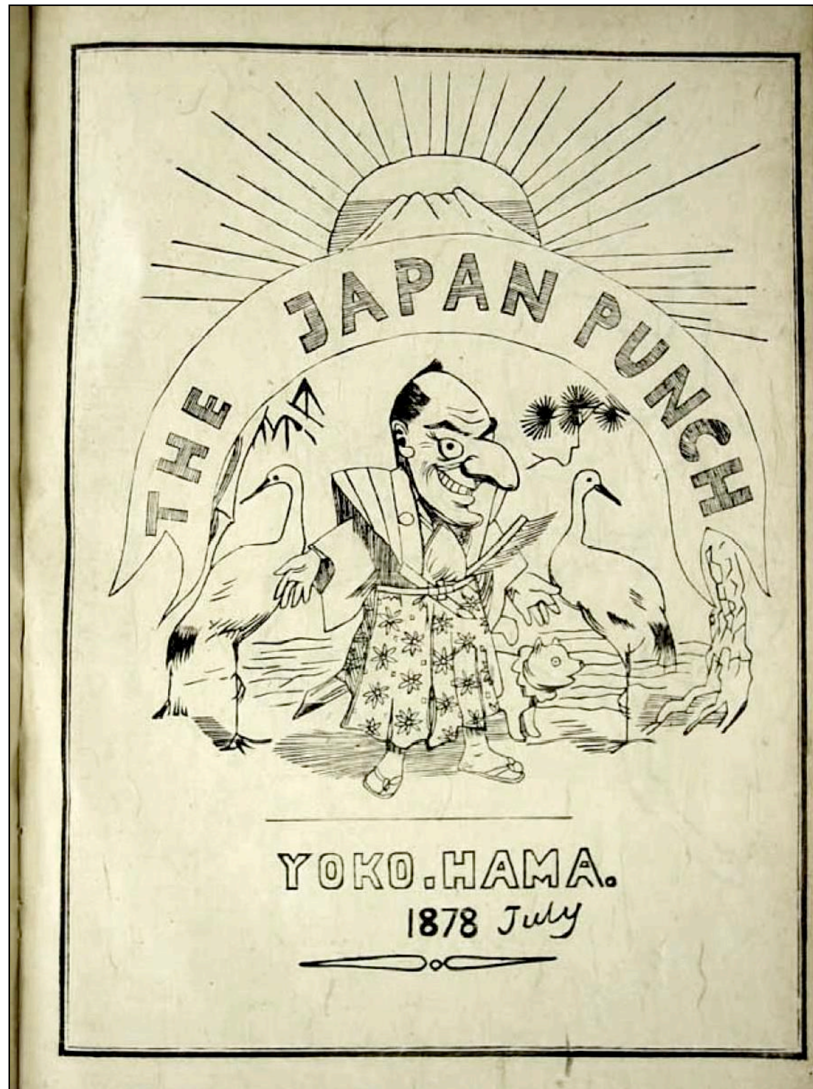

Fig. 1: The July 1878 cover of *Japan Punch*.

That was more than enough time to establish "ponchie" (literally "*Punch* drawings") as the standard Japanese term for satirical cartoons, which quickly spread beyond Yokohama. Another yardstick for the influence of *Japan Punch* is how many periodicals in the following decades had the word "Punch" in their titles: quite a few, in the event. The country's first newspapers also got in on the ponchie trend, particularly the pioneering, populist *Marumaru Chinbun* (1877-1907), named from the contemporary periodical practice of marking important things with two circles (literally OO, "marumaru"). *Maruchin*, as it was affectionately called, was a bastion of the Freedom and Popular Rights movement in the 1880s—more on that later—but it was also a landmark in terms of its publication history: it was the first Japanese newspaper to use modern publication methods, it was the first to publish national editions throughout the country simultaneously, and it built its circulation to hitherto unseen size by using new postal and road networks to acquire readers everywhere. Although its circulation paled

compared to what later periodicals would achieve, at the time it was the most massive form of media Japan had yet seen.[10]

The Meiji oligarchs who took over the government had instituted compulsory elementary education in 1872, with the result that while high-level literacy was by no means universal, the number of people who could read at a simple level was growing from the already high numbers, for the early modern era, of the Edo period. Accordingly, *Maruchin* and its contemporaries split the difference by publishing a wide variety of pictorial content: landscape illustrations in the styles of traditional Japanese art, hand-drawn illustrations amongst the articles, and last but not least, political cartoons in the ponchie style. It was also, as were most periodicals of the time, casually bilingual: it routinely published short articles in English, and the captions for its images were frequently printed in both English and Japanese.

Although the meaning of the term implies that ponchie was merely copied from *Japan Punch*, ponchie in fact combined the Western concept of satirical cartoons—particularly the contemporary French cartoonist Honore Daumier (1808-79)—with several traditional methods of ukiyoe satire to produce a new, hybrid form.[11] Some of the ukiyoe practices visible in *Maruchin* and other periodicals of the time include the placement of (usually hand-lettered) explanatory text inside the frame and the use of "humor writing" in the captions and "picture puzzle" (hanjie) techniques in the images themselves. Humor writing involved the use of seven- and five-syllable lines and onomatopoeia in order to sound amusing when read aloud, while hanjie can be thought of as the visual equivalent of a cryptolect such as Cockney slang or the British gay dialect Polgari: the use of different, coded referents to depict something that was technically forbidden by the authorities, often through the rearrangement of kanji.[12]

Fig. 2: A cartoon from *Marumaru Chinbun* referencing the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, 7 February 1880.

These techniques, particularly hanjie, were potentially confusing to readers, especially those whose education was low. However, they were also necessary in an era when Japan had no constitution and no guarantee of freedom of the press, and when *Maruchin* in particular was leading the fight for both in print as part of the Freedom and Popular Rights movement. This popular movement for constitutional representative government and civil rights was effectively crushed by the authorities, but in the face of the Meiji oligarchs did ultimately "grant" the country a constitution from the hand of the emperor in 1889 and a legislature (the Diet) in 1890. In that era, being a constitutional monarchy had become another benchmark of modernity, along with monarchical pageantry, and Japan was determined to meet it.[13] Moreover, the Meiji constitution limited the franchise to men who paid a significant amount in property taxes, with the result that only about five percent of the adult male population could vote. Civil rights also remained largely non-existent, as the Meiji constitution framed the relationship between emperor and imperial subjects in terms of subjects' unconditional duties to the sovereign and highly circumscribed individual rights.

Although *Maruchin* continued publication for another two decades, its popularity declined with the repression of the Freedom and Popular Rights movement after 1887. By that time, however, continuing educational reforms—middle school was made compulsory in 1891—and the expansion of the reading public that they spurred meant that other periodicals could and did come to the fore: at least one scholar has

dated the beginning of the magazine age in Japan to 1888. For the time being, however, the story of manga is much more closely concerned with newspapers, particularly *Jiji Shinpô*.

To review, then, periodicals arose in Japan just before the beginning of the modern period, and their lineage includes media produced both by Japanese and by foreigners, just as Japanese periodicals themselves quickly became a hybrid form combining older Japanese practices and techniques with newly imported Western concepts and technologies. Ponchie, the medium out of which manga initially evolved, was another example of this hybridity, and contrary to what some Japanese scholars past and present would like to claim, manga's emergence did not involve a repudiation of "foreign" practices but instead, an even stronger embrace of them.

All the news that's fit to draw: Illustrated newspapers and *Jiji Shinpô*

Newspapers in Japan exploded in popularity over the course of the Meiji period, and by the era of the Freedom and Popular Rights movement they were widespread. Moreover, *Maruchin* was by no means unique in Japan or even internationally in its heavy reliance on images, and specifically illustrations. Both photographic and printing technology did not yet allow for the easy (read: cheap) reproduction of photographs, and newspapers around the world printed lavish illustrations to accompany their articles. Many of them were strikingly creative with the layouts of these images and articles in a way that the newspapers of the digital era, which are not bound by the confines of the printed page, simply cannot match.

Maruchin's popularity derived as much from its politics as from its publication methods, but *Jiji Shinpô* was founded in 1882 for a different purpose. Fukuzawa Yukichi—statesman, reformer, proponent of "Civilization and Enlightenment" in Japan, often called the Japanese Benjamin Franklin—started the newspaper with the explicit idea that it would support the government's efforts to reform the unequal treaties to which Japan was subject and to secure the country's place on the world stage. Its pro-government views were proudly nationalistic and self-consciously international in scope, and it was well-placed to take advantage of the expansion of the reading public after the promulgation of the frankly nationalist Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890: school enrollment rose from 50% in that year to 97% in 1907, with the result that every Japanese child learned to recite the Rescript and its exhortations to "guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth."[14]

Impatience was in the air in Japan in the 1890s: having established a constitution, a legislature, and the imperial monarchical pageantry that went along with them, it was widely felt that the country continuing under the hated unequal treaties, which had been imposed during the bakumatsu period and which stipulated that foreigners who committed crimes could not be tried in Japanese courts, among many other unfavorable trade regulations, was outdated and time for revision. Japan would shortly start—and win—a successful war with the Qing dynasty, demonstrating both its own military competence and the Qing's increasing weakness.

It was in this atmosphere that one Imaizumi Ippyô (1865-1904) returned to Japan in 1890 after a five-year sojourn in the United States. Imaizumi was the first, but by no means the last, cartoonist in Japanese history to be strongly influenced by the latest developments in cartoons abroad, and his innovations at *Jiji Shinpô*, though now largely forgotten, were crucial to the development of manga. It was Imaizumi who first used the term "manga" in print to mean "caricature," in *Jiji* in April 1891. And it was Imaizumi who took the crucial first steps to make manga different from ponchie by making it both more timely and much easier to understand—which is to say, Imaizumi's manga expressed ideas directly rather than indirectly, discarding the practices of humor writing and picture puzzles which ponchie relied on. These innovations made Imaizumi's manga easier to understand, i.e. to consume, and that made manga better suited to the continuing evolution of newspapers in Japan into a form of mass media.[15]

Fig. 3: An Ippyô manga originally printed in *Jiji Shinpô*, January 1899.

The changes Imaizumi made to political cartoons—from ponchie to manga—were directly echoed by larger changes in reading habits and printing technologies at the turn of the 20th century in Japan. Nagamine Shigetoshi quotes one diarist, Masamune Hakuchô, who describes reading the magazine *Kokumin no Tomo* (The People's Friend) in the 1890s: in an echo of Edo-period practices, Masamune read the whole thing cover to cover and word for word multiple times, to the point of being able to recite it; he may have also been reading out loud, which would have been congruent with Edo education methods. By the end of the 19th century, however, these practices had largely ceased as magazines became longer, reading became more visual and piecemeal, and the number

of magazines and newspapers in print began to increase dramatically.[16] Imaizumi's manga, much easier to understand at a glance than ponchie, took advantage of and was part of these developments.

Changes in printing technologies were similarly dramatic, and as with much else in modern Japan, they were spurred by the country's wars of imperialism: the ten-year period from 1894-1904, which saw the triumphant beginning and end of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) and the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), was a boom era for the media business. Lithography (generally monoprint, i.e. monochrome) had started to become popular beginning in the second half of the 1880s; the Sino-Japanese War, which was short and extraordinarily successful for Japan, popularized multicolored lithographic (i.e. planographic) printing, as well as photo printing, for the first time: people wanted to see high-quality depictions of far-off battle scenes and victories, and the media business evolved to meet that demand.[17] Political cartoons, which everyone but *Jiji Shinpô* still referred to as "ponchie," also became more photorealistic as photography proliferated in print.[18]

Perhaps unsurprisingly, successful wars abroad spurred the burgeoning nationalism that had contributed to those wars in the first place to new heights, and the decade spanning the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars was particularly good for the media business. New publications were springing up every few months, attempting to cash in on the burgeoning readership for these media, and they included several satire periodicals. The most important of these was *Kokkei Shinbun* (Humorous News), which began publication in Osaka in 1902.

In that same year, Kitazawa Rakuten (1876-1955) made a career choice that proved epochal. Born Kitazawa Yasuji, Rakuten was the son of a family that had found itself on the wrong side of the Meiji Restoration, with the result that the new government expropriated most of their land and his father was forced to make his living as a used book dealer in Tokyo's Kanda district. He recognized and encouraged Rakuten's artistic talent early, and after Rakuten completed middle school he went to Yokosuka to study ukiyoe under Inoue Shunzui before beginning art school in Yokohama, in which he learned modern, Western-style artistic traditions and techniques.[19] While in Yokohama he met the Australian artist Frank Arthur Nankivell, who was working for the English-language satirical paper *Monthly Box of Curios* at the time.[20] (Nankivell had apparently left Australia with the intent of attending art school in France, but had run out of money by the time he reached Japan.) Nankivell introduced Rakuten to the British tradition of political cartoons of which *Japan Punch* was a part, and when he finally sailed for the United States in 1894, he tipped Rakuten to take over his job at *Box of Curios*, now a weekly. Rakuten was the only Japanese on staff, and by 1902 Rakuten, by his own lights a mainstream Japanese patriot in the Fukuzawa vein, was clashing with his American editor over the content of his cartoons.[21] In a move that established a lifelong pattern, Rakuten solved this problem by jumping ship to *Jiji Shinpô*.

Fig. 4: Kitazawa Rakuten's cartoon for the 4 July 1896 edition of *Box of Curios*. Note signature of "Y. Kitazawa," his birth name.

Rakuten's official job title at *Jiji* was "manga reporter" (manga kisha), and though he had left *Weekly Box of Curios* over disputes with his American editor, his cartoons already showed the influence of the American "yellow press" (the same ones who furnished the Spanish-American War at William Randolph Hearst's direction), as well as of both Japanese and foreign cartoons of various stripes, including the British tradition he had learned from Nankivell.[22] In his politics he was an admirer of Fukuzawa Yukichi, and his views were presumably welcome at Fukuzawa's old newspaper.

It was one of the contradictions of elite Japanese nationalism at the time that its patriotism was entirely directed towards a vision of Japan as a modern, upright, civilized member of the international family of nations, which in practice meant the unceremonious jettisoning of almost all pre-Meiji Japanese cultural practices, from clothing to food to art and leisure. Conveniently and not coincidentally, Japan's embrace of (Western) modernity in this vision was also what gave it the moral imprimatur to colonize its backward Asian cousins, including China and Korea: the Sino-Japanese War had netted Japan its first overseas colony, Taiwan; Japan had participated in the movement to suppress the Boxer Rebellion in the Qing Empire alongside the Great Powers in 1900-01; and by this point Japan's colonization of Korea,

which it would declare a protectorate in 1905, deprive of its internal sovereignty in 1907, and officially annex in 1910, was well underway.

In this context, then, Rakuten's noted antipathy towards ponchie and the hybrid artistic practices it entailed begins to make more sense. By the eve of the Russo-Japanese War *Jiji* was, just barely, not the only newspaper using the term "manga" to refer to political cartoons (a Kobe newspaper had begun using the term in 1903), but ponchie was still widespread.[23] For Rakuten, ponchie was a debased (read: premodern, Japanese) medium that had to be transcended in the name of civilization and enlightenment, and the success of *Kokkei Shinbun* in particular evidently spurred him to think that he could be the one to do the transcending. In many ways, the story of manga is the story of successive successful revolutions mounted by young iconoclasts against the establishment: this was the first of them.

Rakuten found a publisher for his manga magazine in the company Yûrakusha, although they almost immediately clashed over what to call it: the publisher wanted the title to be *Tanuki*, after the uncouth animal trickster figure of Japanese folktales. Something so un-modern was abhorrent to Rakuten, and he eventually had his way in calling the magazine *Tokyo Puck*. The name was an explicit reference to the American humor magazine *Puck* (1871-1918), which had become wildly popular worldwide (three American and one British editions published weekly) due to its mixture of satirical content, including cartoons and caricatures. Rakuten had another reason for being familiar with *Puck*: Frank Arthur Nankivell had joined the magazine's staff in 1896. Back in Japan, *Tokyo Puck* was meant to signify a new age in Japanese satirical magazines, and it was indeed revolutionary: it was larger (B4 size), it was partly printed in color, and it was all manga.[24]

It was also wildly popular. *Tokyo Puck* was almost immediately a huge hit, and in quick succession it went from being released monthly to three times a month to accommodate demand: at the height of its success, the magazine was selling 60,000 copies a month. Twenty thousand copies per issue on average does not sound like a lot, but in early twentieth century Japan it was enough to earn Rakuten a huge income and make him a star cartoonist, the first person to make his living entirely from drawing manga.[25]

Heaven is a place on earth: The success of *Tokyo Puck*

It's an unfortunate truth of studying old media that it can be difficult to recover the feelings their initial audiences had upon first encountering them, and *Tokyo Puck* is no different. To a contemporary eye, the cover of the first issue, published during the Russo-Japanese War, appears to show Tsar Nicolas II attempting to fellate himself, but it's most likely that Rakuten was attempting to illustrate the phrase "hozo wo kamu" (literally, to bite the bellybutton), an idiom for "having bitter regrets," which presumably was an accurate description of the Tsar's situation after the Imperial Japanese Navy annihilated the famed Russian Baltic Fleet as part of Russian forces being generally trounced by the Japanese.[26] Although the cover is full color, it's difficult

to understand what exactly was so revolutionary about this magazine, which described itself in that same first issue as a “kaiga zasshi” (“illustrated magazine”), at first glance.

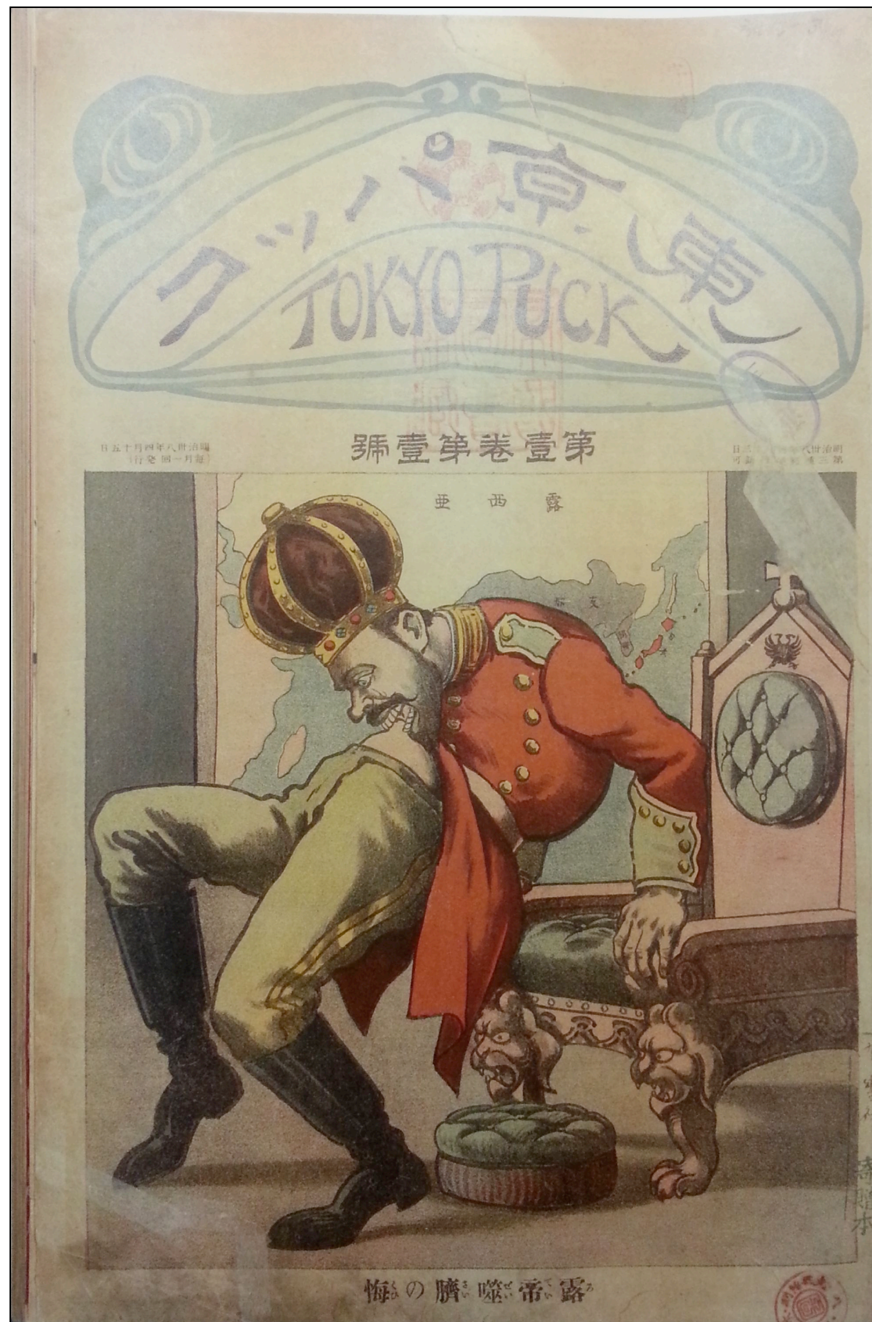

Fig. 5: Cover of the first issue of *Tokyo Puck* depicting Tsar Nicholas II.

When contemporary writers on manga seek to differentiate Japanese manga from (“mainstream”) American comics and Franco-Belgian bandes dessinées, they often talk about the use of color (manga is monochrome; comics and BD aren’t); the use of printed lettering in speech bubbles (comics and BD are hand-lettered); and, frequently, the style of paneling or the use of screen tones: because they’re colored, comics and BD don’t use

tones, and while there is much variation in paneling within all three media, manga paneling is generally much more freewheeling, to the point that manga frequently discards the gutter (the border at the edge of the page) for dramatic or other effects. These "special characteristics" of manga, like everything else about it, arose as the result of specific historical events that will be traced throughout the remainder of this book. In point of fact, a lot of manga was colored until approximately the 1950s; color printing was a huge draw for early 20th century publications worldwide, but it gradually receded from many of them as the century wore on. The more important question is paneling: how the page is divided into how many panels and how they relate to each other. The presence or absence of speech bubbles and whether the manga contains captions or dialogue are also important evolutionary markers, as is whether those panels were drawn in either a more "theatrical" or a more "cinematic" style: which is to say, whether the activity in the panel is oriented as if the viewer is gazing at a stage, or if it is oriented more as though the viewer is watching a movie.

In 1905 cinema was only ten years old, but it had been nearly 30 years since the pioneering photographer Eadweard Muybridge had taken precisely timed images of a horse galloping in succession and found that, as some people had wagered, all four of its hooves did leave the ground while it did so. More than settling a point about equine behavior, Muybridge's breakthrough stop-motion studies showed that continuous movement could be broken up into a series of still images and then recombined at speed in order to provide the illusion that one was watching that movement take place. These "motion pictures" developed into films by the 1890s in Europe. The development of film eventually had an epochal impact on the development of comics in general and manga in particular. In 1905, however, all that lay in the future, and Kitazawa Rakuten was still fighting the good fight merely to establish manga as a distinct artistic form that was not ponchie.

So where does *Tokyo Puck* fall according to the metrics outlined above? As previously mentioned, its covers were color, as were its lavish two page centerfolds and some of its interior pages. Many of its cartoons are one-panel, but when it does have multi-panel cartoons, they sometimes use panel numbering but sometimes don't. In terms of captions and dialogue, it's a very mixed bag: some cartoons have explanatory text inside the panels, others outside, and some both at once. Dialogue occurs on occasion but is only reported in text blocks inside the panel until November 1908, when speech bubbles with hand lettering appear for the first time.

The placement of text in particular is important in differentiating Rakuten's manga from ponchie, which like ukiyoe used explanatory blocks of text inside the panel: over the first few years of *Tokyo Puck* the text gradually became fixed outside the image and direct dialogue became more common inside it. Moreover, that text became increasingly multilingual, until by 1910 each issue routinely ran with editor's notes in three languages: Japanese, Chinese, and English. (Interestingly, the three editor's notes each usually say different things, rather than being translations of the same text.) Most of the cartoons were captioned in at least two of these three languages as well.

Multilingualism was partly a business strategy; Rakuten wanted to sell copies in Taiwan, Korea, and China, and the English made it more likely that Westerners would

read the magazine. They did, although sometimes with pernicious results: the American and German embassies complained to the Foreign Ministry about Rakuten's *Tokyo Puck* cartoons multiple times, and the Home Ministry banned single issues of the magazine on multiple occasions—a fact that Rakuten would always make a joke about in the next issue.[27]

The complaints and embargoes were a consequence of the magazine's popularity, which had two main drivers: first, Rakuten, in the words of manga historian Shimizu Isao, "made political cartoons interesting" by drawing recognizable likenesses of the political figures being satirized—again, this was a direct contrast to the obfuscatory visual strategies of ponchie. Secondl and most importantly, *Tokyo Puck* copied the centerpiece (pun intended) feature of *Puck*, namely its two-page, full-color centerfolds. Rakuten excelled at these "big screen" manga, and although about half of each issue of *Tokyo Puck* was done by his 35 assistants under his guidance (setting a precedent for manga labor structures that continues to this day), he always did the centerfolds personally.[28]

The centerfolds are invariably the most interesting parts of the magazine in terms of paneling and layouts, and they testify eloquently to Rakuten's skill. Although some were a single, large landscape panel, others were laid out like game boards, particularly the traditional illustrated board game sugoroku. (In fact *Tokyo Puck* appears to have started the prewar manga magazine practice of publishing sugoroku game boards in the New Year's issue for the family to play over the holidays.) But Rakuten also excelled at a kind of structure in which the page was divided into four quadrants with a central panel in the middle, often ovoid but sometimes of a more unusual shape (hearts, stars) that related to the centerfold's content. In one particularly clever centerfold from March 1908, "Tragedy of Magic Lantern," the central panel depicts the magic lantern that is projecting the image depicted in the top left quadrant.

Fig. 6: “Desertion of National Army,” *Tokyo Puck* centerfold from March 1908.

Other centerfolds in Rakuten’s *Tokyo Puck* career clearly show the influence of other media such as Georges Méliès’ short film *La Voyage Dans la Lune* (1902, A Voyage to the Moon), which was shown in Japan for the first time in 1905. Even Rakuten’s single, landscape centerfolds play with space in a very creative manner: a centerfold from March 1908 depicts a column of people walking out of the panel into the enlarged gutter (predicting that people will flee the country due to increased taxes like soldiers deserting due to poor treatment), while a November 1908 centerfold satirizing then-Minister of Communications Gôtô Shinpei uses the gutter to symbolize dreams and the image itself to depict reality, manipulating the space of the page to depict the interplay between them. Rakuten also frequently used space to represent time, more than once dividing the centerfold along a diagonal to depict before-and-after situations. As Shimizu Isao notes, although other magazines that launched around the same time as *Tokyo Puck* tried to copy Rakuten’s centerfolds, hoping to cash in on its success, few of them succeeded precisely because Rakuten was the best at it.[29]

Rakuten’s assistants on *Tokyo Puck* are an important part of the story of manga not just because they set the pattern for manga labor thereafter but also because many of them became the leading cartoonists of the next generation: rather than dictating slavish adherence to his own style, Rakuten allowed the assistants to each develop their own. Although, in the event, manga’s evolution was not driven by any of the “Tens”—in homage to Rakuten, most of his students adopted professional pen names containing

this element of his own pen name—they were nonetheless influential at the time, particularly after 1912 when Rakuten himself left the magazine.[30] The assistants also played an important part in making *Tokyo Puck* so international; according to one former assistant, the break room at *Tokyo Puck* contained cartoon magazines from the United States, United Kingdom, France, Italy, and Germany, and it was from those magazines that the *Puck* staff got the idea for speech bubbles and multi-panel comics, as well as (on occasion) subject matter for specific cartoons.[31] Speech bubbles and multi-panel comics, introduced from abroad via *Tokyo Puck*, became important characteristics of manga later on.

"*Tokyo Puck* has created its own competitors": Influence and its discontents

Tokyo Puck, then, was influential in a number of ways: content, artistic practices, labor models, and also just the fact that it was so popular all meant that it inspired a number of imitators, or reinvigorated pre-existing competitors. Rakuten's magazine inspired many similar periodicals with *Puck* in their titles, of which two are of particular interest in terms of the history of manga in general. The first of these, *Osaka Puck*, was founded in Osaka in 1906, and lasted for 43 years in print.[32] Like *Tokyo Puck*, *Osaka Puck* was formed around a Western-style artist, in this case one Akamatsu Rinsaku (1878-1953). Like Rakuten, Akamatsu is said to have drafted his students into being his assistants on the magazine, which directly copied *Tokyo Puck*'s format, appearance, and number of issues per month; it was two sen cheaper (10 instead of 12), a difference probably attributable to varying costs of living. But *Osaka Puck* did differ from its predecessor in important ways. As Shimizu Isao notes, *Tokyo Puck* was a magazine published in Japan's political center and aimed at the central government and international audiences, while *Osaka Puck* was a local outlet whose attitude towards national politics was much more that of a bystander. Befitting its Kansai origins, *Osaka Puck* was also much more plainspoken than Rakuten would ever have condoned in *Tokyo Puck*, and it tapped into a local tradition of blunt humor (this was also the age in which Osaka-style manzai comedy was supplanting all other local manzai traditions) that sustained it and other satirical publications of the day such as *Kokkei Shinbun*.[33]

Another important spawn of *Tokyo Puck* was the short-lived *Shônen Puck*, which began publication in 1907 and ceased some time after 1910. Its editor was Kawabata Ryûshi (1885-1966), a former minion of Rakuten at *Tokyo Puck*, and it styled itself as the first manga magazine for children. (Note the assumption that "shonen", "boy," can and does represent "children" in general; this point will be crucial later.) Newspaper manga written for children dated back to "Chame to Dekobô" (Brown Eyes and Beetle-Brow, or Playfulness and Mischief), which Rakuten began in *Jiji Manga* in 1902. Combining and deepening the influence of *Tokyo Puck* with that of its international fellows, Kawabata's work on *Shônen Puck* was profoundly influenced by the British children's comics weekly *Puck*: he directly redrew at least one *Puck* comic outright, and frequently copied discrete visual elements wholesale. Continuing in the *Tokyo Puck* tradition, *Shônen Puck* also had multipanel comics, generally about eight panels each, and 10 of its

24 pages were multicolor printed.[34] In what proved to be one of its most influential innovations, it also featured a reader participation corner, which featured children's letters to the editor from all over the empire.

In his book *Manga tanjô*: *Taishô democracy kara no shuppatsu* (1999, The birth of manga: Its origins in Taisho democracy), Shimizu Isao claims that *Shônen Puck* failed because it was "too early" in that it was a periodical aimed at a market (children) that did not yet exist.[35] This claim, however, seems questionable in light of the fact that *Shônen Puck* began well after the first *Shônen Kurabu* (founded 1897), *Shônen* (founded 1902), and *Shônen Sekai* (1895-1914, Boys' World), all children's literature periodicals. *Shônen Sekai* was the second most popular magazine in 1897 after *Taiyô*, with a regular circulation of 85,000 copies. Its sister publication, *Shôjo Sekai* (Girls' World), was founded in 1906, the year before *Shônen Puck*, and ran for 25 years.[36] Moreover, in the same years in which *Shônen Puck* struggled and ultimately failed, *Shôjo Sekai* was selling 150,000-200,000 copies *per issue.*[37] These magazines were marketed to middle-school students (although in practice they were read by a wide range of people, as will be seen), and their success makes it hard to argue that *Shônen Puck*'s demise was due to that market's immaturity. If anything, it was clearly the elementary school market that was underdeveloped: the publisher Hakubunkan had introduced a magazine called *Yônen Sekai* (Children's World) in 1900, but it had folded the same year. By contrast the illustrated *Yônen Gahô* (Children's Illustrated News), founded in 1906, lasted until at least 1923.[38] In light of these developments, it seems equally likely that *Shônen Puck*'s demise was connected either to personal factors or to changes in the publishing environment after 1910.[39]

At the end of the Meiji period publishers were making many changes to their printing and distribution models. One important innovation was the practice of selling magazines on consignment; *Fujin Sekai* (Housewife's World) became the first magazine to be sold this way in 1909, and during the Taisho era (1912-26), it became the standard practice across the industry. Inducing distribution outlets to take on a greater share of the financial risk associated with publishing products enabled the publishing companies to operate on a more stable footing and to ensure their own profitability. Another important development was the implementation of a fixed price scheme for printed materials nationwide, which brought some of that same stability to distributors and bookstores by encouraging cooperation—and enforcing compliance—among members: seven distributors and 37 publishers formed the Tokyo Magazine Association in 1914, while 252 bookstore owners had separately and previously formed the Tokyo Magazine Sellers' Association, which changed its name to the Japan Magazine Association in the same year. Three years earlier, the Tokyo Print Workers' Association had formed from the merger of the lithographic and typographic printers' unions, enabling printers and publishers to regularize wages and labor costs, respectively.[40]

The end of the Meiji period also witnessed political changes in the publishing environment, most of which could be traced back to the so-called High Treason Incident of 1910-11. In this infamous case, also known as the Kôtoku Incident after the famous anarchist who was ensnared in it, police in Nagano prefecture found evidence of what they claimed was a leftist plot to assassinate the emperor in May 1910. Six people were

arrested initially, including the famous anarchist Kôtoku Shûsui and his former common-law wife, feminist anarchist Kanno Suga, and the ensuing nationwide roundup of leftists eventually resulted in 26 people standing trial in a closed court on charges of intending harm to the Emperor on highly circumstantial evidence. Twenty-four were sentenced to death by hanging in January 1911, of which twelve sentences were suspended by imperial rescript and twelve, including Kôtoku and Kanno's, were carried out on 24 January 1911.

The High Treason Incident was the first of many "incidents" in imperial Japan in which security forces were only too happy to take advantage of unforeseen contingencies in order to eliminate people they deemed enemies of the state, either directly through murder or indirectly through the courts. Its impact in larger society was profound. The Japanese press had never been free, but in the two decades since the grant of the Constitution it had grown accustomed to a certain amount of room in which to express itself. The High Treason Incident, however, was the beginning of a gradual narrowing of that room for expression, starting with political topics, and its chilling effects were felt immediately in the realm of political manga. Some of this censorship was self-imposed, particularly at the beginning; other aspects of it were matters of law, especially after 1920, when the prosecution of Tokyo Imperial University professor Morito Tatsuo for publishing an article critical of anarchist Peter Kropotkin set a precedent that effectively criminalized any discussion of ideas that the authorities didn't like.

At this point at the end of the Meiji period (the emperor died in 1912), "manga" as a term was gaining increasing currency, but it was still heavily associated with Rakuten, *Tokyo Puck*, and *Jiji Shinpô* and was by no means universal. *Tokyo Puck* itself had already begun to change from its initial full-color, image-heavy incarnation: beginning in 1909 with the introduction of single-tone line illustrations inside issues, the magazine gradually became more and more text-heavy and color became increasingly rationed. Politically speaking, the magazine also changed; surveying the content of the cartoons in *Tokyo Puck* after the High Treason Incident, Shimizu Isao found that after the executions the magazine muted its political satire and thereby its power.[41] These changes cannot have sat well with Rakuten, and Shimizu speculates that they contributed to Rakuten's decision to leave the magazine in 1912 after the publisher lowered wages for seven people. Rakuten attempted to capitalize on his *Tokyo Puck* fame and started two separate magazines of his own, but both of them failed and within two years he was back on staff at *Jiji Shinpô*.[42] Rakuten and *Tokyo Puck* were no longer at the cutting edge of the manga world, and *Tokyo Puck* itself shut down in 1915.

Chapter Two: Arresting the Fleeting Moment: Manga Turns Modern

Okamoto Ippei: Facing life

The person who did set the fashion in the manga world after Rakuten's departure from *Tokyo Puck* was a young artist named Okamoto Ippei (1886-1948). Born in Hokkaido, Okamoto graduated from art school in Tokyo in 1910 and went to work for the *Asahi Shinbun* as a manga kisha in 1912 thanks to an introduction from the writer Natsume Sôseki. Though they had broadly similar artistic backgrounds and were only ten years apart in age, Rakuten and Ippei's manga proved to be very different in very consequential ways.

At this point a brief detour into the history of "panel art" (komae or komaga) is necessary. It's difficult to completely pin down any illustration terminology used in this period, as everything was to some extent negotiable and terms used could change rapidly. Nonetheless, after the decline of the popularity of *Maruchin* in the late 1880s, an illustration style evolved in newspapers and magazines (and it's worth remembering that the two were not well differentiated until the end of the Taisho period) that was typically called komae or komaga. Unlike the political manga of Imaizumi and *Jiji*, which Rakuten took over and made famous, komaga was relatively free of narrative content: it was one panel that was meant to stand alone, independent from an accompanying article, and be timely.[43] Precisely because it did not rely on captions or dialogue within the frame to get its point across, komaga at times could be somewhat more subversive than Rakuten's manga, which wore its politics on its sleeve and on occasion was consequently banned for it. Shimizu cites the komaga of the artist Kosugi

Misei aka Kosugi Hôan (1881-1964), done for the magazine *Kinji Gahô* during the Russo-Japanese War, as an example of this capacity: though they are ostensibly only reportage, the illustrations are anything but pro-war.[44]

When he started at *Asahi Shinbun* Okamoto Ippei went in for this kind of art rather than for Rakuten-style biting political satire. Partly this choice may have been a question of temperament; even from what scanty material survives, it's hard to avoid the impression that Rakuten and Ippei never much cared for each other, and they were certainly very different personalities. But it's also clearly a statement of the times they lived in: Rakuten was fifteen when the Constitution took effect, whereas Ippei was five, and Rakuten and his Meiji contemporaries were simply more critical of the government than someone who was born to Japanese colonists in Hokkaido, as Ippei was, and who was still a child when Japan embarked on its imperial endeavor in 1895. And in the world of Japanese media after the High Treason Incident, it was simply much easier to get along if one avoided political commentary altogether.

Ippei quickly developed his own style of illustration that he dubbed "manga manbun." Manga manbun essentially combined the strengths of komaga and Rakuten manga in that it consisted of a one-panel illustration in the komaga style with a long, witty caption attached. But it had several distinctive characteristics compared to Rakuten manga: first and most importantly, the butt of Ippei's satire was not the government or politicians, but rather people in general, their habits, foibles, and increasingly nontraditional, modern behaviors and customs. The early Taisho period saw the beginning of what historian Miriam Silverberg aptly dubbed "Japanese modern times," and in this era of accelerating urbanization, consumerism, and social stratification, there was quite a lot to satirize, particularly in Tokyo, the increasingly glitzy center of it all.

The interesting thing about manga manbun is that it fails every kind of manga litmus test other than "is it called manga?" By the criteria outlined earlier, manga manbun is clearly not manga: although its captions are printed rather than hand-lettered, it contains no dialogue, it is only one panel and it does not use the space of the gutter as such at all: rather than the theater or a movie, it tends to look like a work of contemporary avant garde art, albeit done in black and white. And in abandoning both color and Rakuten's acid political focus, Ippei's manga was also very much breaking the mold of what "manga" meant at the time.

But none of this mattered, because it was wildly popular, and from the relatively tame beginnings of manga manbun Ippei went on to revolutionize manga. His choice to use the term "manga" to describe his manga manbun and his later works also most likely saved manga itself: it was in the Taisho period that "manga" began to displace ponchie and other terms for cartoons such as shibae, and by the early Showa period (1926-89), it was used exclusively to describe them.[45] The popularity of Ippei's manga was almost certainly the reason that manga did edge out other words to become the term for this general category of sequential art in Japan rather than fading into obscurity with the decline of Rakuten and *Tokyo Puck*'s popularity in the early Taisho period.

Manga manbun induced cartoonists to add witty captions to their panels, but it was what Ippei did after he developed manga manbun that was truly influential for the development of manga as a whole: beginning on June 4, 1914, he began bringing film expression into manga with his first “film manga” (eiga manga). By 1916, an Ippei film manga consisted of one story stretched to 50 or 100 panels with shorter text appended between them, and this form too was hugely popular.[46] It didn’t hurt that film, which had been introduced to Japan in 1896 but which really began to take off after the Russo-Japanese War, was increasingly popular and was also beginning to be considered “modern.”

A word or two of background is necessary at this point, both due to the close relationship between manga and film that evolved thereafter and due to the important ways in which the histories of cartoons and of film in Japan are comparable. When cinema was introduced to Japan, as film historian Aaron Gerow explains in *Visions of Japanese Modernity*, it was treated not as inherently foreign, Western, or modern, but simply as another form of spectacle, an entertaining thing to watch (misemono).[47] Just as the earliest films in the United States and Europe were shown as part of the programs at vaudeville shows or (via kinetoscopes and the like) as one of multiple attractions in amusement arcades like Coney Island, film in Japan before the 1910s was not marked out as special or separate but was naturalized as merely another kind of entertaining performance.

The performative aspect of film in Japan is key: early films were of course silent, and to keep audiences who couldn’t read the foreign language intertitles hooked, film promoters in Japan developed the institution of the benshi. Benshi were, literally, narrators of films: before and even into the era of talkies, benshi would live interpret movies in the theaters for the audience, often inventing their own sound effects. (Recall that before the advent of talkies, movie scores in the United States were provided by live, in-house improvisational accompanists, usually on piano.) Early Japanese movie theaters included podiums from which benshi would be elevated above the crowds to one side of the screen, placing the benshi at the same level of importance as the movie itself. And before the rise of “pure film” discourse in Japan created the director-as-auteur and actors-and-actresses-as-stars, benshi were celebrities in their own right.[48]

With this background in mind, it’s possible to grasp what it means to say of Ippei’s eiga manga that the rhythm of the appended texts in between the panels is very much that of a benshi interpreting the action of a movie, with dramatic pauses for emphasis and effect.[49] If Rakuten in his *Tokyo Puck* centerfolds pioneered dramatic and dynamic interactions between panel and gutter, Ippei’s eiga manga pioneered dynamic interactions between image and text.

Manga manbun and eiga manga alone would have cemented Ippei’s legacy, but he was truly just getting started. In 1915 he, Rakuten, and other leading cartoonists formed Japan’s first manga organization, the Tokyo Mangakai, with the goals of friendship, information exchange, and publicizing the job of manga kisha or mangaka to prospective cartoonists. Manga organizations of various kinds have since played a key role in the history of manga at various points, and the Tokyo Mangakai set an important precedent not only in its formation but in its hitting on the idea of a “mangasai” or a

"manga fest," a self-produced magazine, to further its goals. The members of the TMK did one every summer from 1915 to 1923, when the group disbanded and reformed as the Nihon Mangakai.[50]

Cartooning is a demanding job, and there have been very few technological improvements over its 120-odd-year history that have actually saved any labor at the beginning of the production process, which is to say, the cartoonist herself drawing the cartoon. (Moreover, when labor-saving innovations have been applied to the creator, they have been just as likely to reduce wages as to make the job easier, with the result that in the long run little if any work is eliminated.[51]) Given the physically demanding nature of the job, the Tokyo Mangakai's first stated goal for its existence being to promote friendship among its members was less a matter of sentiment than of sanity. As Ian Condry says of animation production in *The Soul of Anime*, "A tremendous amount of work is required, with painstaking attention to detail, to create *each frame* of film (or, at least, multiple frames per second). It's a crazy idea."[52] Animation and cartoons are closely related, and both would be difficult if not impossible to do in total isolation. In this context, it's easy to take the fact that the cartoonists who contributed to Ippei's short-lived magazine *Tobae*, which he started in 1916, each signed their names to their cartoons (in contrast to the standard practice in *Tokyo Puck*) as a sign of their increasing consciousness of themselves as creators.[53]

By 1915 there were actually quite a few cartoonists in Tokyo. As previously mentioned, the meteoric popularity of *Tokyo Puck* ten years prior had created a generation of would-be cartoonists, and Rakuten had taken many of them on as students and assistants on *Tokyo Puck*. Happily for their long-term career prospects, by the beginning of the Taisho period the number of people who could read at the newspaper level had grown quite large, with the result that the number of newspapers in Japan increased accordingly, and almost every newspaper had at least one manga kisha on staff, all men.[54]

All that being said, one thing to bear in mind is that Ippei manga, arising as it did out of a totally different lineage of illustration and cartooning, looked almost nothing like "manga" as it was understood by Rakuten and his followers—but this, crucially, was evidently not a problem. Despite the popularity of *Tokyo Puck* and its imitators, "manga" was still not the only term for political cartoons or satirical images, regardless of Rakuten's ideas about definitions. The early manga kisha, rather than argue endlessly with each other about definitions or seek to exclude Ippei and his works, simply took his association of his manga manbun with earlier Rakuten manga at face value, regardless of the fact that they looked nothing alike. "Manga" was, evidently, a fairly elastic term and a fairly broad discursive field that could and did embrace a wide range of quite different styles and practices under its umbrella. In the 1920s, that umbrella opened even wider.

Yes, I can see now: More manga

Unlike previous wars in imperial Japan's experience, World War I, the Great War, which Japan entered in 1914 as an ally of Britain, actually caused not a manga boom but

a manga bust: both *Tokyo Puck* and *Rakuten Puck* shut down in 1915. It was a tough environment for Rakuten-style political manga; patriotism was running high, particularly since the economy was booming and the imperial Japanese military had seized Germany's colonies in Asia with virtually no fighting, handily enlarging the empire still further. (Both the port of Qingdao and German Micronesia were retained by Japan in the Peace of Versailles, the latter in the guise of League of Nations mandates.) In this case, moreover, manga and the Japanese economy went in opposite directions: Japan made a lot of money during the war selling munitions and replacing European-manufactured or -imported goods with its own on the world market. After the armistice in 1918 brought the fighting in Europe to an end, the economy promptly went into a depression as Japan shifted back to a peacetime footing and European countries began to re-enter the markets. But Japan recovered quickly, and the end of the Great War actually witnessed a manga boom: *Tokyo Puck* was revived in 1919, and many other magazines were founded in the early 1920s.[55]

Though it had only been fifteen years since the founding of *Tokyo Puck*, the magazine looked very different in its second incarnation that it did in its first, and other magazines of this era shared many of the same visual features. *Tokyo Puck* in particular also bore witness to the retreat of color from the interior of publications over the course of the decade: although color was by no means over, and many magazines retained truly beautiful full-cover frontispiece illustrations and initial sections, publications were increasingly likely to publish in the much cheaper three-color scheme or entirely in black and white. The new *Tokyo Puck* looked very different from its earlier self, with much more interior text, far fewer interior illustrations (and none in color), and far fewer cartoon- or comics-style images. Its increasing number of advertisements also employed different drawing styles than the fine art-style illustrations themselves.[56]

A rising tide lifts all boats, and things were looking good enough that in 1921 Rakuten jumped ship again to become the editor-in-chief of the independently owned *Jiji Manga*, Japan's first manga Sunday supplement. Rakuten had actually taken a leaf out of Ippei's book and founded his own mangakai, the Manga Kôrakkai, in 1918 to find talented students, and though he began *Jiji Manga* drawing all of the key art himself, within nine months his old student Ogawa Jihei (1887-1925) was helping him, and by 1922 they were working as co-editors. *Jiji Manga*, which officially bore the title *Jiji Shinpô* until December 1923, is an interesting evolution of the *Tokyo Puck* concept for an age of increasing newspaper readership: at the beginning about half of any given issue was in fact photo spreads and collages, hinting at the fact that at this point "manga" could and did mean "images" or "illustrations" rather than just "cartoons" or "comics." The covers typically consisted of a main illustration with a four-panel manga superimposed on it, although in time that inset manga was more and more frequently replaced by inset advertising. The manga in the interior of the newspaper-format periodical contained numbered panels and direct dialogue within them, but very few speech bubbles: Rakuten seems to have used them mostly to ensure that text could be distinguished in very complicated or dark panels.

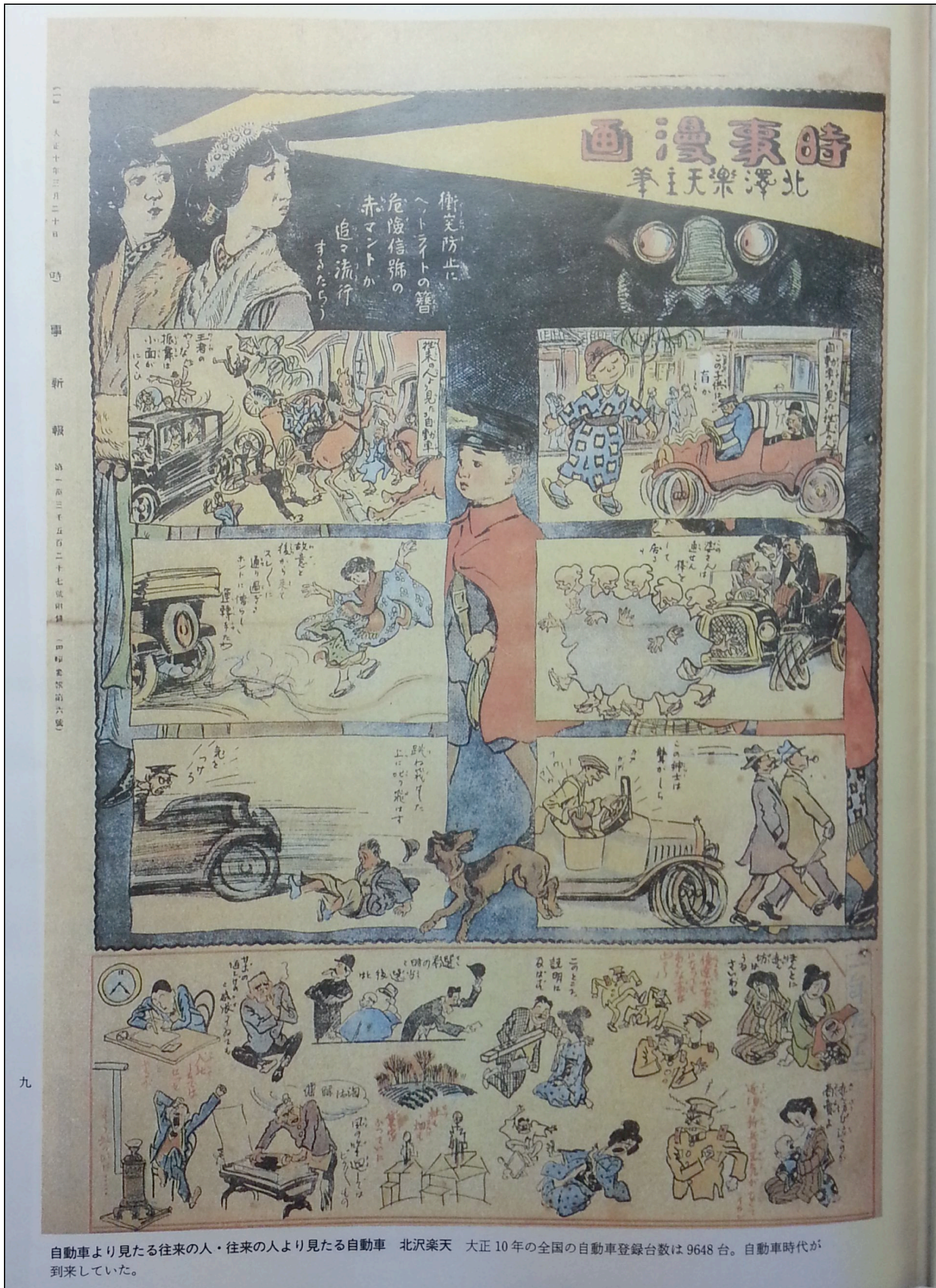

Fig. 7: Cover of *Jiji Manga* depicting women menaced by motorcars, 20 March 1921.

After Ogawa officially became co-editor the publication itself became more newsy, with manga shrinking to two interior pages plus the cover illustration. Moreover, that news itself was distinctly tabloid-ish, with lots of content devoted to celebrities such as movie stars and royalty (including the Taisho empress and the Prince of Wales, the future uncrowned Edward VIII, who made a breathlessly covered state visit to Japan in 1922). In a sign of the continuing expansion of "manga" spearheaded by Ippei, moreover, *Jiji* incorporated new forms not seen in Rakuten's first heyday, including vertical panel manga with a film strip border, a form that became increasingly common in manga magazines, and in 1924, a photo manga starring a Kewpie doll that is decidedly creepy but also formally innovative in that it mimics the principle of film frames, i.e. the breakdown of motion, and action, into individual static component images.

The increase in the number of manga magazines was not merely a function of the beginning of Japanese modern times, although it was certainly related to that: by 1921 the so-called "big five" Tokyo newspapers had doubled their daily circulation to 400,000 copies, and that same voracious readership was equally likely to turn to magazines for its dose of what we would now call content.[57] But the growth in manga magazines in particular was also a response to the problem of the labor situation for manga creators in Tokyo: to wit, although Okamoto Ippei had, like Rakuten a decade prior, inspired many bright-eyed young men (and they were apparently all men) to become manga artists, Rakuten's groupies were already occupying all of the jobs and the Ippei groupies had no way to fulfill their art school dreams of gainful employment. Any good capitalist will tell you, however, that when a market is saturated you need to either find or to create new markets, and led by Ippei, that is exactly what they did.

Naturally it was Ippei himself who pioneered what became the most important of these new kinds of manga, namely kodomo manga or manga for children. Beginning in 1916, Ippei published a number of influential kodomo manga in the *Asahi* and elsewhere, apparently because there were no good manga for his son Okamoto Tarô (1911-96), the famous painter and sculptor, to read. The Okamoto family set another manga milestone in 1921 with the publication of "Toshio no mita mono" (What Toshio Saw) in the *Asahi*; Ippei did the art while his wife, the novelist and poet Okamoto Kanoko (1889-1939), wrote the story, making her the first female manga writer.[58]

Rakuten picked up kodomo manga in *Jiji Shinpô* in the same year, and from this point kodomo manga really began to take off through the increasingly popular form of newspaper manga publications. Although Ippei had in his own estimation largely withdrawn from the manga scene by that point, the following year he took Miyao Shigeo (1902-82) on as a student, and Miyao's first "Manga Tarô" was published in the *Tokyo Maiyû Shinbun* in that same year. The highly influential "Shô-chan no bôken" (Shô-chan's adventure), chronicling the exploits of a boy named Shô in the company of an alarmingly large talking squirrel, was serialized in the *Asahi Graph* in the first nine months of 1923, and in that same year the first manga magazine aimed exclusively at children, *Kodomo Puck*, began publication. The illustrator Takehisa Yumeji (1884-1934), whose works and style later had a huge influence on girls' culture and early shojo

manga, and other latterly famous figures were involved with its production, and it achieved a high standard of art not easily equaled by other magazines.

Kodomo manga represented an expansion of the term "manga" far beyond the very limited sense of political satire that Rakuten had initially popularized, and in many ways, given later developments, it marked a true turning point in the history of the medium's development. But there were other things happening in manga in the early 1920s that proved equally consequential in different ways, and at that point there was no indicator that any of these innovations would prove more influential than the others. Turning points only turn in retrospect.

Jiji Manga is notable not just because it had Rakuten's name on the masthead but because it pioneered an enduring publication concept that became a distinct strain of manga in its own right. Known as "newspaper (shinbun) manga," this big-tent manga phenomenon brought manga into the household by featuring something for everyone, including for children after Rakuten adopted kodomo manga into *Jiji* in 1922. Newspaper manga also saw the first appearances of distinct characters in manga in Japan, both in the form of translated comics from abroad and in native-grown serials, many of them invented by Rakuten himself. Equally importantly for manga's later development, newspaper manga made manga a household object and introduced a generation of children to comics. The immediate success of *Jiji* bred imitation in the already established industry pattern, and many of the new manga publications in the 1920s more or less copied its format and content mix directly.

Ippei was by no means finished with his personal revolution of the form. In 1921 he began (but didn't finish until 1925) the serialization of what he called a shôsetsu manga (novel manga) in the *Asahi.* As with many other prewar terms, shôsetsu manga could mean different things to different people, but for Ippei it meant a long narrative in which image and text (which were separated by the boundary of the panel) bore equal narrative weight. In the hands of other creators, shôsetsu manga became, essentially, illustrated novels; Ippei, Rakuten, and many others would turn their hands to illustrating first-rank literature in this manner before the end of the decade. In the continuation of his shôsetsu manga, published in *Joshikai* in 1923-25, Ippei also introduced closeups and long shots to the vocabulary of manga expression.[59]

The form of shôsetsu manga was hugely influential. It was picked up by people like Miyao Shigeo for his *Manga Tarô* comics, and it is the format in which Shô-chan and the squirrel had their adventures, among many others. Although by current standards the unrelenting rhythm of panel/text, panel/text, panel/text is quite boring, at the time it felt—and was—fresh and exciting, particularly since artists were free to choose which moment from the text to depict in each panel, as well as how to do so. Looking at manga from this era often feels like strolling through a gallery in the modern wing of an art museum, and the individual panels of manga in the shosetsu style are often very fine examples of current art trends in miniature.

To 1928

One of the other important trends in manga after the war was the rise of what was immediately dubbed "nonsense manga." Nansensu, along with its counterparts ero (erotic) and guro (grotesque), was one of the watchwords of the age, particularly after the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, and it quickly became so ubiquitous as to lose most of its specificity. But as Miriam Silverberg argued, in its original usage it connoted "a political, ironic humor that took on such themes as the transformations wrought by a modernity dominated by Euro-American mores," and in manga it was basically the heir to Ippei's manga manbun.[60] Its rise was coincident with and enabled by the expansion of newspaper manga, and in the pages of the *Asahi Graph* in the same year of the epochal earthquake, it found its natural format in newspapers: the four-panel manga.

The three-panel comic was a staple of newspaper comics sections worldwide for most of the twentieth century, and it endures in this fallen digital age of screens in many a webcomic, but even bread and butter had to be invented at some point. In the case of comics in Japan, along with much else in this era, its precursor the four-panel format was introduced from abroad, specifically directly from George McManus' strip *Bringing Up Father* (1913-2000), popularly known as "Jiggs and Maggie" after its two main characters.[61] *Bringing Up Father* was serialized in the *Asahi* in its four-panel format as "Jiggs and Maggie" before the earthquake, then under the name *Oyaji Kyôiku* in a weekly one-page format afterwards. In both cases it was translated by an assistant editor and lettered in Japanese by another manga kisha for five yen a pop.[62]

It was, moreover, a big hit. The first native four-panel comic was printed in November 1923, two months after the earthquake, and translated Euro-American comics saw their heyday in the era of Japanese modern times. To be sure, they were not a new phenomenon; *Shô-chan*'s squirrel companion was directly inspired by the British comic *Pip, Squeak, and Wilfred*, and other translated comics had run in various Japanese periodicals before the earthquake. *Osaka Puck* was reprinting cartoons from the British magazines *Kinema Comic* and *Comic Life* by 1922, and in 1920 the magazine reprinted comics from the British weekly *Comic Cuts* at least once.[63]

The difference, however, was that the vast majority of these comics' appearances in Japan before the earthquake were wildcat, which is to say, unauthorized and pirated. But the international syndicates that owned the comics caught on eventually and began to demand licensing payments—which is not to say that piracy ceased. Although some comics were legally licensed to be published in Japan, many others were not; the first run of *Blondie*, for instance, which ended with the title character putting aside her flapper lifestyle to marry her upper class beau Dagwood (much to his family's displeasure), was entirely pirated. The *Tokyo Nichinichi* newspaper was a particularly notable locus of piracy and popularity, including *Polly and Her Pals*, *Henry*, and *Happy Hooligan*, the latter of which also appeared officially under a bilingual title in Rakuten's *Jiji Manga*.[64]

In the second half of the 1920s *Jiji Manga* became a reliable source of translated comics; *Happy Hooligan* (1900-32) was replaced in 1925 by *Mr. Dough and Mr. Dubb!*, who resemble two of the Marx Brothers quite strongly. Both comics were created by

Frederick Burr Opper (1857-1937), a *Puck* veteran who became one of the pioneers of newspaper comics in America from the beginning of the twentieth century. *Happy Hooligan* is notable not only because it was the first comic to consistently use speech bubbles, but also for the high probability that its hobo protagonist was one of the inspirations for Charlie Chaplin's beloved character The Tramp—certainly in the strips published in Japan, the resemblance between the two is almost uncanny. *Happy* returned to *Jiji* in 1927, by which point the magazine consisted mostly of visuals: only two pages with column text remained in any one issue, which made a notable change from its beginnings and which definitely owed a lot to its reformatting to a magazine-style size and binding after the earthquake in 1923. Although the line between them was still quite blurry, newspapers and magazines were steadily diverging by this point in time.

There are several points to take away from this phenomenon of translated comics. The first and perhaps the most obvious is that, in an era in which cartoonists still did not routinely sign their names to their work, it was possible that Japanese readers did not automatically realize that these nonsense manga had originated abroad. (Particularly in pirated versions of nonsense manga, it is difficult if not impossible to make out the syndicate copyright information that betrays their status as foreign.) The question of origins, however, made no difference to nonsense manga's popularity, which leads to the other point that bears emphasizing: urban mass culture in Japan had reached the point of being in many ways casually indistinguishable from urban mass culture in cities such as New York, London, Paris, and Berlin. By the 1920s, denizens of these metropolises had much more in common with each other than they did with their rural peripheries, and manga—comics—were part of that shared experience.

It would be a mistake to think that this shared modernity meant that all things foreign were equally welcome in Japan at this point, however. More than one scholar has argued that the Great Kanto Earthquake and the response to it mark an inflection point in terms of imperial Japan's attitude towards the West, with the xenophobic hysteria of the immediate aftermath, in which some six to ten thousand Koreans and others mistaken for Koreans (all of whom were themselves imperial subjects) were murdered in Tokyo and Yokohama in the week following the earthquake by mob violence or at the hands of the security forces, complemented in the years and months that followed by a steadily escalating turn away from the West and inward towards Japan and Japan's Asian empire. The cultural handwringing over the Modern Girl after 1925 is a case in point: as Miriam Silverberg pointed out, mainstream male commentators made much of the Modern Girl's non-Japaneseness to defuse the threat that real modern girls posed to patriarchal structures in Japan, in a classic bait-and-switch.[65] Manga magazines reflect this gradual narrowing of focus quite clearly in that more and more of them shed their bilingual features after the earthquake, beginning with *Osaka Puck* axing its English-language editor's notes (though not its image captions) in the second issue after the quake.[66] Similarly, although *Happy Hooligan* returned to *Jiji* in 1927, by January 1928 it was no longer printed with any English text—Opper's name was written in katakana.[67]

But while this pattern certainly holds in terms of the upper echelons of politics and high culture, it would be a mistake to equate those elites with the members of the urban crowd, the cafe waitresses and Modern Girls and moviegoers who were the subject and audience of what Silverberg and others have called "vernacular modernism." In many cases, as shall be seen, these people refused to let go of the modern until well into the 1930s or even later, and often did so only when compelled to do so by the authorities. The florescence of translated comics in manga magazines after the earthquake is ample evidence that at the popular level appetite for such content had, if anything, only increased.

The other major point to emphasize is the expansion of the term "manga." At this point it was becoming a very big tent, as the huge variation in an August 1926 issue of *Jiji Manga* makes clear: Mr. Dough and Mr. Dubb, speech bubbles and all, are followed by a two-page spread of cartoons produced in Japan, which number the panels and which have no speech bubbles and handwriting all over the page. (At this point translated versions of Opper's comics often used printed lettering, although the Japanese typographical convention that dictated line breaks at significant syntactic units for ease of reading had not yet emerged.) Moreover, *Jiji* itself only represented a smaller portion of what manga at this time was and could be; spurred by Ippei's expansion of the form to encompass all manner of subjects beyond politics, cartoonists in Japan in the 1920s understood the term "manga" to encompass a wide variety of subject matter and styles, each of which was defined with often bewildering attention to the niceties of detail.

The field was both summarized and legitimized by the publication in 1928 of the ten-volume anthology *Gendai manga taikan* (Contemporary manga survey), which was an attempt to simultaneously legitimize manga as an art form, to introduce the full scope of its range to as wide a public as possible, and to tell a particular story about manga's origins and development. In many ways this anthology marks the high point of prewar manga, and it's worth exploring in depth what it says about what manga had achieved in the 23 years since *Tokyo Puck*.

Gendai manga taikan and the manga modern

The *Gendai manga taikan* was published by one Taguchi Kyôjirô, who had founded the publishing company Chuô Bijutsusha in 1915 and who evidently got the idea for the anthology from working with the 18 cartoonists of the Tokyo Mangakai to produce a "Manga 53 Stations of the Tôkaidô Road" (a play on the famous Hokusai series of ukiyoe prints) before the earthquake.[68] Despite the fact that this was Japan's first manga anthology, in this commercially-minded age Taguchi was making a rather shrewd prediction about the state of the manga market rather than a gamble: it was the age of the "enpon" (one yen book) boom, and the anthology was a huge hit, although it did not sell as many copies as the complete collection (zenshû) of Okamoto Ippei's manga that was released in several volumes beginning the following year. The Ippei zenshû eventually sold 50,000 sets, inspiring Kitazawa Rakuten to also publish his own

collected works in a projected twelve volumes—of which only nine were ever actually released due to weak sales.[69]

The anthology's ten volumes were each devoted to a different topic and/or style of manga: contemporary social manga; great works of literature; history of Meiji and Taisho; children's manga; humor literature; "Eastern and Western manga"; a tour of Japan; different kinds of jobs; the world of women; and finally, collected contemporary Japanese manga. What makes the anthology a key site at which to examine the history of manga is not just that it sold well, but the division of content into these volumes and what individual editors, themselves the leading cartoonists of the day, said about manga in their editor's notes and in their editorial choices. The anthology itself turns out to be one of the important ways in which a certain discourse about the history of manga was consolidated and promulgated, but it also differs in important ways from that discourse as it was later streamlined and taken as natural.

The anthology was reprinted sans Okamoto Ippei's manga in 2010, and the materials included with the reprint edition contain a pamphlet announcing the publication of the original series in 1928. According to these marketing materials, modern life is suffocating, but the one way to deal with it is laughter, and the world of manga is that medicine. So, the publishers are bringing out the series to be a comfort to readers.[70]

Laughter appears as the function and justification of manga in a lot of discourse about the form in these years, often with an emphasis on the physical act of laughing itself that recalls Miriam Silverberg's pointing to the gesture as an important, if difficult to trace, site of politics in Japanese modern times.[71] Over and over manga is described as kokkei (humorous), and being humorous is one of the most important positive qualities any given manga could have. The act of laughter (warau koto) and manga's power to make readers laugh became increasingly important in the 1930s, with popular mangaka insisting on it as one of manga's most important virtues even as the authorities in various arms of the Home Ministry viewed that very power with increasing suspicion. But it was already much remarked upon even in the 1920s, and cartoonists appear to have viewed the question of laughter as one of the most salient features distinguishing manga from other forms of painting and art. Okamoto Ippei's remarks on "humor" as one of the four important elements of manga (the others were nonsense, satire, and realism) in 1935 confirm this importance, and the fact that the concept of humor, if not laughter itself, was at this point viewed as somewhat foreign (which by that year also meant suspicious, at least in official discourse): according to Ippei, the meaning of "humor" was a bit difficult to express in Japanese. In his view, various words (kaigyaku, okashimi, odoke) all miss the mark of "naturally causing people to laugh," for which reason he and everyone else in the field simply used the Japanicized version of the English word, "yûmoa."[72]

There was widespread agreement on the purpose of manga, but it still embraced a plethora of forms and lineages, and for this reason several of the volumes are worth examining in detail. If the first volume, edited by Shirota Shûichi (1880-1958), is the publishers putting the medium's best foot forward, that foot is rather surprising: with most of the contributions done by Rakuten, Ippei, and Hosokibara Seiki (1885-1958), it

comprises mostly standalone illustrations, accompanied by explanatory text of varying quantities. At this remove, paging through the book is reminiscent of nothing so much as silent films, with the captions fulfilling the function of intertitles. The comparison is somewhat misleading, however, in that by this point silent films were generally single stories, whereas the illustrations in the first volume of the anthology are not narratively connected.

Although Rei Okamoto Inouye has argued that it was not until the outbreak of the Fifteen Years' War in 1931, and particularly not until the war intensified in 1937, that cartoonists began theorizing about the nature of manga, in fact creators such as Ippei and Hosokibara were already explicitly discussing how to define the medium well before the Manchurian Incident.[73] It would be a mistake as well to think that the order of the volumes of the *Gendai manga taikan* or its later, unfinished cousin *Manga kôza* (1934-35, Manga lectures) was not itself an argument about importance and seriousness: it is no coincidence that women are second to last and that the kind of cartoons that created the medium in the first place were brought out dead last, in the final volume. Cartoonists in this era were almost universally graduates of arts schools with fine arts training in both Japanese and Western, or only Western, art, and they were intent on winning recognition of manga as a legitimate art form, which in the age of mass culture meant not being commercial.

The irony of attempting to construct manga, a form of mass media, as "art" that was not "commercial" in the age in which mass consumerism came to Japan and everything became irrevocably commercialized—even high art—was apparently completely lost on these men, as was the irony of doing so in books like the *Gendai manga taikan* that were unapologetically aimed at the mass of what Silverberg aptly termed "consumer-subjects." Nonetheless, the message that manga was and should be considered "art" is particularly clear once one flips to the second volume and discovers that it consists entirely of illustrated editions of acknowledged classics of modern literature, both Japanese and Western: Rakuten adapted Tolstoy, while Ippei chose a short story by his old patron Natsume Sôseki. Ippei didn't even use panels in his illustrations.

The sixth volume of "Eastern and Western manga" is also particularly interesting. In the preface, the aged ukiyoe artist Shôsai Ikkei wrote that, "Regardless of whether the art is good or bad, because manga is a thing that reads the spirit of the age, it is worthy of being in the line with things that are ranked extremely importantly."[74] The very inclusion of Western art, and the choice to refer to it as "Western manga," at once position manga as an art form that transcends national divisions but which also is part of a global artistic tradition of drawing that goes back to seventeenth century France, with shoutouts to earlier ancient (i.e. Roman) and medieval art along the way. This section is only one-third of the volume, however; the middle third, "Collected Japanese Manga," opens with the ancient *Chôjûgiga*; and the final third, "World Modern Manga," showcases recent works by Euro-American artists.

The inclusion of the twelfth century *Chôjûgiga*, popularly known as the "rabbit and frog scrolls" for their depiction of anthropomorphized rabbits and frogs carrying on in the ridiculous pursuits of humans, at the beginning of the "Japanese manga" section,

and the deliberate erasure of manga's very short history through relegating the cartoons of which it consisted to the anthology's final volume represent a capitulation to a certain vision of what manga was and did that was first articulated in 1918 by one Ishii Hakutei in the magazine *Chûô bijutsu* (Central Art). Ishii was apparently the first to suggest that manga had roots in Japan that extended beyond the Meiji period, partly because he defined manga as "art that is carefree, not regulated by rules, and based on the free observation of mainly human life."[75]

To be clear, this definition is practically useless from the point of view of meaningful analysis because it is analytically empty: it contains no information by which change over time or the specific characteristics of the medium can be measured in any way. It did, however, make a notable change from previous art world discourse about manga, which was first articulated by artist Yamamoto Kanae in the art journal *Hôsun* in 1907, which saw Japanese humorous and satirical art as underdeveloped compared to the West and was harshly critical of the popular manga magazines of the day (*Tokyo Puck*, *Osaka Puck*, and *Jôtô Ponchi*).[76] Precisely *because* Ishii's 1918 definition of manga was nativist, positive, and above all analytically empty, it was politically useful: cartoonists looking to position manga as a dignified, serious art form that was worthy of critical praise rather than critical scorn were quite happy to suture manga to the existing traditions of Japanese art rather than embrace its doubly hybrid nature as the Japanese version of a global form that willfully and gleefully mixed image and text, image and film, East and West.

Okamoto Ippei's remarks on the nature and history of manga in the introduction to the first volume of the *Manga kenkyû shiryô kôza* (Manga research materials lectures) in 1935 are worth exploring at greater length here. Ippei opens by correctly crediting Hokusai as the first person to use the term 'manga,' but although he then goes on to discuss the differences between Hokusai's art and modern manga, he undercuts these distinctions by using the concept of "humor" to jump directly back to the Fujiwara and Tenmei eras (roughly the ninth and late 18thC, respectively), with their respective traditions of humorous art. Although Ippei concedes that "it's considerably difficult to separate manga from normal drawing," he spends a great deal of time trying to do just that based on both semantic and artistic grounds (but this is difficult; if you say manga is realist, so is normal drawing, but if you say manga is funny, some manga isn't) before advancing an intriguing argument: that another difference between manga and "normal drawing" is that the former is more literary, because "no matter what manga must tell a story about something." Manga is also more explanatory than normal drawing in Ippei's view, for the same reason, just as it's more concerned with time than with space. And though Ippei mentions *Maruchin* in the same breath as *Japan Punch* and acknowledges the importance of both, *Manga kôza* itself starts the history of manga with Egyptian painting and then the aforementioned Fujiwara era.[77] Evidently Ippei and Scott McCloud would have seen eye-to-eye.

In other words, Rakuten and the other leading cartoonists of the day were evidently opposed to or at best uncomfortable with the very elements of manga that had made it and them so successful, and in particular with the essence of the mass culture of Japanese modern times that they were currently being personally enriched

by, which as Miriam Silverberg described it, was precisely a hybrid form of Japanese/Western that was being actively created by a montage-like process of cultural code-switching. The attitude that art (in the most general sense) has to be serious to be worthwhile, and that serious/worthwhile by definition means “not popular” and/or must deal only with certain subjects defined as valuable, is by no means unique to this particular group of cartoonists.

Not everyone in the manga world stuck with the script of premodern origins developed in this era, and it would be decades before the idea that manga had ancient roots in Japan became hegemonic, which is to say, the default, unquestioned assumption. But it is undoubtedly here, in the *Gendai manga taikan*, that the idea that manga is an ineluctably Japanese art form with roots going back either to the twelfth century or the Edo period, depending on your particular tastes, first took root in popular consciousness.

Two manga

For a medium whose origins, development, and burgeoning success traced precisely the arc of the growth of mass media in Japan, it is somewhat surprising to realize that by 1928 many of manga’s leading figures had embraced a vision of its past that emphasized not newness but continuity, updated tradition rather than modern rupture. Several implications of this vision, tacitly articulated first in *Gendai manga taikan* and reaffirmed by people such as Okamoto Ippei in the introduction to the first volume of the *Manga kôza* anthology, bear further exploration. But before going any further, it is important to understand that this vision placed these creators and their manga in a somewhat conservative position with respect to the mass culture of Japanese modern times, a position that is readily comprehensible when one glances through the ninth volume of the anthology, the “World of Women.”

It should not go without saying that none of the cartoonists who participated in the *Gendai manga taikan* were women, just as none of the professional cartoonists of this era were women. Notwithstanding the collaboration of Okamoto Kanoko (herself a member of the famous feminist Bluestockings circle and a New Woman in her own right) with her husband, it was not until the 1930s that women entered the ranks of professional cartoonists in Japan, and consequentially, the illustrations of the “world of women” are condescending at best and often viciously sexist. As might be imagined, however, this volume of the anthology is merely in step with the tenor of manga overall, which satirized mores and gestures as its bread and butter and was generally opposed to the rise of the Modern Girl.

This opposition to the existence of Modern Girls, which is to say, independent New Women, went hand in hand with the efflorescence of ero in manga in this era, just as it did across mass culture in this era. Ero is of course short for “erotic,” but in practice it often meant simply pornographic; there are a lot of naked women in manga in this era, and moreover many of them are women in pieces: separate, sexualized body parts rather than whole people. These fantastical dismembered women-in-pieces were sometimes connected with guro (grotesque), as in the gory murder novels of Edogawa

Ranpo and others of this era, but the consumption of women in pieces by men is also par for the course under the linkage of capitalism and patriarchy—themselves grotesques, to be sure, but ones that went generally unmarked in mainstream discourse in this period. Satires of new social phenomena like the housewife (shufu) and the Modern Girl in many manga of this period are decidedly sexist and skeptical—never more so than in manga devoted to mocking the ideas of women's rights and women's suffrage, but such misogynist sentiments were merely at their most extreme in such manga, rather than invisible elsewhere. In a word, although these manga were popular, they were anything but progressive.

Moreover, Japanese cartoonists were by no means the only male cartoonists of this era to be so ambivalent about the modern. Winsor McKay's pioneering comic strip *Dream of the Rarebit Fiend* (1904-11), for example, was powered by anxiety about urban modernity in its content. As comics scholar Jennifer Roeder writes,

> Such anti-urban and antimodern sentiments were rampant in comics and the illustrated press at the turn of the twentieth century, yet the formal operations of the *Rarebit Fiend* contradict its indictment of metropolitan life. The dark humor at the center of McCay's comic strip reveals both a critique of his urban audience and an expression of ambivalence directed at the rapidly changing world at large. Yet, while McCay's comics lampooned the trappings of modernity, his innovative design techniques and groundbreaking use of multiple perspectives all speak to a decidedly modern point of view. The disconnection between the form and content of the comic underscores the paradox of the displaced urban subject.[78]

Nor were McKay or the Japanese mangaka alone in these sentiments, which were powered not just by overt anxieties about urban street accidents and anomie, but also by a barely sublimated streak of misogyny, linked to anxiety about the increasing presence of women outside the home. This anxiety was usually expressed in terms of scorn for consumerism, "reflecting," in Roeder's phrase, "societal preoccupations with women as unfettered consumers."[79] In Japan, the early modern Tokugawa period had itself been highly commercialized, and in that era consumption was figured as an unqualified good for people of all genders. The problem with consumption in contemporary post-earthquake Japan was thus transparently not consumption itself but the fact that consumption was seen to be part and parcel of the forces of modernity destabilizing the traditional social order promulgated in the Meiji period: whether as housewives, cafe waitresses, or Modern Girls, female consumption was understood as a social problem.[80]

All of which is to say that these mangaka, while part of the mass culture of Japanese modern times, were distinctly uneasy about both modern times and mass culture. Nor, in the case of men like Rakuten and Ippei, should this be surprising; their elitist inclinations are readily apparent in their political sympathies (recall that Rakuten was a devotee of Fukuzawa Yukichi) as well as in their yearning for the high art stamp of approval. Ippei, in point of fact, considered that he had moved on from manga manbun as early as 1920 and devoted the remainder of his career to increasingly high cultural cachet styles of manga and also to literature outright.[81] Rakuten's political satire had first been muted in 1919 by the Home Ministry asking him to design an influenza

awareness poster after the bureaucrats there tired of his manga criticizing the government's handling of the rice riots, and from that time on his views became increasingly aligned to the conservative bureaucratic consensus—less so, it must be said, from any change in Rakuten's views than from changes in the political landscape.[82]

In this respect the Tokyo mangaka were in a position analogous to that of the Pure Film Movement, which began to advocate for more "cinematic" and less "spectacular" filmmaking techniques in Japanese film from approximately the beginning of the Taisho period. Film historian Aaron Gerow describes the movement and the amorphous, riotous school of filmmaking it opposed in terms of "two competing strands of modernism," one of which was "dedicated to purity, unity, and homogeneity, to clearly and rationally distinguishing things and practices according to their essences, which are by definition universal," while the other was "aligned with the anonymous urban crowd, the new flows of goods and services, and the acceleration of daily life, [and which] celebrates instances of mixture, heterogeneity, the chance, the local, the specific."[83] The mass culture of Japanese modern times that Silverberg describes was emphatically allied with the latter kind of modernism, even though moviegoers were just as happy to watch new "cinematic" movies as they were the old spectacle-style films. (Crucially, however, it must be noted that the institution of benshi endured well into the 1930s, confounding all attempts by members of the Pure Film Movement to get rid of them through regulation.)

However, the Tokyo mangaka were by no means the only mangaka in the nation, and even in their own magazines they were unable or unwilling to suppress other forms of manga and other mangaka that were much less elitist. Nansensu manga, after all, could hardly be anything other than allied with the internationally-minded, code-switching vernacular modernism that Silverberg describes, both by virtue of its embodying those very characteristics when it was brought in as translated comics from abroad and by virtue of its being a product of the modern times it chronicled, whether it was produced abroad or in Japan. Whatever the personal opinions of people like Rakuten, they needed nansensu manga to sell copies of their magazines and newspapers.

Moreover, although this narrative has heretofore mostly concentrated on manga magazines and newspapers published in Tokyo, it must be said that Osaka had been the home of a competing vision for manga since at least the publication of *Kokkei Shinbun* (Funny Times) beginning in 1904, the success of which was apparently one of the inspirations for Rakuten's creation of the original *Tokyo Puck* (although *KS* did not use the term "manga" to describe its contents).[84] By 1928 that tradition was epitomized by *Osaka Puck*, which unlike virtually every Tokyo publication had continued to put out issues immediately after the earthquake and which was generally more populist (which is to say, nansensu minded) than the editorial teams at *Tokyo Puck* and other leading manga publications in the capital. The *Gendai manga taikan* and other similar Tokyo-produced anthologies did not necessarily speak for cartoonists around Japan when they argued for manga as the heir to a long tradition of Japanese art, and in any case, in Osaka they were equally likely to point to other traditional Japanese art forms,

particularly the comedy forms of rakugo and manzai, as important premodern antecedents for manga.

Conclusion: 1928

In 1928, then, manga had come a long way in a short time—37 years since Imaizumi Ippyô first used the term "manga" in print, 23 years since Rakuten's launch of *Tokyo Puck* had greatly increased the term's currency, 16 years since Ippei had joined the *Asahi* and brought manga out of the exclusive realm of politics. Much as its most famous practitioners might wish it otherwise, in 1928 manga was firmly ensconced in mass culture, both as a critic of that mass culture (Rakuten, Ippei, the *Gendai manga taikan*) and as a product of it (nansensu manga, kodomo manga). Moreover, the mass culture of Japanese modern times was, like manga itself, the product of a modernity that was an international phenomenon and which meant that Japanese urbanites often had more in common with the denizens of other world cities—London, Paris, New York, Berlin—than they did with rural residents of their own country.

What markers did these urban experiences share? It would take a book to list them all, but advancing industrialization, a booming economy, an increasing number of women working outside the home, and new forms of mass communication were all among them. The Jazz Age was to some extent an international phenomenon, and flappers like Blondie had their Japanese counterparts in the moga or "modern girl," just as the global figure of the urban dandy was known in Japan by the sobriquet of mobo or "modern boy." In pointing out these global commonalities it is not my goal to erase or to downplay important and particular local differences, but it is important to be cognizant of the fact that, broadly speaking, what was happening in Japan in this era was also happening in the other countries that had been party to the Peace of Versailles. These countries were modern, and modernity was something that was happening to all of them at approximately the same time and approximately in many of the same ways—at least in this decade.

They also shared many of the same media. The Euro-American comics that circulated in Japan had their counterpart in Euro-American movies and movie stars, particularly Charlie Chaplin, a very significant figure in Japanese media history and in Japanese modern times, as shall be seen. And while it is true that Japanese comics and movies did not circulate widely outside the Japanese empire (unlike the popular culture of the United States and the surviving European empires), it would be a mistake to miss the fact that the forms themselves, whether they be newspapers, radio, movies, or comics, were not considered to be ineluctably national by anyone who practiced them

anywhere in the world. Rather, they were *modern* forms that transcended national boundaries and could be put to whatever purpose creators desired. Jennifer Roeder's summation of the American newspaper comics world is equally applicable to that of Japan in the 1920s:

> In many ways the newspaper comic strip itself, both in terms of its form and the mechanics of its production and distribution, embodied the conditions of modernity. The colorful comic supplements were very much a product of late nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanization. They thrived as a result of advances in color lithography and offset printing, and their continued success was largely dependent on the urban audiences in densely populated cities across the country, where comics were made widely available through syndication.[85]

Frequently, of course, that purpose was simply to make money, and there was quite a lot of it sloshing around in the system in these years. The Roaring Twenties in the United States ended with the Black Friday stock market crash of 1929, inaugurating the Great Depression, but in both the United States and Japan the economic record of the 1920s was itself mixed, and the prosperity it brought highly uneven. Japan's depression began with a financial crisis in 1927 that deepened in 1929 and was especially acute from 1931-34, whereupon the economy began rebounding as a result of military spending and reflationary monetary policy.[86] By 1937 the country had seemingly recovered fully, although the linkage between the home islands and Manchukuo upon which this recovery depended turned into an economic straitjacket before the end of the war.

Even before the crashes in various countries brought the high-flying Roaring Twenties to an end, however, there had been voices raised against the emerging capitalist consensus. Marxism in various forms had circulated in Japan since the beginnings of Japanese social science in the 1890s, and as the movement for imperial democracy began to take shape beginning in 1905, a burgeoning workers' movement combined with the periodic rioting of the lower- and middle-class Tokyo urbanites to create a sense of themselves as politically and economically distinct from the upper-class elites who controlled electoral politics. Unsurprisingly, the surviving Meiji oligarchs and their heirs in the political parties and the bureaucracy viewed the burgeoning imperial democracy movement as a distinct social threat (always euphemistically discussed in terms of "social problems"), and by 1918, when the first party cabinet was formed under Hara Kei, the crowd and political elites were increasingly alienated from and distrustful of one another. A year later, the first distinctively socialist-leaning manga magazine, *Aka* (Red), lasted for six months before shutting down.

Aka was the forerunner of a manga movement that would in the late 1920s begin to celebrate workers and workers' political culture while advocating for workers' rights: proletarian manga. This form of manga, far more documentarian than satirical, was derived from the Ippei manga manbun strain of manga, but owed much to contemporary art movements as well as to contemporary politics. Party government lasted in Japan from 1918-32, and at the midpoint in that period, 1925, universal adult

male suffrage became law. Empowered by their own political emancipation as well as a lengthy tradition of labor activism and a period of relative government tolerance, workers began to assert their own equality of status, a very radical idea in a still highly class- and status-conscious society.[87] Proletarian manga depicted workers and their families on the same terms as the subjects of elite manga, and in this respect too it was radical.

So, at the point at which the *Gendai manga taikan* attempted to consolidate a particular narrative about manga's past, its present can be thought of in terms of several general strains of manga (these strains are not equivalent to the styles that mangaka themselves recognized at the time, which were far more mincingly categorized): the first, the elite manga epitomized by the patriarchs Rakuten and Ippei which attempted to court the approval of the fine arts establishment even as it was dependent on mass culture for its sales; the second, nansensu manga, which depicted the absurdities of modern life around the world at the popular level; the third, kodomo manga, which generally consisted of short-running fictional narratives aimed at children, who had themselves been created as consumers by the rise of mass culture; and proletarian manga, which was worker-centric and inherently radical because of it. On another axis, we should remember the geographical dimension of this story, and note well that it is Tokyo-centric even as many of these same forms were also present in the Kansai area, centered around Osaka, while newspapers across the country serialized manga in their pages. Moreover, in terms of format, manga still encompassed a wide variety of publication types, with newspapers and magazines—still not entirely differentiated from one another—being equally likely to feature multiple kinds of manga.

Looking to manga's future from 1928, there was not necessarily any particular reason to expect that any one of these general schools of manga would do radically better than the others in the next decade. And yet, by the formal end of the era of imperial democracy in 1940 with the abolishment of political parties, all of these forms of manga would be winnowed and some would be extinguished entirely. How manga changed from 1928 to 1945, both organically and through external pressures, is the subject of the next chapter.

Part Two:
Manga During Wartime, 1928 - 1945

Overview: A tale of two types of manga - or is it?

The years 1931-1945 comprise what historian Louise Young has termed the era of "Japan's total empire:" in the 1930s, in Young's analysis, the former imperial foothold of Manchuria moved from the periphery of the Japanese imperial consciousness to the forefront as the Japanese constructed a new kind of empire in the northeast Asian continent from the top down and from the bottom up. The evolving relationship between imperialism and modernity resulted in the "total empire," which meant that metropolis and colonies were now more economically integrated, and also that they saw the rise of a new "social imperialism," in which social conflict in the metropole was projected onto the colonies.

Japanese imperialism in the region dated back to 1904 and escalated after 1917, during which time Japan attempted to solidify its control over Manchuria through the South Manchurian Railway Company (SMRC, aka Mantetsu). The total empire kicked off in September 1931 when the protection of Mantetsu assets and operations provided the pretext for what came to be known as the Mukden or Manchurian Incident, by which the Kwantung Army seized control of all of Manchuria north of the Great Wall. The Army claimed that it was acting in self-defense after a railway station was allegedly blown up by the Chinese nationalist forces of warlord Zhang Xueliang and invaded northeast China; in reality, unsanctioned junior officers had themselves detonated explosives near but not on the tracks to provide a suitable casus belli. In short order the Kwantung Army had occupied all of Manchuria, which was reconstituted six months later as the puppet state of Manchukuo. The Manchukuo government was staffed in all its key positions by Kwantung Army officers, and it brought two innovations in

governance to a colony for the first time: the state-managed economy and the self-sufficient production sphere (the first taken from the Soviets, the second from military planning during World War I). The development of Manchukuo continued along military lines throughout its lifetime, although the language of development, full-stop, was deployed in order to gain the support, or at least the acquiescence, of the subject Chinese populations.

The League of Nations' refusal to endorse the Japanese claim that Manchukuo was an independent country led Japan to withdraw from the League in March 1933. Increasingly isolated on the world stage, Japan formed an anti-communist alliance with Nazi Germany in 1936. Italy, the other major fascist state of the time, joined the pact in 1937, thereby creating the Axis Powers.

In the meantime, the Japanese imperial metropole was directly affected by the development of the total empire, which coincides exactly with what in Japan is known as the Fifteen Years' War. In Young's study of the former, she concentrates on what she calls "the culture of wartime imperialism," which is to say, popular culture, because "for the vast majority of Japanese, the ideas and symbols of popular culture, provided the primary medium through which they would experience Manchukuo."[88] Japan's imperial wars had ever been good for the media business, and rather than the government strong-arming the media into playing up imperialism, the media took the lead in doing so all on its own as part of a quest to increase circulation. As Young summarizes, "Japan's war fever of the 1930s revealed the relationship between an expanding marketplace for cultural manufactures and the rise of jingoism as a key force behind military imperialism."[89] In other words, jingoism in media pushed the war, and the continuation of the war encouraged more and more people to consume media about the war, making the mass media ever more mass. Young concluded that "massification gave to the media the power to constitute, to unify, and to mold a national opinion on imperialism," and it is certainly the case that the increasingly mass media were increasingly gung-ho on the empire from 1931 onward.[90]

Looking at manga in this period shows many of the same tropes and memes that Young identifies in other aspects of pop culture. The typology of manga published in the first volume of the *Manga kenkyû shiryô kôza* (1935) listed ten types of manga (current affairs, serial, "social", divided into the subsets of sketch, household, and fashion, news, nonsense, sports, portrait, kodomo, youth, and book illustration), but in practice nonsense and kodomo manga dominated the discourse of the decade.[91] In particular, the kodomo manga published by Kodansha in the 1930s has come in for heavy criticism for participating in the war fever and jingoism that Young identifies as a crucial theme of the immediate response to the Manchurian Incident in Japanese media, which quickly became permanent, as the media discourses they spawned and popularized combined to produce an iron-clad popular consensus for imperialism.

In the following chapter I argue that blaming children's manga for the war, or even for children's participation in it, mistakes consequences for causes and exonerates Japanese society as a whole for its war responsibility: precisely because that popular consensus was so total and iron-clad, the remarkable thing is not that children's manga supported the Japanese military. Rather, the remarkable thing is how long the Japanese

government allowed children's manga to continue and how direct its eventual suppression of children's manga became. Far from supporting manga in which Japanese youths educated inferior races or talking animals went off to wage imperial war overseas, the military government was suspicious of manga across the board precisely because it was the product of a mass consumer society. Tracking the response to Tagawa Suihô's massive, and massively influential, manga *Norakuro* (1931-41) reveals the ways in which manga's very modernity made it a target for control and repression by a decidedly anti-modern modern (which is to say, fascist) regime.

Other aspects of the modern were given even shorter shrift than children's manga. The proletarian arts movement, of which proletarian manga had briefly been a luminary, was wholly suppressed by 1936-37 and former proletarian mangaka were either converted to the new regime and "returned to Japan" (tenkô), whether voluntarily or through torture and imprisonment, or quit drawing manga entirely. At the same time, the fascist regime's increasing suspicion of fun, the modern, and anything it did not directly control meant that even non-political mangaka such as the practitioners of newspaper manga found that simply doing the work was increasingly difficult. By the eve of the Pacific War in 1941, increasing censorship and economic problems had shuttered many publications, and those that survived went all in with the empire as a matter of course: it was not possible to do anything less and continue to receive the censors' approval. Despite their recitation of the government line, however, even those few manga magazines that were allowed to continue publication after the declaration of war with the United States were all halted in the beginning of 1945. In these conditions, the end of the empire could very well have spelled the end of manga as well.

It did not, however, and the innovations in manga under the total empire, epitomized by the runaway success of *Norakuro*, would go on to have a significant influence on the future of manga as a whole. The 1930s were also the era in which the first people who had grown up as fans of manga began to become manga professionals: significantly, the two most notable mangaka in this respect were also two of the first female professionals in the medium, Hasegawa Machiko and Ueda Toshiko. The full force of all of these innovations was first felt after the war, but it was the era of the total empire and the hypermodern that made them possible in the first place, and they left a profound impact on the story of the medium as a whole.

Chapter Three: Norakuro and Friends

Norakuro and the rise of kodomo manga

The story of children's manga in the 1930s is the story of children's magazines, and the story of children's magazines is centered on the powerhouse publisher Kodansha, even today the biggest publishing company in Japan. Kodansha's domination had its roots in the previous decade, when its flagship family magazine *King* (*Kingu*) became the first periodical in Japan to sell a million copies of a single issue in 1927. This achievement was no accident; Kodansha was banking on the cost efficiencies of mass production, coupled with a household-oriented content strategy (the magazine contained something for everyone in the family) and a massive advertising campaign. The first issue of *King* had an initial print run of 500,000 copies (even though the maximum circulation for a magazine at the time was two to three hundred thousand copies), was 354 pages, and sold for 50 sen—by contrast, the 1924 New Year's issue of *Shufu no Tomo*, the previous best-selling single issue of a magazine, had 348 pages and sold for 75 sen. The first issue of *King* sold 620,000 copies, and the success of Kodansha's three-pronged strategy (mass production/big tent content/saturation advertising) led the way to the "enpon" (one-yen book) boom of 1926-29, which was founded on cheap books that were advertised copiously.[92]

Kodansha did not just publish magazines like *King* that were consciously aimed at the whole family; the company had also pioneered the practice of aiming magazines at increasingly narrow market segments, the better to maximize profits from all of them. Its initial lead title *Kôdan Kurabu* (*Conversation Club*), first published in 1911, was followed in 1914 by *Shônen Kurabu* (*Boys' Club*), *Fujin Kurabu* (*Women's Club*) in 1920, *Shôjo Kurabu* (*Girls' Club*) in 1923, and *Yônen Kurabu* (*Children's Club*) in 1926. Though

both *Kôdan Kurabu* and *Fujin Kurabu* lasted well into the Shôwa period (*Fujin Kurabu* only folded the year before the emperor's death in 1989), it is the three "sibling" magazines aimed at children that are the most important for the story of manga.[93]

Although *Shônen Kurabu* and *Shôjo Kurabu* are today best remembered as a forum for the publication of manga and of novels and illustrations respectively, both magazines, along with their younger sibling *Yônen Kurabu*, in fact came relatively late to manga. *Shônen Kurabu*, the longest-running and most popular of the three, was first published in 1914, its contents a mixture of illustrations, serialized novels or short stories, and informational photospreads about various aspects of "Japanese" life, usually featuring some aspect of the imperial military, cultural landmarks from the naichi (the home islands, as opposed to the "gaichi," the colonies), or the customs and peoples or landscapes of various imperial possessions. *Yônen Kurabu* was more of the same except pitched at a lower reading level, while *Shôjo Kurabu* leavened its photo features, illustrations, and serialized novels with spreads of girls and women doing various feminine things such as cooking and sewing.

Children's magazines began to feature manga from about 1925 onwards, but "manga" could and did mean a mean a wide variety of things, and the most popular children's manga of the 1920s such as Miyao Shigeo's *Manga Tarô*, were often serialized in newspapers rather than magazines. The expansion of children's manga in the age of the massification of media meant that there was a lot of room to experiment, and moreover, there was no sense among publishers or mangaka that the age of the audience for children's manga meant that any artistic restrictions should be placed on its content. Miyao, the youngest member of the Nihon Mangakai, was celebrated amongst professionals for his ability to borrow freely from art theory in a positive way in his work, and the wide latitude which fine arts-trained creators were given meant that when formal innovations proved popular, they could and did catch on quickly.[94] Miyao (1902-82)'s manga manbun style children's manga was quite popular at the time, but he was very much in the Ippei vein, and the Ippei-style decision to have the narration and the art separate felt stale after the advent of *Shô-chan no bôken*, which was modeled after current British newspaper comics and thus included dialog inside the panels in addition to the narrative text outside it.[95]

Although it sounds odd to say so, one of the most important formal innovations that children's manga popularized in the 1920s was that of *story*. Miyao's *Manga Tarô* pioneered this; before Miyao's debut, discreet narratives were not routinely found in manga, which in Japan was rooted in topical political satire as popularized by Kitazawa Rakuten. Political cartoons are necessarily one-offs in that they are explicitly commenting on discreet events; while public figures may recur, the cartoons added together are just a series of comments on things that happened (one damn thing after another), not any kind of larger, overarching narrative. Newspaper manga as well, particularly as it was popularized in Japan, tended to focus on characters whose personalities remained relatively fixed having individual, disconnected adventures that could easily be summarized in four, six, eight, or even 12 panels. (*Blondie* was an important exception to this in its first incarnation, but in its postwar form it eschewed an overarching narrative in order to facilitate global syndication.) But from the 1920s

on, and particularly in children's manga, discreet narratives began to be a regular feature of manga.

Another important formal innovation of the 1920s was that of *character*. Again, on the face of it this statement sounds either self-evident or off-target: how can one have a story without characters? And how can one have a form of mass media without them?

The answer to both questions is, not well. Just as *story* was added to manga in the 1920s, so were the characters that populated them: for the first time, recurring characters were made distinctive, both visually and in terms of characterization or personality. Shô-chan, for example, is distinguished as much by his trademark yarn cap as he is by his slightly nonchalant attitude towards his adventures (he is frequently depicted strolling along with his hands in his pockets before things start to get real). Crucially, however, this nonchalant attitude is but one facet of Shô-chan's temperament. Previous attempts at characters in manga were characterized by *caricature*, which is to say, that a given personage was dominated by a single, archetypal trait (think of Rakuten's *Chame to Dekobô*, who faced every new situation with the same reaction, for which they were in fact named).

But the introduction of story—at this point, usually a narrative of several discreet extended episodes, as in *Shô-chan* and other four-panel manga—allowed characters to develop a degree of interiority and react to differing situations with a range of emotions informed by their previous exploits. Instead of being "three-dimensional" in the sense of having the feeling that characters could step off the page and into "real life," manga characters in the 1920s were becoming what is called "2.5D," which is where many of the most popular characters remain even today: they are distinctive enough, both visually and personality-wise, to be recognizable in a variety of situations, but they are not quite fully realized people. Equally crucially, at this early juncture characters' interiority remained hidden from the readers; interior monologues would not become widespread in manga for another forty years. Visual distinctiveness—the fact that characters tend to wear the same distinct outfit and to look the same over the course of the story—helped contribute to the rise of characters, though of course it arose purely out of labor-saving impulses. Characters were moreover the mainstay of and essential condition for the success of four-panel comics such as those that were serialized in newspapers; the characters themselves were what carried over from strip to strip, allowing creators to focus on setting up and getting the joke across rather than perpetually having to introduce a whole new set of personalities every time.

It's important to note, however, that even the innovative and influential *Shô-chan* still has its narration outside the frames; the same goes for Miyao's manga from this decade. Miyao's characters are in fact barely there; his *Karutobi Karusuke: Manga monogatari* (1927) and *Manga no omatsuri* (1931) are instructive examples in that both of them rely predominantly on the image + text pattern of manga manbun, while the characters in the images often appear to be floating in space—cutting edge contemporary art spaces, to be sure, but space nonetheless.[96] (The modern art impression is enhanced by the fact that Miyao relied on single-color or two-color images, as in *Manga Tarô* and his *Manga saiyûki*, respectively.[97]) *Shô-chan*, by contrast, placed the character in discreet settings in the images (which became even more

discreet in the redrawn postwar edition), and had sound effects and dialog inside the panel as well as narration outside the frame; this seems to have been the first time this happened.

Shô-chan himself was popular enough that his hat was mass-produced and sold to children in what was almost certainly the first manga merchandising, and the editors of the *Tokyo Asahi* responded to fan questions about Shô-chan's parents and other matters in the margins of the manga as though he were a cub reporter for the paper, heightening the sense of Shô-chan himself as a character (and the grounds for comparison with Hergé's Tintin, himself a kid reporter with an animal companion whose adventures were later redrawn).[98] Shô-chan was also a devoted reader of the *Tokyo Asahi*, strengthening the bond between character and publication. As manga critic Chûjô Shôhei has pointed out, *Shô-chan* was obviously an evolution beyond Miyao's style, although Miyao kept producing children's manga in his "old" style throughout the 1930s because it was and remained quite popular: Miyao's works were a hit with readers due to their stories, while the attraction of *Shô-chan* lay primarily in the character himself rather than in his Alice in Wonderland-esque adventures through Art Nouveau environments.[99] But it was another out-of-left-field creator whose work would overturn the medium's established conventions yet again by synthesizing the potential of these developments in yet another manga.

Stray dog strut: Norakuro arrives

By the 1930s the effects of the global Depression were readily apparent in Japan, particularly in Tokyo, where the down-and-out tended to gather in Asakusa as beggars, hawkers, freaks, prostitutes, juvenile delinquents, and other marginalized characters, to borrow historian Miriam Silverberg's categories. Charlie Chaplin, already a global star, became even more important to Japanese popular culture through the process by which his famous character The Tramp, came to be called by the same noun, *lumpen (*runpen*)*, as was applied to the Asakusa vagrants. The Tramp, crucially, was a character through which the marginalized became central, and the voiceless given, not a voice (*The Tramp* is a silent movie, made in 1915 well before the advent of talkies), but a means to protest their marginalization all the same: the lumpen as hero. In Silverberg's phrase, by the 1930s, "Charlie belonged to Japan because he belonged to the world."[100]

The Depression, and particularly the economic pressures it placed on Japan, was an important factor in the crystallization of the iron consensus for imperialism in 1931: the colonization of Manchuria was always presented as an economic and social opportunity for the imperial metropole to expand its markets and to reduce what were euphemistically referred to as its internal population pressures. Markets would expand both by forcing Manchuria to buy only Japanese products (thus creating even more Chinese consumers; the increasing economic dependence of the Republic on Japan was an important source of the rising tensions between Chinese and Japanese in mainland China in the early 1930s) and by sending Japanese subjects to Manchuria, both as technocrats working in the Manchukuo regime in Xinjing and as farmer-colonists in the

hinterlands. All these forces would eventually have a huge impact on the course of history, to say nothing of the development of manga.

In 1931, however, all that was still in the future, and in January of that year the Manchurian Incident was still nine months away. In that month Kodansha debuted a new kodomo manga by one Tagawa Suihô, *Norakuro*, in *Shônen Kurabu*. The eponymous title character is a stray dog (norainu) who is black (kuro) and who enlists in the Imperial Japanese Army, which in the manga is entirely staffed by canines. Norakuro, whose real name is in fact Kurokichi ("black fortune"), is prone to pratfalls and, particularly at the beginning of the manga, often makes mistakes that cause his superior officers headaches. But he is also loyal, hardworking, and has a good sense of humor, and the manga itself was nothing short of revolutionary.

Tagawa Suihô was already a manga veteran; in 1929, at the age of 30, he had created the first manga featuring a robot, which later came to be acknowledged as the first science fiction manga. Tagawa used the Japanese transliteration of the Czech term "robotto" even though it had been coined only eight years before; himself trained as a fine artist, Tagawa had been a member of the avant garde MAVO movement in Japan, which was heavily influenced by the arts scene in central Europe, and still affected the outré hairstyle and dress of the "MoBo," or modern boy. The story goes that when a Kodansha editor went to Tagawa's house—decorated with avant garde murals—to ask him to start writing manga for the publisher, he initially thought that Tagawa himself was the artist's houseboy.[101]

Radical art movements generally don't pay the bills and oil paintings took a long time to sell, so Tagawa had been supporting himself via a mixture of design and advertising commissions and rakugo scriptwriting and illustrating since graduating art school, which he entered after the end of his mandatory service in the Imperial Japanese Army. Rakugo has been described as "traditional Japanese standup comedy, done sitting down," and Tagawa's "new rakugo" scripts and insert art were well-received; they were also what made the Kodansha editorial team think that he might be a good choice for a mangaka, since they thought that his scripts and art were both "manga-esque" (mangafû) and he'd already published in all four of their major magazines. Tagawa made his debut with the robot manga in 1929 and was published continuously thereafter in Kodansha magazines for the next 12 years.[102] Even before *Norakuro* became a breakout hit, Tagawa's manga were popular enough that Kodansha took the then-unprecedented step of publishing an anthology (tankôbon) volume of Tagawa's manga in 1931, the first time that children's manga that had been previously published in a magazine were thus republished.[103]

The two words that were immediately used to describe Norakuro and his adventures were "kokkei" (humorous) and "pêsos" (having pathos), and those two words get at some, but not all, of what made the little dog such a huge and immediate hit. Norakuro and his adventures were *funny*, which sounds like an obvious thing for a manga to be but was in fact still somewhat remarkable, particularly in children's manga. Although manga and laughter were fairly tightly linked by the beginning of the Shôwa period in 1926, as we saw in the previous chapter, that laughter was not necessarily derived from witty dialogue; it could just as easily be derived from vicious

satire (recall the sexist attitudes towards women in newspaper manga of the era, and note as well that the translated jokes of syndicated manga didn't necessarily translate well at the level of wordplay), or from the physical comedy of characters like The Tramp and Felix the Cat, whose movies were serialized in Japan from 1930-32 and were the most popular animation in Japan until Disney films arrived.[104] But the wordplay and verbal jokes in Norakuro were new, and they were a huge hit with readers of all ages.

Norakuro himself was also consciously designed to tug at readers' heartstrings. Tagawa reiterated many times throughout his long life (he died in 1989, the same year as Tezuka and the Shôwa emperor) that he had hit on the idea of doing a children's manga in which a dog joined the imperial military because children already loved dogs and the military and having a dog join the military would amuse them.[105] This was true enough, and Tagawa also drew on his memory of a stray dog that he had encountered near his home for Norakuro's design and his experiences in the imperial army (which he had hated) for Norakuro's exploits. Coupled with Tagawa's frequent exhortations to readers to care for the stray dogs they saw around them as well as Norakuro's frankly pitiable backstory, set against the misery of the Depression, the little dog (Norakuro initially started out fairly canine, but became more anthropomorphized as the manga went on) was easy for people to take into their hearts.[106] Tagawa later wrote that he had deliberately given Norakuro an even harder life than those of his young readers: even the worst off children could look at the little dog of the military and think they weren't so bad off because Norakuro had started out so low.[107] Finally, Norakuro's character design is reminiscent to some degree of Felix the Cat but is also obviously indebted to The Tramp, an impression strengthened by the physical comedy in the manga. Charlie was already a huge hit in Japan, and evoking The Tramp was another strategy that made Norakuro popular.

In the original preface to the *Manga no kanzume* anthology of his early manga, Tagawa had remarked that manga was interesting because it was trying to amuse (make people smile, hohoemaseru) rather than trying to be beautiful.[108] It's true that, particularly to contemporary eyes, *Norakuro* is nowhere near as immediately breathtaking as the groundbreaking comics *Little Nemo in Slumberland* (1905-11) or *Krazy Kat* (1913-44), American comics that set a gold standard for comics art which stands even today.[109] It's also true that after the war *Norakuro* was immediately dismissed as "static" (more on this later). But in its heyday *Norakuro* was innovative, not just in terms of its content, but visually as well: although its panels are primarily rectilinear, and they are oriented "theatrically" towards the viewer (this is another way of saying that the point of view of the action is outside the subject, i.e. objective rather than subjective), as the manga went on Tagawa's paneling became quite visually innovative when it would serve the story to do so.

Tagawa's *Manga no kanzume* shows that he could and did work well in a variety of manga styles: individual manga are done in the vertical four panel style, the grid four panel style, the six panel style, the manga manbun style, and the three-panel style. A huge part of what gave *Norakuro* its "unputdownable" quality was the fact that Tagawa united all of these styles into one manga, changing up his page layouts to match the

story in terms of pacing and action. This was a crucial innovation, and one which often goes unacknowledged in discussion of Tagawa and *Norakuro*. The same page that could hold three horizontal panels or a grid of six could be reconfigured to hold five horizontally, with one of those same panels divided asymmetrically for emphasis; two horizontal panels, with their width acting as dramatic emphasis in an establishing/closeup relationship directly reminiscent of movies; or much more strikingly, three long vertical panels or even a Tetris-like configuration of L-shaped panels—the latter two often used when Norakuro or his soldiers were providing air support to their fellows, or to show simultaneous action at multiple elevations. Tagawa could and did also change up the flow of panels by throwing in the occasional one page panel, or even a full two-page spread.[110]

After the war *Norakuro* was acknowledged as the direct ancestor of what came to be called "story manga;" Tagawa's using the entire arsenal of children's manga forms in one manga together was a big part of why that is so. At the beginning, however, there was no plan for *Norakuro* to be anything other than what had come before, which is to say, a serialized manga that lasted one year at most: at that time it was the norm for serialized manga to end in order to keep things fresh and fast-paced, so Tagawa originally planned to end the story after the events of what became *Norakuro jôtôhei*, in which Norakuro was promoted to private first-class. Norakuro's young fans, however, prompted a drastic revision to the standard publishing plan.

Norakuro fever

To return to the Kodansha children's magazines, the point to keep in mind is that all three shared a consequential editorial practice, namely that of the "Readers' Corner" or "Readers' Pages" (dokusha no tayori), in which readers' letters to the editors were published with short responses every month. *Shônen Kurabu* did not invent this practice; it was apparently first practiced by the short-lived *Shônen Puck* in 1907, but it was *ShôKu* (as its readers affectionately referred to it) that perfected it. Looking at *Shôjo Kurabu* and other prewar girls' magazines for their influences on early shojo manga and their position in prewar girls' culture, Deborah Shamoon has argued that in those cases, editorial practices such as the dokusha no tayori "helped to form an imagined community of girls by encouraging reader-generated content and interactivity."[111]

Shamoon's observation holds true across every children's magazine that had a readers' corner, but the creation of an imagined community around any magazine was not an independent process. Looking at the run of the three sibling magazines together demonstrates that in the case of the Kodansha Club magazines these imagined communities were brought about through unequal but real collaboration between the readers and the editors: the readers wrote in every month to profess their love for the magazine and for individual stories and authors, to express their good wishes to the magazine staff and to their fellow aidokusha (fans), and to share stories from their lives meant to amuse and/or to demonstrate their status as fans—but it was the editors who carefully selected for publication and replied to individual letters that not only did all these things, but that also represented a very deliberate geographic breadth amongst

the readership. In the years from 1925-1937, for example, the *Shônen Kurabu* dokusha no tayori never once failed to feature a reader's letter from either the gaichi or the Japanese diaspora, outside the empire entirely. Nor was this breadth merely a reflection of subscription rates. Comparing this rate of letter publication to the actual readership in the colonies and the diaspora is instructive: many issues of *ShôKu* printed lists of subscribers who had won one of five ranks of prizes in various contests, with the fifth-rank prizes being the most numerous at several hundred per contest. In a fourteen to twenty page spread of miniscule printed names, prizewinning subscribers from outside the home islands typically comprised one full page or less.

Editorial curation determined the exact mix of content that readers saw in the readers' corners, but it was the readers themselves—children and fans—who supplied the content in the first place. In the case of *Norakuro*, the response was immediate: children started writing letters—"a mountain of letters," in Tagawa's phrase—about how much they loved Norakuro, and according to Tagawa, the editors said they couldn't cancel a manga that had so many fans, so Norakuro's story continued for another year.[112] In fact *Norakuro*'s serialization lasted until 1941, by which point its overwhelming popularity had wrought a series of enduring transformations on the manga industry itself.

Tagawa was not merely being modest when he laid the credit for *Norakuro*'s enduring serialization at the feet of Norakuro's readers and their "Norakuro fever."[113] By the beginning of 1934 the "Norakuro boom" was in full swing; the manga had become hugely popular, and Kodansha sought to cash in on that popularity first by releasing the manga in tankôbon format (the first time any manga was released in such single-story anthologies) and then by successive media tie-ins—the first time any manga character had appeared on merchandise and the first time a manga character had jumped artistic media.[114] Particularly notable amongst the Norakuro merchandise and media available was the predominance of items relating to sound: Norakuro harmonicas and the Norakuro audio stories, released on LP by then-Kodansha subsidiary King Records, were wildly popular, as was the Norakuro song, which was set to an old military tune and which reader letters attest was universally known and sung at virtually any location where children gathered, especially at school. Norakuro was also the star of the first manga eiga ("cartoon films"), also called "manga talkies," five of which were produced from 1933-38, all written or co-written by Tagawa.[115]

Fig 8: Norakuro and his fellow recruits line up for inspection in *Norakuro nitôhei*, 1933.

The term "media mix" has been employed to discuss the various transmedia strategies by which first anime and later American media properties have been marketed across media, with varying degrees of interdependence and success.[116] Looking at the Norakuro boom as a prewar kind of media mix demonstrates that sound lay at the center, which should probably not be surprising given the predominance of radio at the time: by 1934, approximately 13.4% of the population had a radio in the household. (And indeed, as Louise Young notes, the Manchuria Incident of 1931 had caused a notable uptick in the rate of radio adoption amongst Japanese households, which increased by almost a million fee-payers in three years.)[117] The kinds of sound media through which Norakuro circulated amongst children were also highly participatory: from singing the song to playing the harmonica—often in a harmonica band—to reading outloud to listening to the audio dramas on the record player, Norakuro sound media enabled children to (as Tagawa continually asked readers to do in interviews and author's notes) have fun with Norakuro themselves in direct and interactive ways. They also encouraged children's consumer consumption; even if you couldn't afford a Norakuro harmonica or a Norakuro alarm clock, you could probably afford Norakuro candy. And no matter who you were, you could learn and sing the

Norakuro song, and you could also learn to draw Norakuro yourself, since the Norakuro books included the music and lyrics for the song and a tutorial on how to draw Norakuro.[118]

Fig 9: Norakuro harmonica ad in *Shônen Kurabu* depicting Tagawa Suihô at lower top right, 1934.

The Norakuro media mix to some extent drew on existing magazine practices; the Norakuro song, for instance, was clearly modeled on the *Shônen Kurabu* song, which the magazine's aidokusha had been learning and singing for years, though the melody was that of an old naval tune, "Yûkannaru suihei," composed for the Sino-Japanese

War in 1895.[119] But these practices, when combined with the character of Norakuro himself and with Tagawa's pioneering manga storytelling, worked exceedingly well. They also, judging from readers' letters, inaugurated an imagined community that was not merely imagined but directly participatory: the evidence is clear that not only children of all genders but also the entire family routinely read *Shônen* and *Yônen Kurabu*: innumerable letters from fans speak to how their whole family loves the magazine, how their parents like it better than their magazines for adults, how their father likes a certain ongoing story but their mother likes a different one. This is not entirely surprising; education was at this time only compulsory until the end of middle school, and many of these children's parents were probably not much above an eighth-grade reading level.

Furthermore, the magazines themselves were shared amongst children with an avidity that is probably difficult to imagine in the age of the internet: letter after letter describes sharing magazines with friends and classmates, usually at school, but often at each other's homes after school, just as letter after letter tells the story of how the writer became an aidokusha after being introduced to the magazine by a friend. Postwar writers on manga have recalled how, even at schools whose students were so poor that only one or two children could afford the latest issue of *Shônen Kurabu*, copies of the magazine were handed around or read outloud so that everyone knew what amusing scrapes Norakuro had gotten into that month.[120] (Tagawa's witty dialogue directly facilitated the manga being read aloud, as it was humorous enough in and of itself to be amusing when it was.)

Equally importantly, and in a direct contrast to contemporary manga magazines, *Shônen Kurabu* and its siblings were routinely available for sale in used bookstores, providing another way for readers to access the manga. Letter after letter talks about singing the Norakuro song, listening to the Norakuro records, and reading the manga aloud with friends.[121] The appeal of Norakuro and *Shônen Kurabu* also crossed lines of empire: more than one letter from Manchukuo and the colonies talks about Japanese children sharing manga and the magazine with Chinese and other non-Japanese children, while children regularly wrote in from the worldwide Japanese diaspora attesting that *Shônen Kurabu* was used as a textbook in their Japanese-language class, that the magazine had helped them with their Japanese, that it helped them feel like part of a group. Norakuro was popular enough in the diaspora that in 1943 children and adults in the Minidoka internment camp in Idaho put together a Norakuro Harmonica Band (in fact it had as many harmonicas as other instruments) under the baton of Roy Matsunaga, formerly of Portland, Oregon.[122]

Fig 10: The Norakuro Harmonica Band in Minidoka Internment Camp, Idaho, June 1943.

If sound was the glue that held the Norakuro media mix together, the Norakuro manga itself remained the engine powering the entire assemblage, and Tagawa rose to the occasion afforded by the manga's popularity magnificently both as a designer and as a manga creator.[123] What we might call the manga's rereadability, or high resale value—not in the sense of price at the used bookstores, but the fact that it was still engaging upon reread, and the fact that readers could still enjoy the story even if they bought the magazine used, stripped of its furoku (freebies)—was something that Tagawa consciously considered when creating the manga.[124] Furoku were already an essential part of children's magazines, and they have remained one of the draws of manga magazines aimed at children down to the present day. But Tagawa's decision to create a manga that did not depend on the ultimately ephemeral freebies to make readers want to read it, which arose out of his desire to include children too poor to buy the monthly magazines in the manga experience[125], led him to create a manga that was highly appealing and highly rereadable. If other manga or children's manga had had these traits before, *Norakuro* certainly took both of them to new heights.

Fig 11: Cover of *Norakuro shikangakkô no maki*, January 1936 *Shônen Kurabu* freebie

Additionally, Tagawa personally designed every element of the hardcover *Norakuro* manga tankôbon, from the slipcase in which each came (very unusual for the era, and virtually unheard of for manga today) to the repeating patterns on the flyleaves and the new art created for the tables of contents, author's notes, and covers. This degree of personal control over every aspect of the manga production process was unusual for a mangaka at the time and if anything remains even more so today, when the publication process for manga is well-established rather than actively being pioneered as it was in the 1930s. Postwar writers who were children at the time later attested that the book design in particular was very pleasing to Norakuro's fans: the pages were large, Norakuro's face was on the book covers, and the books were all in full color.[126] Taken all together, it's not hard to see why the books were so amazingly successful—when Kodansha's own advertisements proclaimed that there had never been a book that sold so well and that even the booksellers were surprised, they were speaking the truth.[127]

Fig 12: Cover of *Norakuro jôtôhei*, 1932

Displaying the commercial acumen which made it Japan's largest publishing company then and now, Kodansha quickly developed cardboard display stands of Norakuro which booksellers could set up to display the latest Norakuro volume.[128] Interestingly, the booksellers were doing for profit what Norakuro's readers were doing for fun; cardboard figures and objects that could be assembled and played with were common freebies in *Shônen Kurabu*, and throughout the 1930s many of them featured Norakuro. And though the main line of Norakuro manga was restricted almost exclusively to *Shônen Kurabu*, and little of the Norakuro content in other media was original to those media—important differences from the anime media mix as it was perfected in the 1980s—Norakuro was heavily advertised in the other Kodansha sibling magazines, and extra portions of his story were published as freebies for the magazine

or small pamphlet-esque books, such as when Norakuro entered officer training in *Norakuro shnkangakkô no maki*, the deluxe freebie included with the 1936 New Year's issue of *Shônen Kurabu*.

Norakuro's fate

You don't climb all the way to the top without making a few enemies, and this truth holds even for lovable stray dogs who enlist in the military. *Norakuro* sold 1.5 million copies in book form in the 1930s and was indisputably the runaway success story of prewar manga across the board.[129] But by 1938 the fascist military-bureaucratic clique that had taken over Japanese politics and ended party government in 1932 had grown deeply suspicious of Japan's most famous fictional canine, and began to put in place a series of policy measures designed to end the publication of Norakuro and of the decade's second-bestselling manga, *Bôken Dankichi* (1933-39, Adventure Dankichi), a brave Japanese youth whose adventures among various indigenous peoples, mostly in the South Seas and all depicted using the grossest racial stereotypes, sought to uphold the same "Japanese spirit" (Yamato damashii) at the heart of all of Kodansha's children's publications: Tagawa described these in *Norakuro* as being cheerful in duty, deep in feeling, surpassing in wit, and loyal with a strong will, "just as the same as you readers" (shokun to onaji desu).[130]

It ought to come as something of a surprise that the military bureaucrats of fascist Japan hated Norakuro, who after all was a decorated officer in the very same imperial Japanese military in which they served and who by 1938 was fighting a war on the continent against the pigs (literally) in order to make a new nation, a land where the "five races" (two types of dogs, pigs, goats, and bears) could live in harmony.[131] In the era of the total empire in Japan no one would have needed to be told the connection between the five types of animals in Norakuro and the five races in the allegedly independent state of Manchukuo: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Manchu, and Mongols. It must be said, however, that Norakuro's forces had a better battle record than that of the imperial Japanese army, which repeatedly overextended its supply lines after the outbreak of war with China proper in 1937 but remained fanatically convinced that the answer to overextension was to take more territory, ad nauseam and ad infinitum, virtually until the surrender in 1945.[132]

The fact that Norakuro's story directly recapitulated the Manchurian and Chinese campaigns and depicted the military in a positive light was the linchpin of the postwar charges that Norakuro in particular and *Shônen Kurabu* in general were responsible for promoting wartime militarism to children. These charges are extremely ironic, given that Tagawa had hated being in the military and that the military he depicted in *Norakuro* no longer existed, drawing as it did on his memories of service just after WWI: respectful to superiors, kind to subordinates, comradely towards everyone, mutually striving for the good of the country.[133] The contemporary imperial Japanese military was different in a number of ways, not least among them being that it was much more brutal to its own personnel, who in classic fashion exported the abuse they received from commanders down the chain, with the numerous war crimes committed

against civilians and prisoners of war in many Asian countries being the ultimate, predictable result.

That being said, it would be fatuous to deny that Norakuro and Dankichi were pro-empire or that they took the empire as a base assumption; indeed, it's difficult to imagine how they could have been published at all had that not been the case, given the steady escalation of censorship after 1931.[134] Moreover, reading both manga in the book format if anything increases this impression, since by definition it strips both manga of their original magazine context, while reading the *Kurabu* magazines from the late Taisho and early Showa period demonstrates that their military and imperial content was by no means unusual for the time; rather, it was bog-standard. As Louise Young has written, domestic support for the Japanese empire at the time was overdetermined precisely because so many components of society were in favor of imperialism, often unthinkingly: imperialism was normal, and the synergy between those different components of society "is what gave total imperialism its peculiar force."[135] Kodansha and its magazines were one of those components of society, and the manga they published not only reinforced but catered to those base assumptions about empire and militarism, assumptions which children absorbed from everyone else around them in society as well as from the magazines, which regularly featured a remarkable number of photospreads showcasing military parades, military reviews, military hardware, and military personnel. The carefully curated geographic spread of the readers' letters also both created and reinforced the idea of a Japanese diaspora centered on the empire among children, and all of these things combined to create what we might call a children's culture of imperialism, as well as a model of what made someone a Japanese child.

It was that question that eventually brought down Norakuro and Dankichi, and manga in general. Whatever else we want to say about the bureaucrats in charge of the nearly omnipotent Home Ministry, they certainly knew how to read the *Kurabu* magazines, which were also a site for the formation and transmission of a very different set of values, namely that of mass culture and modernity. Alongside the military photospreads, the *Kurabu* magazines promoted the mass culture of the times, a kind of child-friendly version of "erotic grotesque nonsense" culture. Children too participated in Japanese modern times, visible in the *Kurabu* magazines in the form of fashion illustrations (particularly in girls' magazines, discussed at length in Deborah Shamoon's work), advertisements for various products ranging from candy to harmonicas to record players, and illustrations depicting modern children doing a variety of modern things such as going to the beach. The magazines regularly featured articles discussing global celebrities such as Charles Lindbergh, Amelia Earhart, Henry Ford, and other notable figures; although less prominent in the *Kurabu* magazines than in some other children's periodicals, articles about movies and movie stars were all the rage in the 1930s too. The burgeoning popularity of Santa Claus, who became a fixture in year-end issues of children's magazines beginning in the 1920s, must also have been particularly nightmarish for a group of paranoiacs who fancied themselves the restorers and exemplars of "Japanese tradition."

One of the defining traits of fascism is its modern anti-modernism: while publicly denouncing features of modernity such as consumerism and changing gender roles in favor of "traditional values," fascist groups unabashedly made use of modern communications technologies and the framework of modern mass society itself to advance their ends. The problem with manga in general and children's manga in particular according to the Home Ministry was that it was teaching children not traditional values but consumerism, and after the July 7 Incident in 1937 led to the outbreak of open war between Japan and China, consumerism and modern times themselves became more or less anathema. Tellingly, the fact that by 1937 Tagawa was telling his young readers in the foreword to that year's Norakuro tankôbon, *Norakuro sôkôgeki*, that the time was coming when they would have to be soldiers of the empire and that they should read the book in preparation for that as well as henceforth be mentally ready for it, held little water with these officials: as manga critic Ozaki Hotsuki correctly commented, in their view, "Norakuro was cooperating with the publishers' commercialism, not the military."[136]

By 1938, the bureaucrats were ready to take what they presumed would be decisive action, which would profoundly shape wartime and postwar manga in surprising ways. In October of that year educators and bureaucrats devised what they called a "children's literature purification policy" that did not make any distinction between manga and children's illustrated books and which stipulated that both should be educational, not merely entertaining. There was also an explicit directive to reduce the number of manga, and "in particular to reduce long-running [serial] manga"—in other words, *Norakuro* and *Dankichi*.[137] In promulgating this policy, the bureaucrats were evidently intending to fix what was bad in children's manga and to create good little subjects (shôkokumin) with an eye to the presumably glorious future of the empire after the war.[138] The policy, however, was more what you'd call guidelines than actual rules, and these guidelines singularly failed to stifle children's manga: neither *Norakuro* nor *Dankichi* ceased publication, although many of their lesser animal imitators did, and the emphasis on "educational" content in fact led to a short-lived boom in science fiction manga, most notable of which was the classic *Kasei tanken* (1940, Mars Adventures). In this environment, it does not seem coincidental that by the latter half of the 1930s the *Shônen Kurabu* readers' corner was routinely printing letters from mothers of child readers praising the magazine's educational content.

Having singularly failed the first time, three years later in 1941 the Home Ministry succeeded in stifling children's manga by other means. Tagawa Suihô later wrote that he was compelled to take a consultation meeting with Home Ministry officials who directly told him that *Norakuro* was a waste of paper, and not long after, a paper rationing decree was promulgated that forced every magazine publisher to drastically reduce the size of their publications.[139] Norakuro's adventures ended mid-serialization; at the close of the last published tankôbon, Norakuro, by now a decorated captain tipped for promotion to brigadier general, had made an emotional farewell speech to his troops and resigned his commission to "build the continent," setting off alone with his canine best friend from said continent.[140] Needless to say, by 1941 the military fortunes of Norakuro's army no longer mirrored those of the imperial Japanese

army; they had in fact wildly diverged. Tezuka Osamu later remarked that the end of *Norakuro* came as a shock to everyone.[141]

Fig 13: Shrinking issues of *Yônen Kurabu* from 1933, 1941, and 1944.

For the duration of the war, what manga that was permitted to be published was, in the words of Tezuka, “in the gutter.”[142] So-called “national policy manga” was, in the words of *Kasei tanken* artist Ôshiro Noboru, basically a physical education textbook.

According to Ôshiro, who was summoned to the first of many meetings with Home Ministry bureaucrats in 1940 after the promulgation of the agglomeration law which required all voluntary associations to merge into national associations overseen by the government, the official attitude was that manga wasn't necessary for children. Consequently, as Tezuka pointed out, the art in wartime manga became very obedient and quiet (otonashii), often at official behest: Ôshiro later recounted being told lots of inane things such as not to draw colored insects even in science manga, and of course no matter what the officials said, creators had to take their statements as orders. By 1943, moreover, the officials wanted to say that manga wasn't needed in this important time of national emergency, and in fact most manga magazines had ceased publication in 1941, while those few that did struggle on (namely, the onetime *Osaka Puck*, renamed *Manga Nippon* after the promulgation of a 1943 edict banning the English language in print, and *Manga*) halted altogether in January 1945.[143]

For all intents and purposes, as the Empire of Japan struggled on towards the suicidal and pointless "decisive battle" (kessen) for which its leaders yearned in the spring and summer of 1945, it seemed as though manga was already among the war's manifold casualties.

Chapter Four: The Manga Men

Manga Man: The height and the problem of manga during wartime

If the 1930s were a decade of astonishing successes for kodomo manga, for the men who were the editors and practitioners of manga in newspapers and manga magazines it was a much more uncertain and ultimately dispiriting decade. The last decade in which adult-oriented non-fiction manga was at the forefront of artistic innovation in manga expression, as in the event it turned out to be, also featured some of the medium's most beautiful publications. The era in which improper politics in manga were brutally suppressed also saw the rise of one of Japanese comics' most notable conservative propagandists—who began life as an anarchist and ended his career as a communist. It was the best of times; it was the worst of times; it was the age of wisdom; it was the age of foolishness; it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity; it was the season of Light; it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope; it was the winter of despair; mangaka had everything before them; mangaka had nothing before them—manga and Japan, in short, were as before moving along linked tracks.

In 1928 and for a few years thereafter the big news in the medium, at least on the magazine side, was the rise of Sunday supplements. Kitazawa Rakuten's final magazine, *Jiji Manga*, had begun life as the Sunday supplement of his old home *Jiji Shinpô*, and it was joined in short order by many would-be competitors. What made these magazines remarkable for the most part, in an age of great market churn, was not their longevity but the success—or failure—of the innovations that each attempted to use to gain a commercial toehold. Collectively, these publications also managed to shift the default audience of what came to be called "newspaper manga" (since they were

originally the Sunday supplements of newspapers), with the result that newspaper manga came to be aimed at the entire household by default, its contents pitched at a deliberately broad audience. (The success of *King*'s family reading strategy, under the motto "one copy for one household," doubtless also contributed to this shift in scope.[144]) The popularity of newspaper manga overall, moreover, meant that it became irrevocably linked with the horizontal three or four-panel format, which itself became standardized across publications.[145]

Counterintuitively, one of the most influential such innovations in manga magazines was actually the decline of manga by percentage of content. In 1931 *Jiji Manga* changed its name to *Manga to Yomimono* (Manga and Reading Material) to compete with other Sunday supplements' content mixes: as opposed to just manga, these periodicals, which were aimed at the whole family, now had more photos, more movies, more sports, and less manga. The former *Jiji Manga* changed its name again less than a year later, this time to *Manga to Shashin* (Manga and Photographs), two months before Rakuten left the Jiji company for the final time after nearly 30 years' employment. The magazine published its last issue just three months later, in October 1932.[146]

In an era of extreme market uncertainty, magazines tried many different tactics in order to create both guaranteed audiences and a certain supply of cash up front. Perhaps taking a page from kodomo manga—certainly this feature became a mainstay of manga magazines after the war—several non-children's magazines in this era tried to start fan clubs among readers, with mixed results. *Tokyo Puck*, which by 1933 was in its so-called "fourth era," had a fan club for readers by the end of that year; the plan was that once the club had 300 members (at the membership rate of 1.2 yen for six months and 2.4 yen for a year), the magazine would produce a special supplement for them. But in the event, although *Tokyo Puck* lasted for sixteen years in its final monthly incarnation, ultimately folding as a consequence of the same paper rationing edict that did in *Norakuro* and *Dankichi*, the fan club never reached 300 members and the supplement was never produced.[147]

Another tactic was to appeal to readers with high production values. Two magazines in particular attempted this approach, with extremely mixed results: *Yomiuri Sunday Manga* and *Manga Man*, the former of which had a particularly meteoric rise and fall: it began in the so-called "early Showa manga boom" in 1930 and folded after just 13 months, in 1931. Printed at full-newspaper size, it was four pages with color offset, seven-pass printing, but even this high quality was not enough to attract readers: at its peak it had just 220,000 copies' circulation, compared with *Jiji Manga*'s 500,000. Created to boost the circulation of the *Yomiuri* newspaper itself, *Yomiuri Sunday Manga* took a deliberately catholic approach to manga: although eroguru nonsense is by far the most common subject of the manga within it, *Yomiuri* editor and owner, baseball tycoon, and future Class A war criminal Shôriki Matsutarô wanted it to have something for everyone, with the result that it included kodomo manga, satire, and political cartoons, with six or seven serialized strips per issue.[148]

Fig 14: Cover of *Yomiuri Sunday Manga* #38, 19 July 1931.

One of these strips was by notable proletarian cartoonist Yanase Masamu (1900-45), whose *Kanemochi kyôiku* (Bringing Up Moneybags) was an obvious play on *Oyaji kyôiku* and who played a key role in the introduction of the caricature-style works of contemporary Weimar artist George Grosz (1893-1959) to Japan from about 1923. *Yomiuri Sunday Manga* also featured the works of mangaka Shishido Sakô (1888-1969), whose *Speed Tarô* used cinematic techniques to convey motion and proved quite popular. The magazine set another milestone when artist Saeki Yoneko (1903-72) drew comics for it for about two months, making her, as far as I have been able to discern, the first female manga artist in Japan.[149]

Fig 15: Yanase Masamu, *Kanemochi kyôiku*, 1930.

Yomiuri Sunday Manga didn't last long; what proved to be its most popular strip, Shishido's *Speed Tarô*, was moved mid-serialization to a specialized children's publication, the *Yomiuri Shônen Shôjo Shinbun* (Yomiuri Boys and Girls' Newspaper), and the Sunday supplement was officially disbanded in November 1931 when the *Yomiuri* began publishing an evening edition. Most of the mangaka who continued working at Yomiuri moved to weekly publication of their strips in a morning edition, while Yanase, having joined the Japanese Communist Party the previous month, took up the pen name Harakawa Hachirô and left to do political cartoons exclusively.[150] Not coincidentally, he was picked up by the security forces for alleged violations of the Peace Preservation Act in 1932 and tortured for his beliefs; unlike many members of the proletarian arts movement, however, Yanase's first encounter with the state's repression left him only more determined to conduct his political and artistic activities.

Popular culture is serious business in a fascist regime precisely because popular culture—mass culture—is the realm in and the means by which the regime itself appeals to its denizens. It's not especially surprising that the murderers of Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi, who was assassinated by young right-wing naval officers in an abortive attempt at a so-called Shôwa Restoration in May 1932, had originally planned to assassinate both Inukai and Charlie Chaplin at a reception for the film star. (In the event, Chaplin was at a sumo match when the officers arrived at the prime minister's residence on their errand of murder.) Three years later, after the end of party government in Japan, Shôriki Matsutarô—on top of everything else, he was an

advanced practitioner of judo—survived an assassination attempt by right-wing nationalists motivated by his allowing foreigners to play baseball in the stadium at the Meiji shrine in Tokyo, albeit with a permanent, 16-inch sword scar.

Shimizu Isao called *Yomiuri Sunday Manga* the "most luxurious" of the prewar Sunday supplements, but for my money *Manga Man* is far and away the single most beautiful manga magazine produced in Japan before 1945.[151] Beauty is not something that is easy or fashionable to talk about, and since it does not by and large independently sell magazines, it is not a quality for which Japanese manga is commonly evaluated. But *Manga Man* is undeniably beautiful; even eighty years after its publication, its still-vibrant, deep colors and high production values caused me to catch my breath when I first encountered it in the Diet Library. *Manga Man* had a somewhat longer and comparatively less high-flying lifespan: it lasted slightly less than two years, from August 1929 to June 1931, and was published monthly in B4 size. Launching a monthly manga magazine whose high-quality color-offset printing was one of its major selling points just before the start of the Great Depression was certainly not one of the most inspired business decisions in the world; in some ways, despite the fact that the price increased over its 22-month career from 20 to 30 sen, it's a miracle it lasted as long as it did, particularly since it was very tightly focused on manga as an art form, rather than manga as a means to a political or pragmatic end. The January 1930 issue advertised the fact that the magazine used color offset printing, along with serialized manga and creators' names, and the fact that the issue was "fully loaded" (mansai) with foreign manga. This was no idle boast; the issue featured Scottish artist Arthur Ferrier (1891-1973)'s "Gardner" and the comics of Ernie Bushmiller (1905-82), as well as other strips which lacked the artists' names but were clearly labeled by country of origin, i.e. "English manga."[152]

Much like *Yomiuri Sunday Manga*, *Manga Man* tried to include all forms of manga that were current at the time: the same issue contains articles with illustrations, full-page colored panels, and the two-page "Japanese art" (Nihonga) style, but the centerpiece was 11 straight pages of full color, one-page comics. The lettering in the strips was hand-done, but all of them had panel numbers, and the strips by Japanese creators also prominently displayed their names; as the magazine appeared monthly, some of these comics were in fact compilations of multiple different strips (particularly those syndicated from abroad), while others were one long single episode, such as a comic by Miyao Shigeo in this issue. *Manga Man* also adopted the common syndicated comics practice of the "topper," a smaller strip that ran on top or below the main body of a full-page Sunday comic in order to use all the available space. Whereas both the topper and the main strip were usually drawn by the same artist in the syndicates' practice, however, *Manga Man*'s toppers, called "obi" in Japanese after the belt for kimono, were usually unrelated and drawn by Japanese artists in order to accommodate the full-size syndicated comics from abroad.

Fig 16: The cover of the January 1930 *Manga Man*.

The turn to translated comics was not simply a matter of the fact that the *Manga Man* staff liked American nonsense manga, although they did; it was also a reflection of the fact that politics and satire were becoming increasingly untenable in manga ("satire" in the sense of social critique could open one to the same dangers as expressing political opinions, if one's social critiques led to conclusions other than those of the government). It was also a reflection of perhaps the one unchanging truth of the comics business, namely that producing them is a lot of work: most of the native manga in the magazine

was produced collaboratively, with staff members assisting each other with all aspects of manga production, and printing syndicated content meant that less space had to be devoted to original comics.[153] All these factors together meant that *Manga Man* set a high-water mark for production values that would rarely if ever be met, let alone equaled, again in Japanese comics. But its real influence lay not in its actual publication history, but in the connections and community-building amongst mangaka that it enabled.

The rise of mangakai and the constriction of manga

In 1932 the idea of mangakai, groups of people organized around an interest in manga, was not new—Okamoto Ippei had pioneered the practice with Kitazawa Rakuten in 1915, and those early mangakai even went so far as to produce what we would now call zines or dôjinshi, publications put together by the group's members on a semi-regular basis. In the case of Ippei's Tokyo Mangakai, that zine was released annually from 1915 until 1923, when the group merged with and took the name of the Nihon Mangakai. Somewhere between a social club and a professional organization, the Nihon Mangakai was effectively not open to anyone who wanted to join. Instead, much like the ranks of professional newspaper cartoonists themselves, its membership was effectively closed after Miyao Shigeo was inducted, and Miyao himself was forever known as the association's youngest member.

The Nihon Mangakai had played an important part in the publication of the *Gendai manga taikan* anthology; the "Manga 53 Stations of the Tôkaidô Road" its members had produced before the merger in 1923 formed the entirety of the anthology's seventh volume, and the membership themselves essentially constituted the Japanese creators featured in the anthology, in both artistic and editorial capacities. The role that the anthology played in dominating and dictating the popular discourse about manga after its publication is analogous to the role that the members of the Nihon Mangakai, by then the most senior and respected members of the mangaka profession, played in dominating what we might conceptualize as the "space" of manga in Tokyo, then and now the center of manga in Japan as a whole.

Just as Ippei's disciples had turned to new forms of and markets for manga when they found the existing manga jobs already filled by Rakuten's former students and assistants in the late 1910s and early 1920s, young artists coming to manga in the early years of the Shôwa era (1926-89) found that the existing positions were already filled. But in the much more economically and politically uncertain environment of the total empire years, the previous response—starting new publications such as *Manga Man* and turning to new forms of manga such as proletarian or kodomo manga—did not lead to the same commercial success and professional recognition that previous groups of young mangaka had enjoyed. The manga veterans at that time were more or less in possession of a monopoly on the marketplace, at least in terms of the prestigious staff positions at newspapers, still usually given the job title of manga kisha. Similarly, the topical manga these men drew was still dominated by the painterly, caricaturized style requiring long explanations for full comprehension.[154]

In 1932, the year after *Manga Man* folded, about 20 of the people associated with the magazine formed the Shinmangaha Shûdan (New-Style Manga Group). They were self-consciously young, and also self-consciously iconoclastic: they rejected the paintbrush for the sharpened pen (this is not a metaphor), and they drew witty manga with short captions, consciously drawing on the contemporary European art and comics by which all of them were heavily influenced. Notably, they were not all men, either; the mangaka Katô Takeko, who continued doing newspaper manga until at least 1961 under the name Yazaki Takeko, was one of the group's key members, having previously worked on *Manga Man*, making her one of the first female mangaka in Japanese history. In the event, the Shinmangaha very quickly attracted a great deal of attention, some of it positive, some of it decidedly less so.[155]

The group published a book, the *Shinmangaha shûdan nenkan (*Shinmangaha group yearbook*)*, in 1933 that constituted something of a manifesto as well as a line in the sand by which they attempted to differentiate themselves from the more senior practitioners of their profession. Even as they credit Kitazawa Rakuten as the grandfather of modern manga in Japan in their chapter on the history of manga, the members of the group explicitly questioned whether it was acceptable to "place things from the infancy of the birth of manga into the category of full-fledged manga" and critiqued the presentism of drawing a direct line from classical Japanese or medieval European art to contemporary comics. They were even more plain-spoken in their critique of the present situation of manga, and their reasons for forming their group: first, that what had allowed the current unity of mangaka was the plethora of newspaper and publishing jobs, but that this situation couldn't last; second, that the impossibility of politics and thought in the present age would not allow the young men of tomorrow to form a mainstream; third, that presently the international development of young mangaka (i.e. the difficulty thereof) presented a problem; and finally, so that more than two or three people at a time could become well-known, unlike the present situation with magazines, because newspapers weren't worth mentioning.[156]

With an attitude like this, it's not hard to see why many of the members of the Shinmangaha ran afoul of the government in short order, but it's also worth noting that the manga in their yearbook, although divided into many genres with the same narcissism of small differences exhibited by earlier manga anthologies (news, comics, etc), does not in fact use the more modern forms of manga expression that *Norakuro* and *Dankichi* were pioneering in Japanese comics at the very same time. Instead, the vast majority of the manga in the yearbook look to be pen-and-ink, contemporary art updates to Ippei's manga manbun style: usually they are comprised of one image, always with a caption outside, sometimes with dialogue inside but never speech bubbles, and not much paneling overall. The Shinmangaha shûdan's "new style" constituted, evidently, not so much a revolution in form as in content—and in placement.

The members of the Shinmangaha shûdan took (non-kodomo) manga outside the periodicals in which it had previously been concentrated, which is to say, newspapers and manga magazines. Members of the group did manga for all the leading periodicals of the day (*Shônen Kurabu*, *King*, *Asahi Graph*, *Ie no Hikari*, *Fujin Kurabu*, and *Shinseinen)*,

thereby spreading manga throughout the mass media in the era of the total empire. This appeal to the mass market, and getting beyond the stable job of manga kisha and the argumentative content of political manga (which in any case was rapidly becoming impossible to publish), was in keeping with the group's slogan, "market acquisition" (shijô no kakutoku). What was good for them at the time, of course, came back to haunt them in just a few short years when Home Ministry bureaucrats decided to view this spread of manga beyond specialized media outlets with extreme prejudice: the Shinmangaha's conviction that laughter was the soul of manga quickly became politically dangerous to them because it was unacceptable to the regime.[157] The fact that the core members of the group were heavily and unapologetically influenced by American nonsense manga merely added insult to injury in the eyes of the state.

The three biggest names in the Shinmangaha shûdan were Kondô Hidezô (1908-79), Sugiura Yukio (1911-2004), and Yokoyama Ryûichi (1909-2001). Both Kondô and Sugiura were students of Okamoto Ippei in the late 1920s, and together they formed a reliable trio with Yokoyama, whose younger sister Kondô eventually married. Kondô and Sugiura were especially close friends, although they made an odd pair at first glance: although he was two years older, Kondô was essentially a hick from rural Nagano prefecture, while Suigiura was Tokyo-bred and -born and at the time of their first meeting was very much a mobo urban sophisticate. Their bromance continued throughout their lives and extended to their politics; in the 1930s both of them were devotees of anarchism, although it was never explicitly reflected in their work and they saw no contradiction between anarchism and their ambition to become bestselling mangaka.[158]

Anarchism was fairly popular in imperial Japan. Although a full history of the movement is far beyond the scope of this book, it's worth noting that in general, social anarchism was far more popular in the Japanese discourse than any other type, entailing vague notions of communal property and living in post-state utopia; however, anarchism in general was desperately under-theorized (which is to say, its adherents lacked a rigorous grounding in the history and thought of the movement and often drew their beliefs from idiosyncratic hodgepodges of thinkers), and this lack of rigor in the movement's foundations left it especially vulnerable to being co-opted by the New Order and the state. The vaguely communitarian ideology that most Japanese anarchists subscribed to in some form or another was easily identified with the utopian nationalist vision offered by fascist propagandists, in which the "eight corners of the world under one roof" (hakkô ichiu), that of the emperor, provided an expansionist vision of world peace as well as a convenient justification for the empire's final wars of conquest. The case of feminist anarchist and historian Takamure Itsue, who left the capital in 1931 after attracting the attention of the secret police but who by 1938 was writing propaganda essays arguing for the full assimilation of colonial Korea via the emperor, is far more typical than it seems at first glance.

All of which is to say that, though it may seem hypocritical at best, there was very little intellectual contradiction in the story that Sugiura told at the Shinmangaha shûdan's fiftieth anniversary party in 1982, in which he revealed that he and Kondô had sworn a written oath in which they vowed that the group's formation actually

constituted a realization of anarchism. (They also vowed never to tell anyone this fact, but Sugiura evidently considered the oath void after Kondô's death.) In this respect, the group's stated policy of having sexual content in its manga, in direct opposition to the members of the old guard in manga (all of whom had been born in the 19thC), appears both as a sign of the times and as an explicit challenge to received wisdom, in almost punk fashion.[159] Yet however anarchist they were in secret, their ambitions and their earnings were thoroughly bourgeois: in 1935, for example, Yokoyama, the group's highest earner, made ¥439 in September and ¥443 in October, in an era in which salarymen struggled to achieve an income of ¥100/month.[160] The boom in nonsense manga that the group brought about was quite good to them financially, and in the event, they fared much better politically than their fellow young bloods, the members of the proletarian manga movement.

No place anywhere: The proletarians

Although they started from similar positions of dissatisfaction and were both heavily influenced by contemporary comics from abroad, the proletarians' history was on the whole shorter, less successful, and more violent than that of the Shinmangaha crowd. Whereas the Shinmangaha members largely achieved a kind of soft landing by allowing themselves to be co-opted into the New Order after having become the manga mainstream, the proletarian mangaka received no such opportunity, and they had almost uniformly stopped drawing manga well before the formation of the unified Nihon Manga Kyôkai in 1940.

The short-lived periodical *Aka* (1919, Red), centered around the doomed Ozawa Jihei (1887-1925), who despite his close association with Rakuten had a socialist bent, was an important forerunner, but the proletarian arts movement in manga kicked off in earnest in 1926, the first year of Showa, when Yanase Masamu, Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901-77), Matsuyama Fumio (1902-82), and others left the Nihon Mangakai and formed the short-lived Nihon Mangaka Renmei, aka Manren or Japan Cartoonists League.[161] The next year Matsuyama Fumio was arrested for the first time, having joined the Nihon Proletarian Geijutsu Renmei (Japan Proletarian Arts League) after the latter's formal split from anarchism, this time for posting anti-war handbills. A year later, however, the Nihon Proletarian Geijutsu Renmei joined several other organizations to form the Zen Nihon Musansha Geijutsu Renmei (All-Japan Proletarian Arts League, or NAP) and Matsuyama Fumio published his first serial manga in *Tokyo Puck*, which was by then a monthly.

The hodgepodge of names and rapidfire sequence of events in the preceding paragraph speaks to a terminal problem of the left in Japan in this ear, namely its propensity for disunity and infighting. By the late 1920s, this squabbling was set against the draconian new Peace Preservation Laws, which the state promptly began using to squeeze the left overall in the name of "thought control," since, as Gregory J. Kasza has noted, "there was no pattern of terroristic or violent behavior to combat." These laws, which went beyond the existing press laws and the system of pre- and post-publication censorship they afforded, were applied exclusively against the radical left until 1935,

"by which time there were few true radicals left to arrest." By that point, the range of acceptable discourse had narrowed considerably, not helped by the fact that, again in Kasza's phrase, "more conspicuous than revolutionary agitation was the vicious treatment of leftist prisoners."[162] Police torture was the norm for those arrested under these laws.

Murayama had founded the radical art movement MAVO in the previous decade; Yanase had been a key early member, likely contributing the group's name; Tagawa Suihô, meanwhile, had joined later, as part of the group's more radical second wave. Both Murayama and Yanase had turned to proletarian art as MAVO gradually disintegrated.[163] In these early years the proletarian mangaka, universally young and inexperienced, were directed by their editors at various proletarian periodicals to essentially copy from American left-wing propaganda art; perhaps uniquely in 20thC art history outside communist regimes, "agitprop" became a term of approbation and a positive characteristic of art for members of the movement. The wholesale copying was particularly noticeable in 1927 during the Sacco & Venzetti affair in the United States; leftist American artists like exerted a huge influence on the movement because of it, and to some extent this influence led to a degree of homogenization. This influence was not just artistic; Yanase and his contemporaries were to some degree radicalized by their American models, and came to expect a certain amount of drama in their lives in the movement due to that influence.[164] The Japanese government was only too happy to provide them with it.

1928 marked the first turning point in the movement and in some sense the year in which it came of age. That year, the so-called "March 15 Incident" (I prefer to think of it as the Ides of March Incident) had an epochal effect on the arts in general: a general crackdown on Marxists and socialists by the government beginning on that date had the effect of creating sharp divisions across arts and letters in general, as those who had no potentially compromising history of leftist thought pulled sharply away from those who did.[165] The immediate cause of the crackdown was the outlawed Communist Party's successful showing in the February 1928 general election, the first after the passage of universal male suffrage in 1925. More than 1600 people were arrested across Japan, leaving those who remained at large increasingly vulnerable. Even before that, however, specific regulations in the 1925 Peace Preservation Act aimed at forcing the separation of manga and political newspapers had been taking a toll on manga as a form of political expression.[166]

It may seem strange that Yanase and the other proletarian mangaka evidently saw no contradiction between writing a popular manga satirizing the bourgeoisie in the *Yomiuri*, for example, while being a proletarian mangaka—such gigs allowed them to get the word out, which Yanase saw as the role of manga.[167] Moreover, as Okamoto Tôki and Matsuyama Fumio point out, there was no money in the movement, and mangaka had to work in "bourgeois journalism" to put food on the table. They compensated for the compromises that their selling out naturally led to by practicing very harsh criticism, not only of themselves but of each other: throughout the length of the *YAP* and *NAP* magazines, leading proletarian mangaka could reliably be found

castigating each other for their failures to express a sufficiently proletarian or revolutionary spirit in their work.[168]

This spirit of criticism extended even to their own influences; in 1929, for example, Yanase criticized Grosz for being too bourgeois, too capitalist, and not having done enough for the revolution. Yanase was not the first member of the movement to make these points, but his positing Grosz as someone who had to be denied was significant given that he himself was undoubtedly the person who had been the most influenced by Grosz's work. Indeed, according to the editor of the proletarian magazine *Mushin*, until his exposure to Grosz's work Yanase's artistic ambitions had reached no further than drawing women's junk, in classic eroguro fashion—a biased characterization of MAVO that nonetheless indicates how its members' work was viewed after its heyday.[169]

Shimizu Isao declares unironically of this era that "the internationalization of manga had begun," but as we have already seen, manga was transnational from its very beginnings, and in any case, talking about the open influence of Western art on manga in this era under the totalizing term "batâkusai" (literally "stinking of butter" or "very Western") as Shimizu does at times, obscures important differences. Although everyone who became a mangaka in 1920s Japan was influenced by the latest global arts movements—Cubism, Dada, Futurism, Constructivism, and the art of future political refugee Thomas Theodor Heine (1867-1948) in *Simplicissimus* were influences that cut across political and stylistic differences—artists in Japan were conscious and discerning in selecting their influences.[170] The Shinmangaha were unabashed fans of nonsense manga, which as previously mentioned in practice meant syndicated American comic strips.

The American who did have an influence on the proletarians was actually a European emigré and avowed socialist, the Hungarian-American Hugo Gellert (1892-1985), whose cartoons for the radical magazine *The Liberator* were right up their alley.[171] But the proletarian arts movement in general was extraordinarily open to foreign influences, and the study of proletarian manga in other countries formed a major part of movement members' activities. Mangaka in particular were hungry for exposure to original materials, and the fact that proletarian art used printed matter as its platform meant that it could and did circulate internationally very easily, language barriers notwithstanding. Indeed, as the movement continued, the importation of foreign manga only increased; over the course of three years, proletarian mangaka organized a Proletarian Manga Kenkyûkai which looked at the proletarian art of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the United States, Italy, Hungary, Mexico, China, and the USSR. Moreover, the Japanese proletarian arts movement exerted a major influence on leftist arts across East Asia, particularly inside the Japanese empire and in the Republic of China; Yanase's work in particular was hugely popular and influential on the continent.[172]

Tokyo Puck in its fourth age was an unabashed home for proletarian manga—its final editor Shimoda Ken'ichirô (1899-1943) never lost his increasingly dangerous conviction that manga should have something political to say, and he embraced both proletarian and nonsense manga, as well as the products of the various manga groups,

under the motto that Tokyo Puck was "a pro [proletarian] and ero manga magazine." Shimoda, like the proletarians, was quite enamored of contemporary European modern art, and after he bought the Tokyo Puck company in 1928 the magazine was hugely influenced by the same influx of said art as the proletarians. In this respect, *Tokyo Puck* and the proletarians were a natural fit: the latter were the creators most heavily influenced by modernism (particularly German modernism in the vein of Georg Grosz) and by contemporary European comics, and their work handily advanced Shimoda's aim for the magazine of "manga as art."[173] But as Shimizu notes, Shimoda's stubborn and increasingly old-fashioned belief that "manga" meant something that mocked politics or social mores in a one-page drawing meant that *Tokyo Puck* became an increasingly niche publication as the decade wore on; although he and the proletarians did push the bounds of expression in these one-panel manga—Shimizu accurately terms them "tableaux manga"—that kind of manga was fast falling out of the mainstream in the mid-1930s.[174]

1933 witnessed a major round of political and cultural repression, with dozens of prominent figures arrested for alleged violations of the 1925 Peace Preservation Law, if they were ever formally charged at all: many weren't. Several proletarian mangaka were among the targets in this round, including artists and future American propagandists Yashima Tarô and his wife Yashima Mitsu, who spent nearly her entire pregnancy in jail but who was never formally charged or brought before a judge. Another mangaka, Suyama Kei'ichi, was arrested in the same year; his sentence to five years' hard labor was eventually commuted to three, and in 1941 he turned to oil painting for the duration of the war.

In the event, 1935 marked a turning point in the fortunes of the proletarian manga movement. That year Matsuyama Fumio, Yanase, and Katô Etsurô (1899-1959) formed the Fûshiga Kenkyûkai (Caricature Research Group), which eventually published the magazine *Karikare* (Caricature). It was also the year that the last of the proletarian organizations, YAP, was forcibly dissolved, and the year that the first volume of the *Manga kenkyû shiryô kôza* conspicuously declined to list anything relating to politics in its typology of manga, just as Ippei's introduction to the same conspicuously failed to acknowledge the pivotal role that Kitazawa Rakuten's political manga had played in the establishment of the medium at the turn of the century. The writer Mizushima Niô did, however, argue in the anthology's introductory article, "Writings on the History of Japanese Manga," that "having more laughter is the most valuable thing in human life."[175] It was still barely possible to publish such sentiments, but not for long.

Early in 1936, the attempted coup d'etat of the so-called February 26 Incident, in which young officers of the Imperial Japanese Army attempted to purge the government and military (at that point already synonymous) of their rivals by murder, more or less sounded the death-knell for satirical manga. Four-panel manga became the mainstay of newspaper manga after the incident, and the proletarian movement essentially foundered after the First Contemporary Manga Exhibition held that year, which in the event consisted almost entirely of proletarian manga. The following year Yanase and Matsuyama Fumio were arrested again, and the Second Contemporary

Manga Exhibition, planned for 1937, never materialized.[176] Undoubtedly the escalation of the imperial conflicts in China into full-scale war with the Republic on the mainland after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July contributed to its failure, as it did to further social constriction in the Japanese empire: the years after 1937 witnessed the so-called "imperialization" phase of colonial policy in Korea, in which the colonial government set the total cultural assimilation of Korean subjects as its goal, for example, while in the metropole military-bureaucratic rule fomented what Kasza terms "a fundamental reorganization of many social sectors:"

> All labor unions were dissolved and replaced with joint-labor management consultation committees in each firm. Agrarian workers were mobilized into the Agricultural Patriotic Association, the first comprehensive organization in this sector. Similar bodies targeted youth, women, artists, writers, and other groups. Heavy industries were reorganized into oligopolies of large producers linked by monopolistic distribution companies, and each industrial area was supervised by a civil-bureaucratic control organization. Journals and film producers were pressed into a similar format, thousands of small to medium-sized firms being systematically driven out of business. No one familiar with the structure of Japan's media industries in 1937 would have recognized them five years later.[177]

A key factor in the system of bureaucratic social control that was formalized under Prime Minister Prince Konoe Fumimaro's "New Order" beginning in 1938 was the unlicensed implementation of a number of censorship instruments by the members of the bureaucracy. The so-called "consultation meetings," in which members of various industries were summoned to (allegedly informal, off the record) sessions with Home Ministry bureaucrats and given their marching orders, were one such tool; this was the kind of meeting in which Tagawa Suihô was told that his manga was corrupting Japanese children and that it would not continue in publication in 1941. The fact that Tagawa was unable to publish again for the duration of the war strongly indicates that he had been blacklisted, another policy which was in practice communicated to editors but not to the writers in question themselves. Another, completely extra-legal instrument was the policy of consolidating periodicals in various fields, both to squeeze out people whose speech was undesirable or ideologically suspect and to make the teeming media industries easier for the Home Ministry to censor in advance, as had become the norm via submission of production galleys for administrative review. By November 1941, just before consolidating publications became legal under new regulations, bureaucrats had dissolved 10,186 periodicals, down from 28,268 in circulation in July 1938, and squeezed the number of general daily newspapers from 528 to 202, in line with the official goal of having just one daily newspaper per prefecture, as was the case in sixteen of forty-seven prefectures by December 1941.[178]

As befitted the birth of the New Order, 1938 witnessed another round of crackdowns: Suyama and Iwamatsu Atsushi aka Yashima Tarô were both arrested for the second time, while Katô Etsurô experienced his own form of tenkô, a "return to Japan," and became more or less completely nationalist. In February 1939 Iwamatsu and his wife fled to America, where they eventually produced anti-fascist propaganda for the American government. Naturalized as American citizens, they returned to Japan after the war only to retrieve their son, who had been left behind with relatives when

they fled. In May 1939, two other proletarian artists fled Japan for the uncertain haven of China. *Tokyo Puck* ceased publication in 1940, at which point the jig was effectively up.[179]

The strange case of Katô Etsurô

In 1938 members of the Fûshiga Kenkyûkai launched the short-lived magazine *Karikare (Caricature)*, which had the following motto: "with works founded on an attitude of the highest artistry, the deepest life (jinseisei), and the widest humanity as its base, manga will have as a recorder only true significance, and will be a sincere reflector of the living age together with the times."[180] The magazine continued in publication until April 1941, and even in that short span of time, it managed to cement the most unexpected, and most far-reaching, legacy of the proletarian manga movement: namely, the invention of manga criticism. Criticism in general became one of the major legacies of the proletarian movement; the expansion of proletarian manga went hand in hand with the theorization of manga as an art form in its own right, as opposed to earlier art criticism which had sought to situate manga as a hybrid form of painting. Matsuyama Fumio published the first book of manga criticism in 1937, and the movement played a major role after its death as the progenitor of the manga kenkyûkai that put on the Kindai Manga Exhibition in 1936; when he founded it in 1935, the group included every notable former *Yap* artist as well as Katô, Miura, and Minami.[181]

The category of "manga criticism" is as fuzzy as any of the other categories discussed in this book so far, which is to say that it certainly is true that analysis of manga predated the 1930s and the proletarian arts movement: as previously discussed, manga had been explicitly raised as a subject in arts journals as early as 1909. The manga criticism that grew out of the proletarian arts movement was distinguished not so much in terms of practice as in terms of approach: whereas previous generations of art critics and cartoonists had debated manga as, to quote Rei Okamoto Inouye, "a despised subgenre of painting," the proletarian arts movement members took it as read that manga was its own hybrid artform, with its own capabilities (affordances) and distinctiveness. That their own manga ranged far beyond what we now understand the term to denote is merely one more indication of how plastic—flexible—the term has been since it was introduced.

The birth of manga criticism is usually dated to two years before the founding of *Karikare*, when Suyama published *Gendai sekai mangashû* and *Manga tôsho no tebiki* through the Nihon Manga Kenkyûkai. Suyama of course was arrested again in 1938, by which point the momentum in manga had already shifted to the Fûshiga Kenkyûkai, which came out with *Karikare* in the same year. *Karikare*, however, soon found itself playing second fiddle to the magazine *Manga*, which was published beginning in November 1940 after the Japanese government began forcing civil society organizations to amalgamate under government auspices as part of then-Prime Minister Konoe Fumimaro's "New Order." The manga groups at that point were amalgamated into the Shin Nihon Mangaka Kyôkai. As officials continued to consolidate newspapers and magazines—by the end of 1944 there were just 942 Publication Law magazines and

1,606 Newspaper Law periodicals in circulation, down from 16,788 and 13,286 in 1937, respectively—cooperation with the New Order was the only way to remain in business and to receive sufficient paper rations to make publication possible.[182]

Manga and the Shindantai, as it was called, were centered around the former proletarian Kondô Hidezô, who did the bulk of the work for each issue of *Manga*. Kondô had himself become fairly nationalist, but next to Katô Etsurô, who by 1937 had made the very long journey from proletarian manga to fascism in a very short time, he looked like a pacifist. Katô's tenkô seems to have been wholehearted and sincere, and in this he was by no means the only one: thousands of intellectuals and artists of formerly leftist persuasion "converted" back to the regime's communitarian views on the nation and the empire, a process that is often euphemistically referred to in terms of a "return to Japan." Katô went further than most, however; in his book *Shinrinen manga no gihô* (Techniques for the new ideal manga, 1942), he included reproductions of the favorable coverage he had received in the Nazi press, complete with swastikas and hideous racist caricatures of Jewish people. He also rearticulated a critique of his former comrades that he had made previously, namely that the proletarians were too class conscious when, under the New Order, they should have been "kokutai conscious."[183]

The kokutai, literally the "national body," was the animating conception of the imperial body-politic under the 1829 Constitution, and during the fascist era it was interpreted in a particularly wide-ranging manner that contributed, for instance, to the policy that practically compelled Korean subjects to adopt Japanese surnames from 1937. In all these cases, the figure of the emperor was seen as a mediating and pacifying influence that would, once subjects had accepted total obedience to him, elevate the empire into one unified Japanese nation. The same ideas underlay the Imperial Army's disastrous campaigns of conquest from 1937-45, which were animated by the rallying cry of "hakkô ichiu," the "eight corners of the world under one roof"—i.e. under the dominion of the emperor.

The elephant in the room that Japanese fascism, like fascism in Germany, Italy, and Spain, was trying to ignore and destroy was *difference*, and in particular differences of class and of ethnicity—precisely those categories around which left-wing activism in this period was concentrated. That effacing ethnic difference required the destruction of certain ethnic groups was perfectly fine with these regimes; although Japan undertook no coordinated campaigns of mass murder, imperial officials certainly did their best to destroy the ethnic identity of Koreans via the name-change policy and the outlawing of the Korean language as a means of education, and there is ample evidence that in the last phases of the war in 1945 ethnic Okinawans, whose islands were annexed to Japan only in 1872, were heavily encouraged to prove their Japanese-ness by dying for the empire.

This, then, was the milieu that Kondô, Katô, and others who committed tenkô happily endorsed. In the specific case of cartoonists, it's not clear how many others beyond Katô shared his views as opposed to having figured out that the only route to survival was keeping their mouths shut. Katô wrote many screeds advocating that the New Order needed new cartoonists, and when the Shindantai was formed he went so far as to claim that "the young mangaka have stood up, and they have screamed: 'Take

back manga's nationality!' And the concretization of that scream, namely, is the Shin Nihon Mangaka Kyôkai!"[184] But reading the discussions in surviving issues of *Manga* produces the distinct sense that Katô himself was pretty far out on a limb.

A roundtable with Kitazawa Rakuten himself published in August 1941 is particularly telling in this regard. Along with Rakuten, Kondô Hidezô, Matsushita Ichio, Suigiura, and Ono Saseo participated, but the bulk of the discussion consists of Kondô interviewing Rakuten about the early days of manga in Japan. Hilariously, Kondô repeatedly tries to associate Rakuten's career with the imperial wars of the Meiji period, a connection that Rakuten repeatedly denies; Kondô brings up the New Order, only to have Rakuten remark pithily that Japan being in a state of timeless stasis (an accurate description of the ideal national community that fascist propaganda envisioned) would be bad for manga.[185] That Rakuten and Kondô were constantly talking past each other is particularly noticeable given that Rakuten's politics were always more or less frankly nationalist: there was quite a difference between Rakuten-style patriotism, which saw nothing wrong with criticizing the government in the name of the nation, and the fascism that Kondô espoused, which treated criticizing the government as a betrayal of the nation because it entirely conflated the two.

They were probably still talking past each other even when Rakuten launched into his views on the proper role of manga in propaganda: speaking from his years of experience as a government gadfly, he argued that politicians' understanding, with respect to manga, was limited: "I want them to feel like they should make use of manga. I can't read foreign comics, but I think that they are making the war something amusing. But here in Japan we're basically not allowed to draw that. It's very vexing [not to be allowed to draw manga contributing to the war effort]." Compared to the early days of his career, Rakuten argued that "Japan has grown up and so have its responsibilities," but the government still wouldn't let cartoonists "express the spirit of the people in art."[186]

The inconvenient truth was that the government still essentially would have preferred that manga and all things modern be erased from Japanese society. And though Rakuten exhorted contemporary cartoonists to make manga excellent, saying that all of them had to walk the way of manga (mangadô) together because they were all the same age, and implicitly criticized kodomo and nonsense manga with his declaration that he had founded *Tokyo Puck* to provide "high-class laughter," not "mere comedy," it seems that readers didn't find much excellence or cause for laughter in the officially sanctioned comics that the Shindantai was selling.[187] *Manga* itself did very poorly until the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941; the return rate for the first issue, which had a print run of 140,000 copies, was above 50%, and the magazine was more or less failing until the commemorative Pearl Harbor issue in February 1942 sold 45,000 copies.[188] Rakuten still claimed to believe that manga is "what expresses laughter by conveying the reader's emotions directly," but *Manga* the magazine evidently failed to do this anywhere near as effectively as the Kodansha children's magazines and adult-oriented nonsense manga had.[189]

In the end, it seems that what kept *Manga* alive was the fact that continuing government distrust of manga as an art form meant that it was banned from other types

of publications outside *Manga* and *Manga Nihon*, as the former *Osaka Puck* rebranded itself in 1943 after English was officially banned in all Japanese publications. The *Asahi Graph* kept up its manga until March 1944, but paper and ink shortages meant that the paper had long since switched to monochrome printing and cut all but one four-panel strip; their long-running translated version of *Gigs and Maggie,* along with other foreign and nonsense manga, disappeared around the beginning of the New Order in 1940.

Katô, meanwhile, quit the Shindantai in 1941 out of disgust at other members' distinct lack of nationalism.[190] In *Shinrinen manga no gihô* he outright attacked the members of the Shindantai and its predecessors, claiming that the problem with most if not all professional cartoonists in Japan was that they were too liberal and individualistic in their thinking. These faults had made it easy for Euro-American nonsense manga to take over Japanese cartooning over the past decade, aided and abetted by Japanese cartoonists who forgot the "national essence" and who, seduced by proletarianism and communism, produced work that was "nothing but intellectualistic and commercial communist manga." That this last sounds like a contradiction in terms was apparently no problem for Katô, who went on to declare that "in a word, manga is an art that must hold the will of the people of the family state (kokka kokumin) and give a warning against or must proactively attack every unjust, unreasonable, unnatural, or discordant thing in the world."[191]

Later manga critics have resisted reckoning with Katô and with fascism in manga in general. Tellingly, the editor and critic Minejima Masayuki (1925-2016) wrote in 1984 that "if Kondô is guilty [of inciting militarism], then everyone in mass communications was guilty."[192] That is precisely the point; the workings of the total empire meant that there was no alternative to espousing militarism and nationalism if one wanted to stay in print, and staying in print was generally the main way for these people to earn a living. It does not excuse what they did, but it does provide an important contextual explanation for it. And it also exposes the scholarly meme of blaming Norakuro, Dankichi, and kodomo manga in general for the rise of militarism and the disaster of the Asia-Pacific Wars for the fundamental displacement that it is: though it is not quite victim-blaming, naming Tagawa and other children's manga creators as the primary architects of militarism in children ignores the fact that all of Japanese society went more or less all in on militarism and the empire after 1931, and certainly by 1940. That Tagawa and others wrote manga so profoundly structured by the military merely speaks to the degree to which the military and fascism pervaded Japanese society, as manga critic Natsume Fusanosuke acknowledged: "It may be that the militaristic tendency of *Norakuro* does not go beyond what was obvious for the general public and boys at the time," he wrote, in a definitive understatement. Moreover, the move to view *Norakuro* as a militaristic manga affirming continual imperial aggression is, in Natsume's view, part of the same "ideology of unconscious progressivism that draws a definite divide between prewar and postwar [manga] and that posits the postwar as having progressed."[193] Instead of blaming children's manga for the empire, scholars need to acknowledge the complicity of Japanese society and Japanese subjects generally in the country's fascist history and imperial collapse.

The same catastrophe: 1940-45

By the end of 1941, then, manga as a profession and as an art form was essentially at a standstill. With almost all former manga venues shut down, no newcomers were able to enter the profession, and those mangaka who were lucky enough to retain their jobs worked more or less at the whim of the regime. After 1941 it became virtually impossible to make a living at manga the way that the most successful creators like Tagawa had in the 1930s, which explains why only senior and politically trustworthy creators such as Rakuten had the means to participate in the Japan Manga "Public Duty Group" (hôkôkai, a wartime locution), as they didn't have to work and so were able to volunteer.[194]

It would be a mistake, however, to think that manga did not continue during this era. Perhaps counterintuitively, the wartime manga hiatus produced a kind of hothouse effect that is best understood by looking at the case of children's manga. After the genre was effectively ended by the paper rationing edict, children didn't stop reading manga; instead, they turned to the personal collections they and their peers had already amassed and went to used bookstores to look for old copies of the magazines that had formerly printed serialized children's manga: as Kajii Jun summarizes, "compared to the lifespan of contemporary manga, prewar manga books were much, much longer lived."[195] In these practices, children were merely increasing their reliance on informal networks of manga-sharing that predated the children's manga restrictions, as the letters to the editors of *Shônen Kurabu* from the 1930s attested month after month. But they were also further normalizing patterns and platforms of manga consumption that would be institutionalized by the postwar manga industry.

Meanwhile, the percentage of manga readers who felt impelled to try their hands at drawing manga did not vanish during the height of the war either. Significantly in this respect, the *Asahi Graph* kept up its "Readers' Manga" corner, later called "Manga dôjô," as long as it kept printing manga. Amateurs had the run of this section for as long as it lasted, which for many of them kept the dream of creating manga professionally alive—the fact that they had to do pro-war comics to get published notwithstanding. (The pro-war slant in what manga was getting published at this point was so total that Kondô actually published a long apology for it in his editor's note for the April 1942 issue of *Manga*.[196]) Tezuka Osamu, who will shortly play an outsize role in these pages, definitely belongs in this camp; he had been reading manga out of his father's vast library almost from birth, and he spent the war years in Takarazuka, just outside of Osaka, constantly drawing amateur manga, including a very famous amateur work known as "Shôri no hi made" (Until the day of victory) featuring Mickey Mouse piloting a Zero bomber, among other incongruous but thoroughly modern juxtapositions.[197]

Other creators took jobs in the proverbial boondocks to make ends meet. Hasegawa Machiko, Tagawa's most famous student, moved back to Kyushu with her mother and sisters during the war and worked as a manga kisha for provincial papers. Ueda Toshiko, who had made her manga debut anonymously in 1941, moved back to Manchukuo and worked for the South Manchurian Railway Company, the company

that constituted the half of the Manchukuo government not formed by the military, for two years before joining the *Manshû Nichinichi* newspaper in the capital two months before the end of the war, a job she held almost until the day of the surrender.[198] Both women would return to illustrious careers in Tokyo after the war.

Before that, however, the war almost totally vitiated the art form. There were some qualified exceptions to the manga ban; for example, the authorities let Matsushita Ichio's *Suishin oyaji* (Old Man Implementation) go on because, as Kajii Jun notes, despite its factory setting it was essentially fascist.[199] There was also a brief boom in science manga aimed at children on the grounds that it was "educational." Although the majority of these manga were, as Matsumoto Leiji remarked in the 1980s, "like eating vegetables," there was one very notable and influential exception, namely *Kasei tanken* (Mars expedition), a science fictional manga published in 1940 with art by Ôshiro Noboru and a story by Asai Tarô, a penname for Oguma Hideo (1901-40). *Kasei tanken* was a huge hit for several reasons: as the science fiction writer and mangaka Komatsu Sakyô remarked in the same conversation, it was fun, it had a great story, it was full of up to the minute science, and it was in full, very pretty color. (Although the manga has been reprinted, no publisher in this century has made the effort to reproduce the original colors, which is a crying shame.) For all these reasons, it exerted a huge influence on science fiction and on manga in Japan, as fans of both—and in the 1930s they were already closely linked—reread the manga over and over during the war years. Ôshiro's use of color in lines was held to be particularly influential.[200]

After the Mars expedition, however, it was more or less all downhill. Looking at magazines containing manga published during the war years, it's immediately obvious that the medium was slowly being choked off just from the steadily decreasing thickness of the spines and the steadily increasing cheapness of the paper. Serialized manga in *Shônen Kurabu* decreased to none, for example, and the one-shot manga that were published were essentially propaganda.[201] In some ways *Osaka Puck* kept up the dream of manga as a venue for humor and fun the longest; although forced to change its name to *Manga Nippon* in 1943 in response to an edict banning English in the press, it continued to publish manga until most periodicals were forced to cease publication in January 1945. Its final issue before the end of the war, from that month, has a cover drawn by Katô Etsurô depicting a crowd of people under the banner "ichioku gyokusai," literally "the hundred million shatter like jewels," the poetic turn of phrase by which the government policy that everyone in the country should fight to the death rather than surrender was referred to in conversation.

Fig 17: Cover of *Manga Nippon* by Katô Etsurô, December 1944, depicting the hundred million ready to fight to the death.

And yet, once you open the cover of that issue, the immediate impression is not of overwhelming propaganda but of an art form that was still, despite restrictions, trying to provide content that would help people to laugh in the midst of their present difficulties. Moreover, despite Katô's hysterical pronouncements about manga's nationality (belied by his own reprinting of his adulatory Nazi press coverage) and the government's efforts to strong-arm the medium into either docility or non-existence, *Manga Nippon* still contains comics from outside Japan: unsurprisingly, they are all from

Germany, but they are still there, and they are not even (primarily) about the war, but appear to depict the difficulties of modern urban life that perturbed consumers and urbanites around the world. From the years 1938-45 the Japanese government did its level best to take the modern out of manga and out of society, but found in the end that it could not take manga, and modern society, out of the modern.

Conclusion: Eating vegetables, rereading manga

Manga Nippon ceased publication in January 1945, but in September of that year, less than a month after the surrender on 15 August, it was back with a new issue which at times seems almost giddy. Just like almost every other publication at the time, it contains a "quick English guide" outlining the few key phrases needed to interact with the American GIs who were now streaming into the country as part of the Occupation. It also contains a particularly telling aside in a report on the rumor that the Americans would soon be setting up a movie theater, and that therefore "movies will be like movies again." In other words, the dreary propaganda films of the war years weren't really like movies (eigarashii) at all, and along with the end of the war, fun was no longer verboten. Indeed, some Japanese experienced the end of the war as a literal return of color; Sugiyama Jirô, the partner of Ignace von Ephrussi and later a guardian of the Ephrussi netsuke collection chronicled in Edmund de Waal's *The Hare with Amber Eyes*, told de Waal that the day of the surrender he and a friend were taking the afternoon train down from Tokyo to Izu: "It was not easy to get train tickets, and we were chatting on the train when we saw women wearing very colorful clothes. And we couldn't believe it. We hadn't seen color for years and years. And we heard the news that a few hours earlier there had been the declaration of surrender."[202]

Historian Miriam Silverberg discussed (mostly passive) attempts at "hanging onto the modern" in her book *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*, largely to counter the prevailing interpretation that Japanese modern times were lightly worn and easily discarded by Japanese subjects over the course of the total empire. Ultimately she concluded that "the history of modern Japanese culture was suffused by meanings and tensions, created, consumed, and then not forgotten by the women, the men, and the children who went out to play in the city streets, and who were then sent to war, before they were told not to remember."[203] Recent work by other historians has borne out and extended her findings, showcasing ways in which Japanese subjects did not necessarily resist but at the very least did not fully comply with the spirit (as opposed to just the letter) of wartime edicts indicting consumption, consumerism, and fun as un-Japanese.

As part of his study of the history of the sewing machine in Japan, Andrew Gordon has discussed how the 1930s were "a time of both mobilizing for war and deepening of modernity" in the form of the increasing possession of radios, increasing passion for baseball, and the increasing spread of Western clothes and Western-style

beauty parlors catering to women.[204] This modernity spread in spite of and also due to the mobilization for war, and is aptly symbolized by the tortured saga of monpe, the afterwards much-hated wartime work trousers for women, which were one of the skewed ways in which the state sought to meet subjects halfway via the category of what Gordon calls “wartime modernity.” Ironically, the "traditional" monpe slacks were just one of three categories of "Standard Dress" proposed for women by the state, and everyone involved understood the growth in the wearing of monpe “as separate from Standard Dress, even as a sign of resistance to it”—monpe were the only one of the Standard Dress categories that included trousers, and women wanted trousers because they were modern and fashionable (as opposed to kimono), so everyone adopted monpe.[205] Although they were read at the time and later as a sign of thoughtless obedience to the wartime regime, then, monpe were in fact a sign of the ways in which former consumer-subjects still made consumer-esque choices even after consumerism was officially denounced.

Manga fits into this paradigm of “wartime modernity” too. It would be manifestly untrue to say that manga was inherently resistant to co-option by the state, but at the same time that its content was suborned to the needs of fascist propaganda, there was something in its form’s inalienable hybridity—neither words nor pictures, but both at once, together—and in its undeniable transnational history—neither fully Japanese nor fully foreign—that the wartime state could never completely control and which, consequently, it sought futilely and constantly to deny. The state could and did ban certain creators, certain genres, and certain kinds of content in manga, but it could not prevent people from remembering and rereading other, earlier manga, manga which seemed more like manga and less like eating vegetables. As soon as the end of the war brought about the downfall of the state controls that had artificially suppressed the energy of manga creators and fans, they went right back to doing what they did best: reading, creating, and enjoying manga. The ways in which manga, as an industry and a medium, was transformed by these newly unleashed energies in the postwar years form the subject of the next chapter.

Part Three:
Manga in the Postwar, 1945 - 1963

Overview: Nowhere to go but up

The end of the Fifteen Years' War, of the Asia-Pacific War, of World War II—different names for aspects of the continuous war that Japan had been waging since 1931—wiped the Japanese Empire off the map. In the event, the final straw was the Soviet invasion of Manchukuo, which convinced the Cabinet to surrender in the early morning hours of 9 August 1945. Six days later, the Showa emperor's pre-recorded unconditional surrender played over the radio, using extremely archaic language that many people listening could not immediately understand. (Nor did they necessarily recognize Hirohito's thin, reedy voice as that of their sovereign.) The Soviets had already overrun Xinjing; millions of Japanese subjects were subsequently interned either in urban residences or in Soviet POW camps, of whom many would not return to the home islands for years, if at all. Japan's colonies Taiwan and Korea were summarily granted their independence, and the occupation of other parts of Asia ceased almost immediately. The surviving members of the imperial government in Tokyo started burning documents at the same time. By the time the surrender instruments were signed in Tokyo Bay in September 1945, it was clear that the Allied powers envisioned a long occupation in order to bring Japan to heel and to re-educate it in the ways of democracy and individualism. The Meiji drive for modernization, industrialization, and normalization of Japan's status on the world stage seemed to lay in just as much ruins as the cities of Japan and East Asia.

In the aftermath of defeat, Japan reconstructed itself not as a multi-ethnic empire but as a monoethnic nation, a nation that became a democracy with universal suffrage after the postwar Constitution, written by the Occupation forces, took effect in 1947. The

"postwar period," defined in the narrowest possible terms as the economic and social recovery from wartime devastation, lasted for ten years until Prime Minister Hatoyama Ichirô declared it over in 1956. Those ten years witnessed countless changes in Japanese society, many undertaken with an eye towards reconstructing what had been lost even as new things were introduced. Although the early postwar years were in many was a time of more severe privations for those in the home islands than the height of the war, with official rationing having broken down in favor of the black market and starvation, and the ubiquitous presence of American G.I.s a leitmotif for the pangs of defeat, the postwar was also a hotbed of social activism. Japan's first socialist prime minister took office in 1947 after the country's first elections under the new Constitution, and labor union membership and activism soared.

Japan's economic recovery was primed by its status as a staging ground for the U.S. armed forces during the as-yet formally unconcluded Korean War (1951-53), and its economy continues to benefit from its ability to outsource most of its defense costs to the United States under the terms of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, ratified in 1952 and illegally renewed amidst the largest mass protests in Japanese history in 1960. The Anpo protests' defeat presaged a capitulation to the forces of business and bureaucracy that sould soon have crucial consequences for manga. In the meantime, national attention turned to the inauguration of the new high speed shinkansen train and Tokyo's hosting the 1964 Summer Olympics, cementing its return to the international fold as a "normal" country.

In terms of manga, the first half of this postwar period was concerned exclusively with the manga industry regaining its footing. On the one hand, reconstructing the manga industry placed new emphasis on children's manga and on manga magazines, which resumed publication in Tokyo as quickly as possible. On the other, the story of manga in this period, and in the decade after, is also the story of the rise and fall of two intertwined manga publishing and sales platforms, namely akahon and kashihon manga and kashihonya rental bookstores.

The Occupation was a jarring but ultimately liberating experience for most Japanese people living in the home islands—formerly metropolitan subjects, they were now simply Japanese citizens, and despite the often extreme deprivation of the first few postwar years, when everyone turned to the black market to supply what the legal market could not, namely food and amphetamines, the sense of new social freedoms and newly relaxed mores made these years bearable. Fast, cheap, anonymous and relying on non-traditional distribution networks for sales, akahon manga was in many ways the perfect counterpart for the Occupation and the black market. By the time the Occupation ended in 1952 when the Treaty of San Francisco formally restored Japan's sovereignty, the day of akahon manga had also largely passed. Kamishibai, its live-performance cousin that employed many past and future mangaka in the creation of its materials, increasingly competed with street-corner and then home television sets, and would also largely vanish within a decade. Both media, however, forged important legacies in manga before their eclipse, and both proved extremely fecund.

By 1955, the increasingly strong Tokyo manga industry and rising economic prosperity had more or less destroyed akahon, but its successor kashihon manga and

the rental bookstores that nurtured it lasted another fifteen years or so. One of the reasons that kashihon manga survived much longer than akahon was a new form of manga it nurtured, known as "gekiga." Literally "dramatic pictures," gekiga was aimed at the young men who, having graduated middle school and entered society after having grown up reading manga in the wartime and Occupation years, still wanted to read fiction in manga rather than the sociopolitical satire previously aimed at adults in newspapers and manga magazines. The fact that one of the foremost practitioners of gekiga, Tatsumi Yoshihiro (1935-2015), felt the need to coin the term as different from "manga" in 1957 speaks to the identification of "manga" with children's manga having solidified by that point in time. Rejecting both manga as childish and newspaper manga as boring, the gekiga boys (both creators and readers) proclaimed themselves the vanguard of a new wave in Japanese comics culture.

The gekiga boys, who took a very self-consciously renegade attitude towards existing types of manga, were nonetheless nurtured by one of the most important developments of postwar manga: the increasing space in professional publications granted to amateurs trying to break into the industry. Reader participation amongst manga fans had of course been pioneered by the Kodansha magazines in the 1930s, and it was the new magazine *Manga Shônen* under a *Shônen Kurabu* veteran, Katô Ken'ichi—with the essential assistance of his wife and daughters in multiple capacities—that expanded this aspect into a manga contest in each issue. Both Tatsumi and his older brother, among many others who went on to careers as professional mangaka, were initially published in *Manga Shônen* via these contests. Moreover, for most of the magazine's lifespan the contests were judged by none other than Tezuka Osamu (1928-89), who himself burst onto the manga scene with his first professional credit in 1947 as the artist on the akahon manga *Shintakarajima* (New Treasure Island). Like many other new and established creators who needed quick and reliable cash in the immediate postwar, Tezuka continued working with akahon publishers for the next several years before jumping on the *Manga Shônen* train and heading up to Tokyo.

Tezuka, later given the grandiose sobriquet of the "God of Manga," rightly needs no introduction. For the purposes of this volume, however, it is important to note that he, and many of his fellows who entered the industry at very young ages in the first decade or so after the end of the war—including the members of the so-called Tokiawasô group—embody the other notable feature of postwar manga, namely that kodomo manga became the acknowledged mainstay of the medium and that its readers and creators were all products of the hothouse effect of wartime censorship. Like his fans of all ages, Tezuka had spent the war years obsessively rereading all the manga he could get his hands on—which, given that his father was himself a noted manga fan, was quite a lot—and his postwar publications synthesized and extended the innovations of such milestone manga as *Norakuro* and *Kasei Tanken,* which were hugely influential for him.[206] But as the writer Komatsu Sakyô observed several decades later, because so many prewar manga had been lost or destroyed during the war and its aftermath, Tezuka began to be seen as the inventor of many of these innovations, when in most cases he was rather the brilliant refiner or perfecter of already existing features of manga expression.[207] In many ways Tezuka's most original departures, particularly

in the first half of his career, lay in his combining his bone-deep knowledge of manga with the influence of his equally hard-core love for animated movies (and above all Disney) and his exposure from a young age to the backstage world of the all-female Takarazuka Revue theater company.

Tezuka's signature innovation was the consolidation of what came to be called "story manga," an evolution of the manga form that combined and evolved cinematic visual techniques with a consciously planned and plotted long-form story reminiscent of *Norakuro*. From this end of time, conceptualizing "story manga" as a separate innovation, and one that moreover was frequently regarded as a threat—parents and critics worried that story manga would prove too powerful for young minds—is somewhat difficult, since it now constitutes the unthinking default of manga overall. But the rise of gekiga and of story manga, as well as the spread of access to manga via kashihonya, were in fact so challenging that they spawned a movement designed to stop them, the so-called "ban bad books movement" (akusho tsuihô undô).

The rise of the "ban bad books movement" was related to other changes in postwar Japanese society; its ultimate failure lay in the fact that manga was able to successfully accommodate itself to those changes. Before that happened, however, many things had to transform, and the scope of those changes lies beyond the terminus of this chapter, which ends before the creation of anime by Tezuka and his Mushi Productions team with the 1963 debut of *Tetsuwan Atomu* (Astro Boy). Even as it wholly reinvented the relation of manga to other media, *Tetsuwan Atomu* transmuted and preserved some of the most important aspects of manga in these years, namely story manga and kamishibai street theater, by converting them to television. Atom's adventures, drawn from Tezuka's manga of the same name which appeared in various publications from 1952-65, were one of many manga in this era that could not have been produced in the same form, or had the same sort of widespread appeal, had they been published just a few years later. In that respect, even as Atom rose to new heights via anime, the new form of television cemented the changes to manga that made his prior conditions for existence obsolete.

The "anime turn" that manga overall took after *Astro Boy* was not predetermined, but the success of *Atomu* and story manga on TV spelled a final defeat for the kashihonya platform and the distinctive manga it nurtured, which unlike the mainstream magazines was still oriented towards the publication of non-serialized manga. Having evolved in the immediate postwar environment, kashihonya were unable to adapt to a more prosperous, televisual age. But the mangaka whose careers they fomented had an epochal impact on the medium overall after they (re)integrated into the mainstream Tokyo manga industry.

Chapter Five:
The Manga Pulps and the God of Manga

Akahon: The other little red books

For many people the end of the war meant release from social controls, and those manga publishers that were still standing were remarkably quick to resume publication after the surrender in August 1945. In practice, this meant manga that was published in Osaka, which had suffered comparatively less than Tokyo in the months of American bombing. Manga coming out of Osaka in fact regained its feet more quickly than the Tokyo-based publishers: the first postwar issue of *Manga Nippon*, the former *Osaka Puck*, came out in September 1945 just weeks after the declaration of surrender. Along with such publications as *Manga Nippon,* the quintessentially Osaka form of manga, akahon, was particularly quick to bounce back.

Like many forms of manga that reached new heights during the Occupation and postwar, akahon manga actually predated the Pacific War. Akahon manga—literally meaning "red book manga" from the cheap red ink used all over them—is something of a catch-all term for the extremely cheap children's manga that had been published in Osaka since at least the mid-1930s. Unlike the higher-quality publications of Tokyo-based publishers, most akahon shops were fly by night outfits and akahon manga itself was printed extremely cheaply on a wide variety of materials ranging from books to candy wrappers, meaning that very little akahon manga has survived, and even less of it from the prewar period.[208] The story goes, however, that the overwhelming popularity of akahon manga among children was the impetus behind the Home Ministry's first attempts to censor children's manga in 1938: two bureaucrats walked into a bookstore in Kansai, asked the proprietor what was the most popular publication amongst children, and were shocked when the answer was akahon manga. Two months

later, the Home Ministry issued the first regulations designed to make manga "educational."[209]

After the war and partly in reaction to the wartime movement to "purify" manga, the akahon business started up again as soon as possible.[210] Equally notably, both before and after the war akahon manga bypassed established manga distribution methods and were sold at places like candy shops, night markets, and temple and shrine festivals; the customary practice of author anonymity which prevailed for the life of the format may have originated as part of these attempts to evade the wartime censorship regime.[211] Priced cheap, at 10 to 50 yen and 70 to 90 yen at most, akahon books were normally B6 or B7 size hardbacks but also sometimes B8, about 20 to 40 pages long, and normally had no information about the creators or the publishers; early printings of *Shintakarajima* prominently lists the name of Tezuka and his collaborator Sakai Shichima are a definite exception in this respect, one that speaks to that volume's massive popularity.[212] It also speaks to akahon's adaptibility: since Tezuka's name had proven to sell copies, the publisher put his name on later printings of the book. Indeed, there are intriguing hints that akahon publishers may have practiced a kind of rudimentary A/B testing; according to Tezuka's own later recollection, Osaka publishers would plagiarize manga—usually by cutting it out from one paper, glueing it on the front of a book and republishing it that way—and see which covers proved more popular, using that one from then on.[213]

Many prewar manga creators, including some of the women who had been associated with mainstream (which is to say, adult-oriented) satirical manga in the 1930s, began working with akahon publishers after the war, and the format became synecdochic for the content of the manga it contained. It is difficult to generalize about these kinds of content beyond equating them with the pulp novels and comics of the same era in the United States, but it is certain that akahon manga was defiantly, unabashedly derivative and intertextual: as Shimizu Isao notes, "there were no original heroes in akahon manga," because all the ideas came from movies, radio, pop songs, and magazines. Akahon manga were great imitators—Hasegawa Machiko's hit newspaper strip *Sazae-san* was quickly followed by *Tsuruko-san*, written by one "Sugimoto Machiko," and *Bôken Tâzan* soon spawned *Ôja Tâzan,* which was itself inspired by a Tarzan movie that became a huge hit in 1948. Akahon were thus an excellent barometer for the daily life and quotidian pop culture of their day, and in this respect they surely bear comparison with the fan creations of later eras, such as dôjin comics in Japan and fanfiction in fan communities worldwide.[214] Child star Misaki Hibari, for example, enjoyed a long afterlife in akahon manga in the early 1950s, raising the question of whether, in akahon's extraordinarily close relationship with popular media, it does not also bear comparison with the phenomenon generally known in contemporary English-language fanfiction cultures as RPF, or "real person fiction."

The akahon practice of adapting stories and characters across media also resulted in a particularly close linkage with the other form of entertainment that skyrocketed in popularity after the war, namely the street theater known as kamishibai.[215] Like akahon and kashihonya, kamishibai had its roots in the wartime era but reached new heights of

popularity after the surrender, partly because its format was uniquely well-suited to thriving in the devastation of Occupied Japan.

Kamishibai consisted of a person (almost always male) who roamed the streets giving performances at intersections: once a sufficient crowd of patrons, usually children, had gathered, the kamishibai man would charge admission in the form of candy costing a pittance. The performance, lasting less than an hour, consisted of narration and sound effects provided by the human performer complemented by a set of paper cards (usually printed on durable cardboard) containing illustrations of scenes from the story. The kamishibai man cunningly combined motion of the cards against one another with vocal tricks to create a narrative that blended planar motion with aural characterization, a narrative that was moreover serialized: each kamishibai performance would end with some kind of hook, whether a cliffhanger or otherwise, to keep viewers coming back the next time.

Kamishibai would eventually be immortalized as one of the progenitors of anime, but in the years of the Occupation it provided a much-needed source of income for returning veterans in particular, who overwhelmingly made up the ranks of itinerant kamishibai performers, and a much-needed source of entertainment for the children who were its avid fans. On the production side, creating the kamishibai card sets (many of which came with the bones of the narrative printed on the reverse of the card) provided another source of much-needed work for returning and new manga professionals, many of whom switched freely between kamishibai and akahon. The two media also tended to borrow the same sorts of content that had proven popular in other media, a derivative relationship that akahon's successor kashihon manga would continue, eventually counting TV as one of its major sources of "inspiration." Equally notably, the streetcorner performances of kamishibai directly structured the early paradigm for Japanese television, which for most of the 1950s (after its introduction in 1953) consisted of public streetcorner gatherings around a single large TV set during notable events such as boxing matches.

Ironically, for a work and a creator who started out in akahon manga, Tezuka's manga beginning with *Shintakarajima* was another huge influence on akahon manga content and expression. It perhaps can be difficult today, reading a Tezuka manga that characteristically eschews the use of screen tones and occasionally recreates a shot from an animated Disney film out of whole cloth, to appreciate the fact that Tezuka broke onto the manga scene "like a thunderclap." *Shintakarajima* sold four million copies, according to Tezuka himself, although he only made 3000 yen on it initially. What attracted readers was the sense of *speed* in his manga, which he achieved via his integration of visual composition techniques used in movies into his paneling, such as close-ups. The snappy dialogue that Tezuka and the postwar mangaka inherited from Tagawa and Norakuro combined with these new movie techniques to create a manga that read much more smoothly.[216]

To be sure, the manga/movie linkage was not new; Tagawa's integration of techniques familiar from Chaplin movies and other Hollywood films such as the pairing of physical comedy with funny dialogue ,and his ability to vary his panel layouts with great skill to serve the scene and thereby the story, were important

predecessors to Tezuka and were influential on him; he later recalled being an avid reader of *Shônen Kurabu,* as well as other prewar publications like *Asashi Graph*. But Tezuka was himself also an avid movie fan—he later estimated that he saw the Disney tearjerker *Bambi* some 50 times during its Japanese release and watched 300 movies in 1954—and he cemented the manga/movie linkage by adopting techniques from current animated and live-action movies into his work.[217] In particular, Tezuka's mastery of cinematic shots made his manga feel much more *subjective*, giving readers the sense of being part of the action.

This is not to say that Tezuka manga, or any other manga, can be directly made to serve as a storyboard for a movie, or vice versa; the two media have different formal qualities that must be accounted for in any attempt to convert between the two. But the cheap production conditions of akahon manga certainly gave Tezuka and others room to experiment, room that might not necessarily have been available in the resurgent Tokyo-based manga industry, which was still largely centered around magazines. And though akahon nurtured Tezuka's talents initially, he was dissatisfied with aspects of the Osaka process from the beginning; on *Shintakarajima*, for example, the company didn't print from Tezuka's own holograph manuscript but instead had someone else redraw a printer's copy, which changed the lines, much to Tezuka's displeasure, and he insisted on putting the copyist's name in the table of contents to highlight the change. Other akahon publishing constraints proved even more burdensome; for example, Tezuka later recalled that Osaka publishers would ruthlessly chop a manga to fit the publication format, rather than change the format to fit the manga as a Tokyo publisher presumably would have done.[218] When Tezuka did make the jump from Osaka akahon to Tokyo magazines, it proved epochal for the medium as a whole.

Faded manga: *Sazae-san* and the twilight of satire

In a sign of the times in more ways than one, the breakout hit of postwar newspaper manga was in fact *Sazae-san*, a four-panel strip about the trials and tribulations of a young woman in the postwar period who quickly and symbolically embarked on the life of a housewife. The eponymous female protagonist was very closely modeled on her creator, Tagawa Suihô's star student Hasegawa Machiko (1920-92). *Sazae-san* ran from 1946-74, in the local *Fukunichi Shinbun* for the first three years and for the remainder in the national *Asahi Shinbun*, which recruited Hasegawa to come back to Tokyo and take Sazae-san with her in 1949. Hasegawa was already a professional cartoonist; she had been publishing books since the age of 18 with Kodansha's picture book series. At that point Tagawa's influence was very evident in her work, which featured a lot of talking animals.

Like her contemporary Ueda Toshiko and many of the creators who entered the medium after the war, Hasegawa had been mad for manga since childhood; she was intent on becoming a manga professional by the age of 14, when she and her family moved back to Tokyo after her father's death. Sazae-san's own feminism and indomitable personality came as no surprise to those who knew Hasegawa herself; when her mother found out that Machiko secretly wanted to be Tagawa's student, for

example, she made her older sister take Machiko right over to Tagawa's house to ask him directly. Hasegawa debuted a year later in 1935 in *Shôjo Kurabu* with a talking animal manga, "Kitsune no men," at which point she even had the same haircut as her teacher. Her relationship with Kodansha and *Shôjo Kurabu* continued after Tagawa himself was blacklisted by the Home Ministry; her manga *Nakayoshi techô* ran from 1940-42 in the magazine, but she chafed at the restrictions of the censors, who in her own postwar recollection rejected all of her good ideas, and she actually redrew the manga after the war. As the Hasegawa Machiko Museum in suburban Tokyo delicately phrases it, the wartime period was "an age in which people could not draw as they thought."[219]

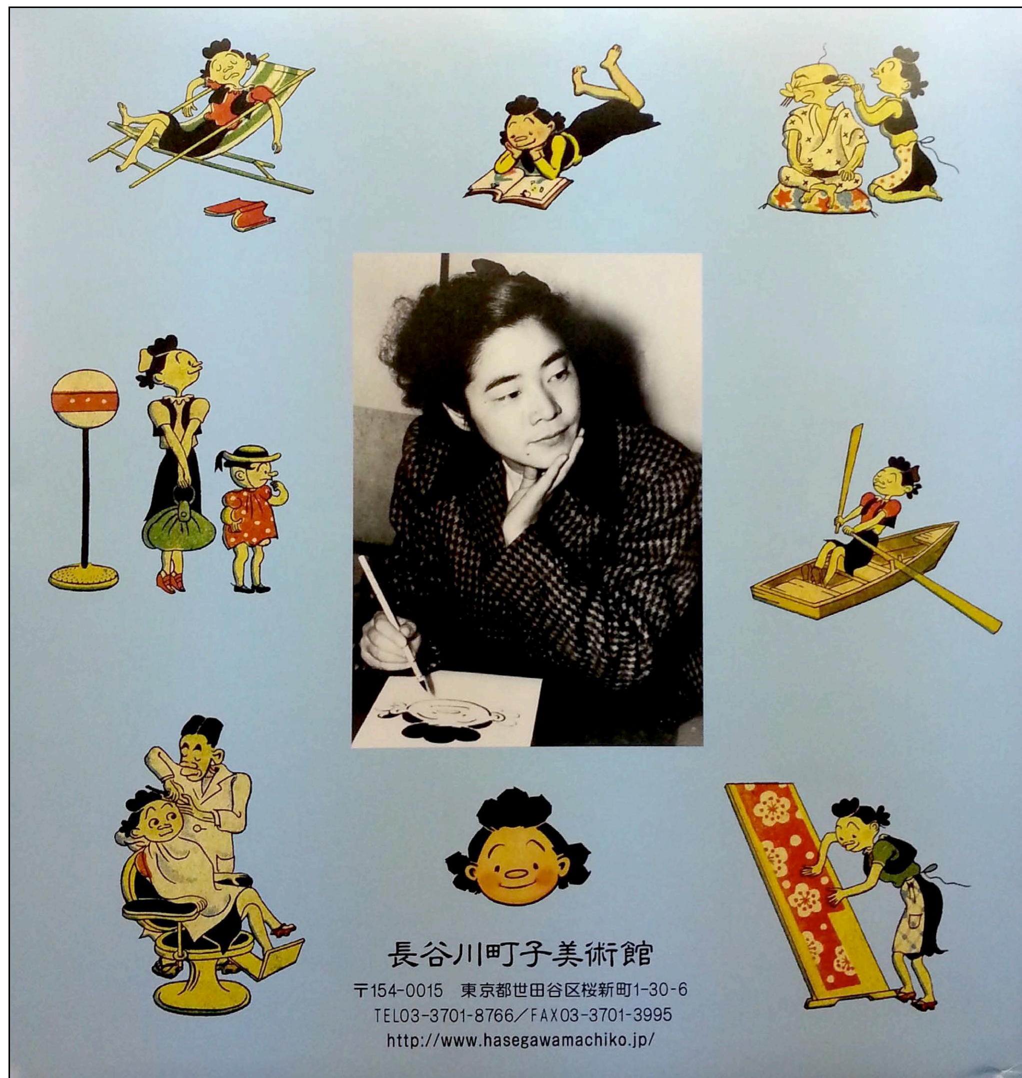

Fig 18: Detail of 2015 flyer from Hasegawa Machiko Museum depicting Sazae-san and her creator.

Hasegawa evacuated to Fukuoka with her mother and sisters in 1943, where she worked as a manga reporter for the *Evening Fukunichi*, where *Sazae-san* began in 1946. By the time she ended the series in 1974, she had drawn more than 6500 strips, and in a canny business maneuver, she kept the rights to the comics and formed a publishing

company with her older sister Mariko to publish the collected volumes. Initially published in B5 size in December 1946, sales were weak, but when they switched to the B6 size in April 1947, the books flew off the shelves. Beginning in this peirod, *Sazae-san* also inspired many akahon copycats, a sign that the manga was on the same level as such classics as *Shô-chan* and *Norakuro*.[220] Hasegawa became the first female recipient of the Bungeishunjû Manga Award in 1962, and the *Sazae-san* anime, which began in 1965 and is still airing in Japan, is the world's longest-running animated TV show.

The October 1947 issue of *Manga Shônen* featured ads for *Sazae-san*, demonstrating the strip's cross-demographic appeal in syndication even before it moved to the Tokyo-based *Asashi Shinbun*. This was, however, the highwater mark for *Sazae-san* in these terms. The mainstreaming of children's manga into the default notion of manga, sans qualifiers, meant that the prewar "family strategy" of marketing image-heavy publications to an entire household was not revived in the postwar period. With the notable exception of *Sazae-san*, it also meant that newspaper manga gradually waned as a site of popular interest; the manga that children were obsessed with was increasingly that published by the manga magazines, and it was children's manga and magazines that were producing the breakout creative stars of manga. To be sure, newspaper manga, and specifically four-panel manga, retained its pre-eminence well into the postwar years, demonstrated by a newspaper survey in February 1956 which found that *Sazae-san* and two other newspaper strips were the three most popular manga in Japan.[221] But in these same years the mainstream of manga gradually shifted towards the manga that was being published in magazines.

The changes of the age were embodied, in their absence, by the short lived *Kodomo Manga Times*, which was published from at least 1949-51. If *Manga Man* was the prewar publication that was too good and pure for its time, then *Kodomo Manga Times* was its latter-day counterpart; even now, its skillful and vibrant color printing is striking at first, second, and repeated glances. As might be inferred from the title, this was a half-size weekly newspaper aimed at children, priced at six yen a pop, competitive with renting a book from a bookshop or with buying an akahon volume. The outer pages contained manga printed with the full, four color process, while the inner pages contained a mixture of monochrome manga and articles. That manga contained hand-lettered dialogue rather than printed dialogue, perhaps the single biggest signal of the newspaper's manga lineage: children's manga had been marked since *Norakuro* by its reliance on printed lettering, whereas the satirical newspaper manga aimed at adults before, during, and after the war continued to use hand lettering. *Kodomo Manga Times* also illustrates the problems with hand lettering in terms of legibility, particularly in the era when the adults doing the hand lettering were using unsimplified characters which their child readers were not familiar with: Japan enacted spelling and script reforms in 1946, modernizing the spellings of words to reflect contemporary pronunciation and either simplifying or eliminating kanji for common words (the jôyô kanji), as well as partially reforming the syllabaries. In one interior manga in the 89th issue of *Kodomo Manga Times*, the manga *Shirayuki hime* (Snow White) by Ishikawa Shinshû has all the dialogue romanized under the panels, while the next

issue printed the syllabaries in the new, modernized spelling style, along with romaji pronunciation guides for all of the symbols.

Fig 19: *Kodomo Manga Times*, August 1950.

In other respects, *Kodomo Manga Times* was clearly trying to harness the zeitgeist: the "manga times" portion of its title was written in katakana, conforming to the new orthographic practice that equated not using characters for "manga" with a certain au courant attitude.[222] In an equally telling sign of the times, the content of its manga and articles was baseball, baseball, and baseball, although the news reporting contained pieces on actual news as well as sports (i.e. the 1950 Assam-Tibet earthquake, the start of the Korean War, and more baseball), and the front illustration was sometimes also a news piece, as in the October 1950 issue that led with an illustration about stamps commemorating the foundation of the Dominican Republic. Other cover illustrations included *Alice in Wonderland*, a piece about the start of typhoon season, or an image depicting American kids' part-time summer jobs.

In many ways, the newspaper seemed to be trying to occupy the niche that *Tokyo Puck* had once filled, except aimed at children, with predictably uneven results. By 1956, the interior format had changed significantly: formerly printed as two pages, it was now just one (eliminating the quite artistically interesting center gutter column of the earlier issues), and the manga content had decreased as well. Where two manga had run in the interior section, there was now just one at the bottom of the page, still using the panel numbering that had prevailed in manga since the 1920s. But the color manga on the back cover remained, with panel numbers, suggesting that manga remained an important draw for the publication as long as it lasted.[223]

Ultimately, the original manga periodical format, pioneered by *Tokyo Puck* and refined by *Jiji Shinpô* and other publications in the 1920s and 1930s, no longer satisfied audiences. *Kodomo Manga Times* lasted for at least 129 issues, but it folded not long after that, and it had actually managed to outlast a similar publication, the venerable former *Osaka Puck*, by at least two years. *Osaka Puck* had been nearly first off the mark in September 1945, and it in fact relaunched under the title *Manga to Yomimono* (Manga and Literature) in 1946 with a content mix quite similar to that of *Kodomo Manga Times*, except aimed at adults. However, those adults were no longer in the mood for this sort of thing; the magazine, which at that point was being issued bimonthly, ultimately ceased publication in March 1950 after more than 43 years in print.

To be clear, however, this form of manga—political cartoons and social satire—did not die out after the war; if anything, the relative freedom of the Occupation re-energized this slice of the profession. The members of the Shinmangaha shûdantai refounded the group at a member's house in October 1945, just two months after the surrender, under the new name of Manga Shûdan. Again, comradeship was a large part of the reason for the organization's founding, and refounding: as Sugiura recalled in the group's 50th anniversary festschrift, "That we had free expression was good, but we had no paper." Ogawa Tetsuo wrote drily that, "Not many mangaka died in the war, even though we weren't very strong on the whole. More of us died after the war from drinking bad moonshine."[224]

Despite chronic paper shortages worldwide, there was actually a nonsense manga boom in the postwar period, which was cut short only by the rise of television in the 1960s. Kondô Hidezô, Sugiura and the rest of the people associated with *Manga* during the war actually refounded the magazine in 1948, and it lasted until 1950 under

the tagline "a magazine of situations to look at" (miru jikyoku zasshi), peddling a mix of sharp-edged political satire made possible by the new relative freedom of the press under the Occupation censors and the same predictable sexism of Japanese modern times: despite Occupation censor ship, the magazine contained a remarkable amount of eroticism, and the magazine's obligatory answer to *Sazae-san*, called *Tamako-san*, is also remarkably sexist. Despite the slogan, the magazine became increasingly text-oriented over its lifespan, and it seems clear that these members of the old guard failed to capture the zeitgeist: the "three postwar birds" whose careers were lifted to the heights during this era were in fact Yokoyama Taizô (1917-2007), the younger brother of mangaka Yokoyama Ryûichi, Katô Yoshirô (1925-2006), and Ogihara Kenji (1921-90), all of them with serialized newspaper strips in the *Sazae-san* vein. These kinds of manga have not gone away, but they have not been at the forefront of the medium since.

Fig 20: *Manga*, August 1948.

The manga market had changed, as had social mores, and some prewar facets of both never regained their former popularity in the postwar period. Tagawa Suihô himself was one of these creators—although the *Norakuro* manga continued, and Norakuro and his friends eventually wound up in a range of occupations and life situations emblematic of the Shôwa era (i.e. tea shop owner, pro wrestler, salaryman, private detective), it was never again so vital as it had been during the 1930s. Norakuro himself returned to print very early, with 1947's *Chinpin Norakuro-sô* (Rough Draft of Norakuro Curios). The manga, which the Occupation censors' notes indicate had an initial print run of 10,000 copies, opens with Norakuro homeless on the street in Tokyo saying that no matter how long he thinks about what's been done, it can't be helped ("shô ga nai"). Given that the manga previously ended in 1941 with Norakuro and his friend Chameken going off arm in arm to "build the continent," it's all but impossible to avoid assuming that they, like so many other Japanese soldiers and Manchukuo civilians, were swept into the Soviet gulag after the invasion of Manchuria in August 1945 and were now returning to Japan as repatriates (hikiagesha). There is, however, no direct mention of Norakuro's previous career in the military, and the grease pencil Romanized title and approval stamps on the copy of the book held in the National Diet Library, which received the GHQ censors' archive after the end of the Occupation in 1952, make clear why that would be.

Reconstructing manga in Tokyo

After the war many people in the manga industry went back to Tokyo, where they had to contend not only with shortages but also with the fact that quite a few key figures in the industry had been blacklisted by GHQ for having provided material and/or ideological support to the Empire of Japan's war effort, either in the home islands or in the colonies. People associated with Kodansha and its publications were particularly likely to fall afoul of the GHQ, which took an extraordinarily dim view of *Shônen Kurabu* and its sibling magazines' support of the war effort; manga scholars have until only recently continued to take the GHQ line on this question.

At least initially, publishers defaulted to prewar publication models when reviving their operations, but there were notable and significant differences. For example, the May 1946 issue of *Shôjo Club* ("club" was now spelled with katakana instead of kanji) is basically the same, in terms of the type and mixture of content, as issues of the magazine published before the end of the war—except for the glaring fact that the magazine no longer contains any content promoting militarism. It also contains an editor's note explicitly talking about Japanese history and culture, and how they are *not* for militarism; readers mustn't think that that history and culture have come to nothing (dame ni natta); instead, "now is the time to become good friends with the rest of the world."[225]

The rest of the world was heavily mediated by the United States via the Occupation, which was ostensibly a joint operation of the Allied Powers but which in reality was administered and carried out almost entirely by U.S. forces. It was the

American view that Japanese society was insufficiently democratic, and for the length of the Occupation, an active censorship department reviewed and approved or disapproved every item that was to be published in Japan. Explicit censorship was sometimes not even necessary when a worldwide postwar paper shortage meant that paper itself was in short supply. Occupation censors perhaps operated somewhat more openly and explicitly than the organs of the fascist imperial government, which had relied just as much on productive ambiguity and "cooperation" with publishers to ensure that published content met the proper standards as on ex post facto review for approval. But it is important to remember that from late 1945 to mid-1952, when the Occupation ended upon Japan's regaining its sovereignty and signing a defense treaty with the United States in San Francisco, every Tokyo-based manga publication that reached distribution did so because it passed Occupation inspection.

The reality of censorship in the name of democracy and free speech is one of the key points to bear in mind about manga in this era; the other is that even the youngest professionals working on manga had received a prewar education and had grown up in the milieu of prewar values.[226] But those values proved less durable than the ideologues of the fascist era might have expected or hoped. Indeed, as if to make a mockery of wartime censors' goals, one of the most notable developments of manga overall in the immediate postwar was that children's manga in fact increasingly became the manga mainstream. The political and satirical manga that had been the medium's foundation before the height of the war never regained the popularity or readership that it had enjoyed previously, and although newspaper manga survived, it was now tellingly usually denoted with the qualifier of "shinbun manga" to mark it as *not* the default idea of "manga."

The increasing importance of manga in general and children's manga in particular is readily apparent in postwar manga publications of the time. A good example of the trends of the age is the magazine *Bôken Katsugeki Bunko* (Action Adventure Library), which was published from 1948 and rebranded in 1950 as *Shônen Gahô* (Boys' Illustrated News). The first issue has manga as well as stories with illustration, and manga is given its own separate section in the table of contents. Interestingly, however, much of the material not listed as manga could very well be called manga; series such as *Chikyû SOS* (*Earth SOS*) could easily be taken for a prewar, pre-*Norakuro* manga, while many of the illustrated stories were very much in the style of the Hal Foster-created comic strip *Prince Valiant*, which has run continuously in syndication since 1937. This was the same full-illustration style of Nagamatsu Takeo (1912-61)'s hit manga *Ôgon Batto* (Golden Bat), which ran in the magazine non-continuously from 1948-53 and which was a huge crossover hit in kamishibai as well, where its story was serialized across slide sets in a departure from the norm for that medium. Further demonstrating that the line between these "illustrated stories" and manga was still somewhat slippery, *Golden Bat* was in fact treated as a manga later in the magazine's run, which makes eminent sense in light of its innovative paneling in particular.

The other great difference between prewar and postwar manga, perhaps somewhat obviously, was that children's manga after the war increasingly adopted the

practice of telling a single ongoing story, as opposed to the non-serialized antics that had prevailed during the wartime years. Here too the legacy of Tagawa and *Norakuro* were paramount; it was *Norakuro*, after all, that showed publishers that children could and would read a single developing story for years.[227] *Golden Bat* and most other manga in *Bôken Katsugeki Bunko* share this characteristic, just as did the series in *Manga Shônen*, which contained the same mixture of manga and emonogatari. The back cover of the first issue of *Manga Shônen* had an illustration of popular characters playing baseball including Norakuro, Dankichi, Mickey Mouse, Popeye, and possibly Bugs Bunny, handily illustrating the ambit of what was presumed to be popular with children in January 1947.

Another important transition in this era was subtler. Like Hasegawa, Tezuka, Ueda Toshiko and virtually every other manga creator thereafter, manga creators who entered the profession after the war were now no longer art school graduates with fine arts training. Whereas almost every prewar mangaka with an established career had been trained in fine arts, usually both Western and Japanese, in art school, manga creators now acquired the training necessary to create manga first and foremost by avidly consuming manga, as did Hasegawa, Ueda, and Tezuka. Many creators of this era, and indeed of the prewar era as well, then did individual training with eminent creators of their day; this pattern went as far back as Miyao Shigeo, who had apprenticed with Okamoto Ippei. Hasegawa and Ueda had done apprenticeships too, but Tezuka broke this mold decisively: his only apprenticeship was to his own prodigious productivity, or perhaps to Disney films, of which he was a huge and lifelong fan.

Breakout postwar creators largely followed the pattern laid down by people like Hawegawa and Tezuka on their route into the profession, with the important difference that, aside from a few chance or short meetings with established creators—such as that depicted by Tatsumi between him and Tezuka in his autobiography *Gekiga Hyôryû* Part One (A Drifting Life)—they drew manga obsessively throughout their childhoods, often in the company and with the collaboration of friends, and then received their first publication credits through reader-submission contests such as those in *Manga Shônen*. Once they secured their first positions as manga creators, they would then receive further, informal feedback from editors in the course of creating their first manga. Among many other things, these developments meant that fine arts were usually no longer among the the media that influenced manga expression; there were no creators after Tagawa who incorporated contemporary art influences into manga the way he had incorporated avant-garde art via his career in MAVO, for example. Instead, as Tezuka himself handily symbolizes, popular media like movies, and at the time radio and later television, were now much more likely to be the source of manga artists' cross-fertilization and inspiration, along with the ever-present influence of other comics from all over the world.

Like a shooting star: *Manga Shônen*

The Occupation's blacklists meant that a certain degree of subterfuge played a role in the successful launch of the magazine *Manga Shônen* (Manga Boy, 1947-55), which had a meteoric career as the single most influential publication of the decade after the war, and one of the magazines which exerted the most influence on the development of manga as a whole. The story of the subterfuge goes like this: *Manga Shônen* was launched in 1947 under the editorship of Katô Ken'ichi (1896-1975), who had previously been on the editorial staff of Kodansha children's magazines including *Shôjo Kurabu* and *Shônen Kurabu*. However, precisely because he had worked on *Shônen Kurabu* during the war, Katô was blacklisted by GHQ. Kato's daughter and collaborator Katô Misako later recalled that at the end of the war their family comprised 10 people, including her parents and her aunt, Katô's sister; she was the oldest child at 17, and her youngest brother was just two. In Misako's recollection, the only thing her father knew how to do was edit magazines, so that's what he did after the war ended: for added camouflage, they used her mother's sister's address as *Manga Shônen*'s place of publication, and his wife was listed as the editor.[228]

Shônen Kurabu had been founded on the twin premise of enlightenment and entertainment; *Manga Shônen*, by contrast, was premised on the idea that children liked manga best because it was brightening and fun (akarukusuru, tanoshikusuru), and Katô swore to uphold this principle in an editor's note laying out the magazine's philosophy: "*Manga Shônen* is a book that will brighten and gladden children's hearts, and in *Manga Shônen* there will be novels and stories that rear children nobly and correctly; all of them will be masterpieces. Children of Japan, read *Manga Shônen*, and grow up nobly, brightly, and correctly!"[229] Despite the name, however, *Manga Shônen* did not consist entirely of manga; as well as the emonogatari, the October 1949 issue also features articles about celebrities and actual baseball players, including Babe Ruth. That same issue featured an ad for an all-manga special issue that was special precisely *because* it was all manga.[230]

Fig 21: Cover of *Manga Shônen* #1, December 1947.

Manga Shônen was in fact the sole publication of the independent publisher Gakudôsha, which Katô had put together out of his association with the Gakudô Kaikan, an organization that was trying to create a new kind of education for the new Japan; towards the end of his life, Katô told the magazine *COM* that he had wanted to create a magazine for that purpose, matching the organization's curricula, as part of his atonement for the war. The first issue, however, didn't sell at all until Katô and his family went door to door with it, and power failures gave them publication problems in the first year; the entire magazine remained a family affair for the length of its existence. Misako's cousin Kyôko was working as a manga editor at the time, and she also worked on Fujiko Funio's *Manga michi* later in her career. Misako's younger siblings and the family dog served as models for the magazine's cover illustrations, which were done in the same portrait-realism style that the prewar Kodansha magazines had employed.[231]

Katô Misako wrote that her father copied the editorial methods of *Shônen Kurabu* exactly, starting with the primacy of reader connections, and sure enough, the magazine had a vibrant readers' letters section, just as the Kodansha sibling magazines had had. *Manga Shônen* took this feature a step further when Ken'ichi decided to cement the connection between readers and the magazine via the figure of "Maruko," in the guise of whom Misako interacted with readers for more than four years, from March 1949 to August 1953. In her view the "Maruko" persona was clearly inspired by *Shônen Kurabu*, although the editors of that magazine had always replied to reader letters as the anonymous editorial collective, rather than using any specific persona.[232]

The other important continuity with *Shônen Kurabu* was the talent; *Manga Shônen* continued to employ many Kodansha creators who had been popular in the 1930s, including perhaps most significantly Shimada Keizô (1900-73), who had written *Bôken Dankichi*, that decade's second-most popular manga. Creators working for the magazine were also likely to have been members of the Showa Mangakai, which had formed in the late 1930s under Tagawa's auspices. Although Tagawa himself continued to publish Norakuro manga with Kodansha, his work never again embodied the zeitgeist as *Norakuro* had before the Home Ministry cut his exploits short. But *Manga Shônen* surely embodied some of his spirit; indeed, between Tagawa's influence and the fact that many authors and illustrators who were well-known from their work in the Kodansha sibling magazines, Katô's periodical sometimes felt like a unified Kodansha reunion tour.[233]

Even its new content had important transwar continuities. Before he had been summarily dismissed from Kodansha as a result of the blacklisting, Katô had been slated to be the editor in chief of the magazine *Yakyû Zasshi* (Baseball Magazine), and *Manga Shônen* in many ways is the same magazine, except focused around manga instead of baseball: the magazine's focus and audience are all there in the title. Baseball had taken off in Japan from a fairly early age, and it remained so popular that under the total empire, rather than outlaw the game as foreign, Japanese equivalents had simply been switched for the transliterated English baseball terminology. In the postwar the sport was becoming popular again, and *Manga Shônen*'s first breakout hit was actually Inoue Kazuo (1914-49)'s *Bat-kun*, the story, as one might imagine, of a kid who played baseball.[234] It was the first long-running sports manga, and in the era when girls' softball began in Japan, the manga was read by children of all genders. In Shimizu Isao's evaluation, the eponymous protagonist was essentially a normal kid, but he didn't always go after lost balls—which could never have happened under the empire.[235] To contemporary eyes, *Bat-kun* is noticeably monotonous in its paneling, except when the manga depicts baseball games; panels expand and contract in time with the rhythm of the game in the January 1948 chapter of the manga, for example.

But the magazine's most influential feature was undoubtedly the one that welcomed the creators of tomorrow, rather than yesterday, today. This was its manga contest, open to anyone who wanted to submit. Prewar magazines like *Shônen Kurabu* had dispensed prizes in ranks to readers who wrote in, usually by returning a particular postcard from the issue; although *Manga Shônen* did this too, promising prizes to those whose work won particular favor from the judges, it took the much more significant step of printing the names of people who'd submitted particularly good manga that month, even if that manga did not actually run in the magazine as the winners' did.[236] For example, in the October 1947 issue, the four pages of readers' manga are in addition to lists of names under the headings "Especially Well Done" and "Well Done," the latter divided by geography. Katô Misako wrote that her father liked editing the reader submitted manga best, and though he'd been good at his job on *Shônen Kurabu*, he hadn't particularly liked it; as the readers' manga contests on *Manga Shônen* took up more of his attention, she took over more and more parts of his editing work.[237]

Many, many future creative professionals got their first publication credit in the *Manga Shônen* reader contests, including most of the future members of the Tokiwa-sô group and many of the future gekiga boys, including Tatsumi Yoshihiro, who first won a prize in August 1948, and his older and later estranged brother Sakurai Shôichi (1933-2003), who first won a prize in October 1949.[238] It is also important to note that not everyone who submitted manga to the magazine became a professional manga creator; as Misako herself later pointed out, many of them went on to become designers, illustrators, architects, and other creative professionals.[239] In this respect the *Manga Shônen* submissions clearly anticipated the amateur manga producers of later eras, many of whom found careers not in manga but in other creative fields.

For those teenagers who did embark on their professional manga careers via *Manga Shônen*, however, the experience of reading and then being published in the magazine was utterly transformative. Sakurai wrote that prior to reading the magazine, he and Tatsumi "didn't know anything about manga:" in his view, it was only *Manga Shônen* that touched the heartstrings of ordinary readers who aimed to be mangaka and that the magazine was "like a lover" (koibito no yôna sonzai de atta). Moreover, the magazine was not just a space for publishing manga, but in that it offered information on the manga world and tutorials on how to draw manga, it was a textbook, a gateway to success. Tatsumi himself used the same romantic language as his brother in recalling how he felt about *Manga Shônen*: he wrote that the magazine "was my first love," but hastened to add that "Even though I was in love with a boy (shonen) it wasn't gay."[240]

Part of what made the love of *Manga Shônen* so intense was that for boys like Sakurai and Tatsumi across the country the magazine's system had the effect of creating a centralized, shared experience of manga between readers in various prefectures, as Yonezawa Yoshihiro pointed out: unlike *Shônen Kurabu*, *Manga Shônen* put manga at the core of this communication between children, collapsing the difference between the media they loved and the periodical that published it.[241] By contrast, the *Shônen Kurabu* readers' corner has always been centered on the magazine first and single features, even the wildly popular *Norakuro*, second.

Tezuka goes to Tokyo

It is not too much of an exaggeration to say that after the publication of *Shintakarajima* Tezuka was already a legend in his own time, and the close, complicated relations between Tezuka, his followers in the Tokiwa-sô, and the gekiga crowd embodies much of the movement of manga overall in the decade or so after the end of the war. Tezuka later called the day that he and Katô Ken'ichi met "epochal" in both their lives: on Tezuka's side, it allowed him to get out of the Kansai akahon scene and into the Tokyo big time, and to bring his "lifeworks" *Jungle Taitei* (Jungle Emperor) and *Phoenix* (Hi no tori) into the world. Conversely, their association allowed Katô to make *Manga Shônen* a truly popular and consequential publication, whereas before it had been mostly small time.[242]

Tezuka first began writing manga for *Manga Shônen* in November 1950, when he started serializing *Jungle Emperor* (also known in English as *Kimba the White Lion*), which

was a huge "get" for Katô, as he'd been wanting to move *Manga Shônen* out of short humor manga for a while. Whereas most creators tended to work with just one publisher or magazine, Tezuka was so popular and so prolific that no one publication could have a monopoly on his work.[243] *Jungle Emperor* ran for three and a half years, until April 1954, which made sense given that it was long enough that Tezuka had originally thought to publish it directly in tankôbon.[244] The publication of *Jungle Emperor* also came at just the right time, as 1950-51 were years of such stiff competition amongst children's manga magazines that in 1951 all of them published 13 issues instead of 12 due to hyping the New Year's issue so far in advance. The competition, however, was conditioned by *Manga Shônen*, whose features many of its peer publications simply copied outright.[245]

Jungle Emperor handily encapsulates another transition that Tezuka, through his works and their popularity, drove and symbolized. This was the rise in the postwar years of what came to be known as "story manga." The name may sound redundant—of course manga has a story—but as previously noted, *Norakuro* and *Dankichi* had in fact introduced the concept of a single overarching narrative to manga in the 1930s. Children like Tezuka spent the war years obsessively rereading those manga, just as the creators of *Kasei Tanken* had been influenced by *Norakuro* and *Dankichi* themselves. After the war story manga increasingly became the default in children's manga, which as previously mentioned now moved to occupy the mainstream of manga in the way that nonsense and political manga had done before the wartime censorship regime arose. As story became the default, moreover, character growth and development became things that could be planned rather than coincidental happenings. These changes together meant that manga as a medium was now becoming richer in terms of its potential narratives.

It's difficult not to read Tezuka's decision to move to Tokyo in 1953 as emblematic of the shift back to higher quality publications and away from akahon manga. Tezuka himself moved into an apartment building called the Tokiwa-sô in western Ikebukuro which in short order became a gathering point for what became an extremely influential group of mangaka, many of whom got into the industry in Tokyo, and into the Tokiwa-sô building, via Tezuka himself.[246] The Tokiwa-sô group came to be identified with story manga, and in particular with the manga magazines that were aimed at children in this era. Newly popular, such magazines did not yet publish manga exclusively—even *Manga Shônen* contained a healthy percentage of illustrated stories and non-manga content—but they were increasingly *seen* as being popular, to the point where critics and scholars looking backwards to this decade have claimed that manga "emerged" in the first ten years or so after the war.

We have already seen that this claim is patently false, but the fact that it gets made at all speaks to what kind of manga has been regarded as "real" manga. Ignoring akahon and kashihon manga has distorted the received view of manga's history. It also almost certainly indicates some discomfort with the close relationship between prewar and wartime manga and the Japanese imperial project; postwar manga, by contrast, is not ideologically suspect by definition, since the empire was gone. Just as the postwar Japanese identity was constructed partly by means of characterizing colonial returnees

as others who had come back from "other there" without any explicit mention of the fact that "over there" was Japan's vanished overseas empire, manga in the postwar came to be characterized as "new" and a "departure" from previous publications and content. In reality, it took more than twenty years after the end of the war for an entirely new publication model to displace the prewar manga paradigm, and many of Tezuka's most famous manga were published well before those changes took place.

Emblematic of the fact that the influence of global comics on manga was not solely mediated by Tezuka, then or ever, *Manga Shônen* in fact published multiple American comics over the length of its run. One emblematic example was the *Straight Arrow* comic, with art by Fred Meagher; the comic was in fact a tie-in publication linked to the popular radio program of the same name, which featured the exploits of a Comanche orphan passing as a white rancher in the Old West, except when danger threatened, whereupon he temporarily resumed his Native identity in the guise of the eponymous hero. The Japanese translation was done, presumably on the cheap, by a student at the Tokyo Foreign Language University, and though the comic didn't last long (five months in 1953), its subject matter perfectly encapsulates a significant portion of comics aimed at children in these years: as well as the prewar standard of jidaigeki (historical, usually samurai, drama), noir and detective stories and stories set in the American Old West—or more precisely, the fantasy of it envisioned and marketed in mainstream American popular culture—were now all the rage.[247]

Despite the new subject matter, however, the practice of publishing translated comics—in Shimizu Isao's telling reflection, these were less interesting than Japan-published emonogatari, because American comics placed much less emphasis on facial expressions (thereby making it more difficult to identify/empathize with the characters)—was in fact as much of a prewar callback as the visibly *Shônen Kurabu*-influenced practice of publishing messages from readers in amongst the manga and in the more or less wholesale adoption of the "Dokusha no tayori" section.[248] What doomed the magazine in the long run was, ironically for a publication that had emphatically set the fashion in the manga world when it first appeared, its increasing reliance on old-fashioned content and creators as its fortunes sank rapidly from the early 1950s onward. One example of this kind of unpopular content was the educational manga by Nakano Seiji that *Manga Shônen* began publishing in 1951, putting the magazine increasingly out of step with what readers wanted.

Part of the problem was that Katô personally was no longer acting as the editor in chief; he had been officially rehabilitated by GHQ three months after the start of the Korean War and been brought back into the Kodansha fold thereafter. Sales were already falling in August 1951 when Katô Misako went to work as an elementary school teacher, thereby depriving *Manga Shônen* in particular and the manga industry in general of her prodigious editing talents. She and her sisters had played a key role in the magazine's production since the beginning, and her departure meant that key work often just went undone. At the same time, Katô refused to give up on the prewar creators the magazine still employed, despite the fact that their old-style manga was increasingly unpopular with readers.[249]

It seems that every publication ultimately folds the same way, at least in the pre-digital era. The magazine shrank its size and page count in October 1951, which only hurt sales further; so did the publication of Tezuka's *Shinpen gessekai shinshi* (New edition: The Moony Man) in the same month as a 96-page supplement (furoku). This was a reprint of one of Tezuka's first akahon manga, an adaptation of the traditional "Taketori monogatari" that had originally been published in Osaka in 1948, and republishing it in a more readily available format was a coup for the magazine. Unfortunately, it was a coup in the same way that "Blue Monday" was Factory Records' runaway hit and the best-selling 12" single of all time: since the furoku was oversize, each copy printed actually cost the company money. Moreover, its competitor magazines poached the format, further hurting the publisher by luring readers away.[250]

For the last few years of its existence *Manga Shônen* had the predictable problems with paying its creators on time, with the equally predictable result that top talent took their output elsewhere. The final blow came in 1955, when Tezuka and Ishimori Shôtarô, who had been discovered by Tezuka in the *Manga Shônen* readers' contests, pulled their ongoing manga from the magazine, and the last issue was published shortly thereafter. In just eight meteoric years, however, *Manga Shônen* had already radically transformed manga, and the seeds of change that it sowed would continue to revolutionize the medium in the next decade or so.

Story manga, in Tokyo, with higher production values and better content

The history of story manga is now irrevocably entangled with the 1950s and with Tezuka and the Tokiwa-sô group. Located in Toshima-ku and demolished in 1982, by which time it had become a legend in the manga world, Tokiwa-sô was one of the many postwar housing units built as lodgings for people coming up to Tokyo which were dilapidated almost as soon as they were built. Distinguished only by the fact that Tezuka lived there in 1953, the Tokiwa-sô was much the same as all the rest: it had no attached bath, a communal bathroom and kitchen, and in the early 1950s the rent was ¥3000/month with the same amount of reikin ("thank-you money," one of many extortionate Japanese rental practices) and a deposit of ¥30,000. The mangaka who resided there from 1953-61 all lived on the second floor.[251]

Tezuka moved there from his hometown of Takarazuka in Kansai and lived there for a little more than a year, from 1953-54. In 1954 his income was nearly 2.2 million yen, making him the top artist earner in Kansai. Other manga creators followed him there beginning with Terada Hiroo the same year, and Fujiko Funio (A) and Fujiko F. Funio in 1954, who in fact shared a single room for the entire seven years they lived in the building. Even after Tezuka moved to Namiki House elsewhere in Toshima-ku, Suzuki Shin'ichi (b. 1933), Moriyasu Naoya, Ishinomori Shôtarô, the Funios, Mizuno Hideko, and Yokota Tokuo continued living in Tokiwa-sô for varying lengths of time until 1961.[252]

This list of names is an honor roll of significant manga and anime creators in the postwar decades, and other creators who left significant marks on the medium were also associated with the Tokiwa-sô group, who founded the Shinmanga-tô, or New

Manga Group, in 1954 and reconstituted it in 1955 as a forum not for talking about manga but for supporting each other in the lifestyle. Some of the group's meetings devolved into the legendary manga gatherings at Tezuka's Namiki House; Matsumoto Leiji and shojo mangaka Maki Miyako, who married in 1962, in fact met at one of those parties.

Perhaps the most important of the "fellow travelers" of Tokiwa-sô and a member of the Shinmanga-tô in his own right was Nagata Takemaru (b. 1934), who introduced screen tones to manga in 1954.[253] Nagata had been a contributor to *Manga Shônen*, which had brought him into contact with the prewar *Shônen Kurabu* mangaka Haga Masao, who brought his animal manga to Katô Ken'ichi's magazine and introduced Nagata to Tagawa Suihô, under whom Nagata then studied manga. (Haga later became Nagata's father-in-law, and Nagata was the student whom Tagawa chose to write the so-called Heisei edition of Norakuro manga after his death.)

In 1954 screentones were thought of mostly as art supplies for designers, but when Nagata began using them for his yônen (elementary school) manga that year, the advantages they offered mangaka quickly became apparent.[254] The principle of screen tones is still the same six decades later: they are bought as sheets of thin, tissue-like paper which can then be cut into the desired shape and pasted onto the manuscript copy of the manga to create a uniform background. The obvious advantage aside from increasing production speed is for printing blacks, which can be quite difficult to print uniformly using hand coloring methods, but patterned screen tones such as those Nagata first used also leant interest to and created a particular mood in scenes. The manga of the so-called shojo revolution of the 1970s would cement the linkage between screentones and shojo in particular, as various patterned tones were used to evoke certain psychological states or emotional moods in an increasingly widespread visual language. Before that, the use of screentones spread rapidly throughout manga of all stripes in the 1950s, and it remains one of the distinctive features of Japanese comics, just as Tezuka's dogged refusal to adopt tones increasingly set his manga apart as the years went on and he remained loyal to the prewar visual idiom in his own work.

Children's manga in the 1950s was in what proved to be its last florescence, partly because the media conditions that had prevailed during its emergence in the 1920s and first golden age in the 1930s were rapidly disappearing: while children's manga in those years had proved able to rapidly reach a kind of synergy with radio and movies, the other popular forms of mass media, viz radio dramas (usually known as "radio manga") and animated movies, in the 1950s radio and kamishibai were both beginning to lose ground to television. While radio manga persisted until at least the middle of this decade, it faded from the scene thereafter, and the changes manga ultimately made to remain competitive with television were dramatic and transformative.

In the meantime, the story manga pioneered by Tezuka and practiced so ably by him and the members of the Tokiwa-sô group was growing increasingly popular, although the older prewar modes of manga had not yet totally disappeared and many of them still sold well. An acclaimed example of this type of manga in the postwar was the work of Ueda Toshiko (1921-2008), and in particular her manga *Fuichin-san* (1957-

62). A repatriate who had been born in Tokyo, moved almost immediately with her family to Manchukuo, returned to Tokyo for her high school and manga education and then went back to Manchukuo to work for Mantetsu and then a Xinjing newspaper until almost the end of the war, Ueda was already a manga veteran when her blacklisting by GHQ expired in 1949 after the so-called "reverse course," which saw the Occupation soften many of its initial directives as a consequence of rising Cold War tensions.

Fuichin-san in many ways encapsulated and marked the end of the lineage of children's manga that had begun in the years of the total empire: as the art critic Ozaki Hotsuki (1928-99) wrote, the manga united the best characteristics of postwar manga—namely, that Fuichin herself had a charming personality unlike those found in children in the conformist era of "education mamas," though Fuichin's cheerfully anarchic ideas would have been impossible to publish under the wartime state. But for Ozaki, she and the setting of colonial Harbin also embodied the prewar ideal of "popular exchange based on peaceful friendship" (heiwa shinzen no mizokuteki kôryû) as only Ueda Toshiko could have done, partly via conveying the reality of Harbin under the puppet state in a way that went beyond mere exoticism. Ozaki also thought that the manga captured something about living abroad that was echoed in his own experience; born in Taipei, he'd spent more than half his life outside of Japan at that point, and like Ueda, he was a repatriate—indeed, many of the postwar period's greatest artistic luminaries in manga as in every other art form were repatriates, as many scholars have noted.[255] It's certainly true that reading *Fuichin-san* is eye-opening in terms of the picture it draws of life in Manchukuo for rich Chinese and their Japanese friends under the puppet government: hypermodern Harbin looks disconcertingly like 1950s Cleveland, but with the simmering threat of bandits and peasant unrest lurking at the edges of the manga's usually quite sunny events. Like Tezuka, Ueda also declined to adopt tones, heightening the old-fashioned impression.[256]

Writing in 1969, Ozaki acidly observed that "if Fuichin-san were alive now, she'd be in the Red Guard."[257] Just as Ueda could not have published Fuichin's adventures in the wartime era, the manga could never have been published after its actual publication period, as it was predicated on a model of cross-gender appeal that became increasingly untenable in manga aimed at children over the course of the 1960s, the decade when the children's manga paradigm split irrevocably into shonen and shojo manga. A female protagonist by definition could not have appealed (officially) to young male readers of shonen magazines by 1970, and the lack of romance in Fuichin's exploits would also have made her a tough sell in shojo magazines. Being neither Japanese nor white Euro-American, and also not middle- or upper-class, would not have helped her either; all were nearly hegemonic characteristics of the shojo protagonists in that era.

All that being said, Tezuka and the Tokiwa-sô group were by no means the only influential creators to emerge in these years, and the manga magazines they wrote for were not the only popular publishing platform. In point of fact, the relatively forgotten manga format and sales model of kashihon manga and the kashihonya (rental bookstores) that sold it were much more innovative and just as consequential to the development of manga as Tezuka and company in the end. Emerging out of the death

throes of akahon in the early 1950s, kashihon manga and kashihonya changed manga irrevocably.

Chapter Six:
Manga for who? Kashihonya, the gekiga boys, and the ban bad books movement

Kashihonya

The akahon format peaked around 1948 and was virtually gone by 1955, but that was enough time for it to become a staple of the kashihonya, the rental bookstores that had appeared before the end of the war but which mushroomed in the postwar period, when the hunger for entertaining reading material in no way matched people's disposable incomes: in 1948, for example, new manga books ranged from ¥40 to ¥60, while in 1950 they were priced at ¥100 each; akahon manga typically ranged from 10 to 50 yen. At kashihonya, by contrast, you could read the same book for not more than ¥10, and no deposit was required to rent books; all that was required was some form of ID. That said, these same low rental rates meant that most kashihonya were not independent businesses—the margins were too low for that—but sidelines of other outfits such as candy or stationery stores or, overwhelmingly, used bookstores: in Kobe in 1958, for example, fully 60% of the outlets of the national Neo Shobo kashihon chain were attached to used bookstores[258]. Neo Shobo had in fact pioneered the distribution model beginning with its first outlet in Kobe ten years earlier, in 1948, and by 1952 it had become a chain in the Kansai area; its first Tokyo outlet opened in 1953. Kajii Jun, in his introduction to the reprinted issues of the *Zenkoku Kashihon Shinbun* (National Kashihon Newspaper, 1957-72), collects testimony from several people to the effect that when Neo Shobo appeared in the capital it produced quite a shock of the new: its branches had neon signs and seemed clearly *different*.[259]

Kashihonya were a huge market that grew quickly and just as quickly became identified with kashihon manga, which in effect became the next evolution of akahon manga, except with somewhat higher production values: most kashihon manga was produced directly for the rental bookstore market, particularly by publishers in Tokyo.[260] While new materials made up the majority of loans, kashihonya kept backlist items around to increase profits, which they also sought to maximize by changing rental pricing based on the age, size, popularity of the materials in question, and length of the loan period. Even so, kashihonya seem to have become a hotbed of the behavior known as "tachiyomi," i.e. standing around a used bookstore reading the materials on the shelves rather than paying for them and leaving.[261] Ubiquitous in used bookstores for decades, in 2016 the behavior finally seems to be increasingly unacceptable to used bookstores, which have begun shrink-wrapping their newly acquired manga stock to prevent tachiyomi and encourage purchasing as first-run bookstores do.

Both publishing formats became synecdochic for the content of the manga they contained, even as many kashihon publishers got their start as akahon publishers.[262] As for what kind of manga kashihon manga was, like akahon, the answer is somewhat difficult to pin down, as it evidently contained multitudes. Less derivative than akahon, kashihon manga continued the akahon principles of fast, cheap, and anonymous for the era of economic recovery. Creators worked pseudonymously, paid on contract for the right to publish the book first, not the copyright itself. But like akahon publishers, kashihon publishers were indifferent about returning creators' manuscripts, with the result that the majority of kashihon manga has been irrevocably lost.

Notably, however, kashihon manga offered creators a degree of editorial freedom that was difficult to attain in the Tokyo magazine-based industry. In that vein, kashihon manga was associated quite strongly with a certain genre of postwar comics centered on and read by women, particularly the women on whom the burden of the postwar economic recovery often fell most heavily in its early years: they had been children or teenagers during the war, and even if they were not directly replacing their dead mothers in their family, they were working long hours at punishing jobs both inside and outside the home to take care of their younger siblings or parents, assuming their fathers had come back from the war at all. Kashihon shojo manga reflected their experiences quite directly in a notable contrast to kashihon boys' manga, which initially centered around period dramas (jidaigeki) and action adventure. In this respect it was no different from the manga and emonogatari of manga magazines, and it's important to note that these manga were usually not marketed under a shonen/shojo binary, which were a minority in terms of kashihon manga, but in terms of the genre of the manga content itself, i.e. Westerns, romance, crime, etc.[263]

The kashihonya were notable not just for their springing up like mushrooms but for their organizing *as* kashihonya, a maneuver that set them apart from other aspects of the publishing world: although they were a significant node in the networks of manga distribution and consumption, they were not necessarily primarily sellers of manga or even primarily bookstores, but they were the main outlet for an entire format and kind of manga that itself embraced multitudes in terms of its audiences and subject matter. In the decade of their heyday, they were also a key site for manga fans, who eagerly

supplemented the reading and distribution patterns familiar from prewar practice—reading manga at school, sharing manga amongst friends, reading manga in magazines regardless of the gender or age bracket nominally denoted by the title—with trips to the rental bookstores.

As the Kashihon Manga research group has noted, in general at this point in time the manga publishing industry was much less consolidated than it is now, when just a handful of gigantic companies located in Tokyo constitute the vast majority of the manga industry. By contrast, the National Manga Publishers Association in 1959 reported 27 member companies, with many more smaller companies of the mom and pop or fly by night variety not part of the association. Here too the geographic component of the story cannot be overlooked: many of the major publishers of the era were based in Osaka, and many of its most famous creators came from Kansai or western Japan and came up through the Osaka ranks before moving to Tokyo: not just Tezuka, of course, but also Tatsumi and his brother and many others.[264] Two years earlier, a kashihonya report identified 30 manga publishers, ranging from those that put out three to four titles a month to those that did anywhere from 18 to 200. Print runs ranged as large as four or five thousand copies, but more commonly averaged around three thousand.[265]

Despite their outsize influence on the history of manga as a whole, kashihon manga were never a huge market. The magazine *Kage* (Shadow), for example, sold 9000 units at the height of its popularity, and the first volume of Shirato Sanpei's hit *Ninja bugeichô* (1959-62, Book of ninja arts) sold 8000, but most kashihon titles sold between 2500 to 3000 copies. With margins this brutally thin, any change in the media environment could be fatal, and the thin margins also partly explain the continued reliance of kashihon manga on other media, particularly movies: content that had proved a hit in the cinema was copied in kashihon manga to capitalize on its proven success, as when there was a brief boom in "Taiyôzoku manga" after the movie *Taiyô no kisetsu* (1956, *Season of the Sun*) became a hit.[266]

The years 1959-62, dominated by the hit ninja manga by Shirato, were the zenith of the format, but even in those years stores were closing rapidly and publishers were following them as the lived environment of Japan also changed rapidly as the so-called "Economic Miracle" began to take hold. The difficulty was that kashihonya were entirely dependent on the economic conditions of the initial postwar period, in which books were priced cheaply to appeal to consumers without much money to spare, but once the Miracle years arrived and consumer spending began to increase, publishers had no incentive to throttle their own potential profits in order to coddle kashihonya: they could and did sell their product elsewhere, i.e. in new and used bookstores. Indeed, inasmuch as kashihonya allowed multiple readers to peruse just one copy of a book, kashihonya may have been seen as depressing book sales by publishers. They needed publishers, rather than the other way around.

Accordingly, it is not surprising that the kashihonya newspaper in 1962 was full of calls for individual proprietors to protest to publishers about proposed increases in the price of books, or for kashihonya to form a stronger national association so that they could lobby publishers more effectively. And while charts of bestselling titles by

prefecture do demonstrate that kashihonya rented more than just manga—Nabokov's controversial novel *Lolita* was on the bestseller lists in October 1962, for example—they also make clear that manga was the heart of the business model. By that year, the vast majority of ads in the kashihon newspaper were for manga, and one reason the kashihonya protested proposed price increases so stridently was the fact that kashihonya and the manga publishers' association had exhibited a tendency towards informal cooperation on matters of pricing in the past. What few regional variations exist in the lists of price schemes and bestselling titles, moreover, only heighten the impression that the national market was fairly homogeneous overall: although books on average were five yen cheaper to rent in Kansai, for example, there was little to no difference in the lists of what books were most popular in each month across the prefectures.[267]

At the same time as they were becoming targets of the emerging ban bad books movement, kashihonya were also under pressure from first-run booksellers to commit to contracts about maintaining the retail price of books, although the use of such contracts gradually decreased. It was partly to resist such pressures, and repeated calls for a ban on children entering kashihonya (which would have hurt too many businesses and was generally opposed by shopowners), that the Zenkoku Kashihon Kumiai Rengôkai (National Kashihon Union Association) formed in August 1957. Its associated newspaper was first published one month later, bearing the slogan "zenkoku no kashihongyômono yo, danketsu se yo!" ("People in the kashihon industry nationwide, let's unite!") The core of the association was always the Tokyo shops, and the first editor of the newspaper was one Nakayama Sôjirô, the proprietor of a store in Shinagawa ward and a leader on the Tokyo kashihon scene. Nakayama edited nearly thirty issues of the newspaper in its first two years in print, and his influence on it lasted until its demise.[268]

The newspaper is a treasure trove, not least for the reason that like fans in other places and times the kashihonya proprietors were obsessive about the details of their own business, and an article entitled "Manga Research" at the back of its very first issue reveals that manga were, in those proprietors' own words, fundamental to the kashihonya model. According to statistics from the Neo company published in the newspaper's first issue in September 1957, manga accounted for 33% of the chain's stock and 20% of its revenues; those rates were even higher in Osaka, where manga comprised 38% of stock and 26% of revenues, with growth in both areas. The best-selling authors at the chain overall in that month, moreover, were Hasegawa Machiko and Tezuka Osamu, who tied for popularity. The most popular single volumes were collections of newspaper manga, Fukui Ei'ichi's *Igakuri-kun* vol. 8 and Hasegawa's *Sazae-san* vol. 7. Nor did the kashihonya association mince words about its close ties to manga; to this quantitative evidence of the medium's importance to the business model, the newspaper articles added qualitative testimony, writing that "according to the manga publishers, having good creators is the most important thing," above and beyond the quality of any single book. Good creators, moreover, were a reliable long-term investment, unlike more ephemeral properties such as movie tie-ins, which only

sold well while the movie itself was still in theaters.[269] (Which, to be sure, in this era could be as long as a year.)

Gekiga 1: The gekiga boys

One unlikely heir to the akahon and story manga lineages that was enabled by kashihonya and kashihon manga came to be known as "gekiga." The term, coined by Tatsumi Yoshihiro in 1953, means "dramatic pictures" and was meant to denote a more "adult," "serious" alternative to the kashihon and mainstream children's manga that were widely available in the early 1950s. The oldest readers of *Manga Shônen* were now young adults, and they wanted to create and to read manga that was more in line with their lives and interests, however much they may still have loved to read Tezuka. The gekiga boys—for they were all men, and they self-consciously adopted a very masculinist lifestyle not unlike the Beats of American letters in the same years—wound up at the forefront of a revolution that was, like so many revolutions in comics, poorly-paid and for many years largely ignored. But the influence of gekiga proved quite fecund, and the innovations that the gekiga boys pioneered were extremely influential in the development of manga as a whole.

Tatsumi, as will be remembered, had first won a prize for his manga while still a child in 1948, and by the early 1950s he had worked his way into the ferocious akahon market; in particular, his work began appearing in the influential monthly akahon magazine *Kage* (Shadow), which launched many latterly famous creators including Tatsumi. It lasted just ten issues (and in fact, the 11th was brought out by a different publisher after the first company had folded), but *Kage* had a huge influence on akahon and its successors, as it featured mostly short manga stories of the kind now generally known as one-shots (as opposed to serialized stories). Nearly every akahon publisher copied *Kage*'s successful format, and akahon and kashihon manga thereafter witnessed a long "short story boom" that lasted until the list price for kashihon manga rose in the early 1960s.[270]

The six years between Tatsumi coining the term "gekiga" and the formation of the manga group Gekiga Kôbô in 1959 were filled, at least in Tatsumi's recollection in his autobiography *Gekiga hyôryû* (2006, A Drifting Life), with long hours, low pay, and high drama up to and including securities fraud on the part of one of Tatsumi's first publishers, Yamada Shûzô of Hinomaru Bunko in Osaka. Yamada was the driving force behind the pioneering short-story anthology series *Kage* (Shadow), but between the securities fraud and his own personal failings he was unable to effectively exploit the boom in short-story anthologies that he himself had touched off, even though such anthologies quickly became a mainstay of kashihon manga.[271] Other kashihon publishers and mangaka, including the gekiga crew, proved much more capable of satisfying the kashihon market's demand for these kinds of anthologies, which were usually themed around a certain kind of content—*Kage*, as might be imagined from the title, was themed around noir and detective stories, for example.

The locus for the gekiga movement was the manga group Gekiga Kôbô, which formed in 1959. Indeed, the gekigaka, as they styled themselves, were quite self-

consciously revolutionary: Tatsumi announced the group's formation by sending 150 copies of the following declaration on postcards to "newspapers, publishers, and manga artists, including the great Osamu Tezuka:"[272]

> The world is changing constantly. The world of manga, created by Sojo Toba in the twelfth century, is no exception. Manga is a fast-evolving field, and in the Showa period, it has been bifurcated into manga for adults, and manga for children. Today, manga for adults alone comprises various genres such as political manga, realist manga, family manga, and story manga [seiji manga, fûzoku manga, katei manga, stôrî manga].
>
> Children's manga has also become diversified and it now includes different genres for different readerships. In the postwar period, the story manga rapidly rose to prominence, principally due to Osamu Tezuka's efforts. With this new prominence, children's manga also improved its social status and continued to develop steadily.
>
> More recently, the story manga has been vitalized through the influence exerted by the supersonic development of other media such as film, television, and radio. This vitalization has given birth to a new genre, which we have named "gekiga."
>
> Manga and "gekiga" differ in methodology, but perhaps more importantly, in their readerships. The demand for manga, written for adolescents, i.e. those readers between childhood and adulthood, has never been answered, because there has never been a forum for such works. This hitherto neglected reader segment is "gekiga's" intended target. It was, in fact, the rental book market [kashihonya] that contributed significantly to the development of "gekiga."
>
> "GEKIGA": THE NEW FRONTIER
>
> Gekiga has a great future. It will also, doubtless, face some difficulties. Success will require unanimous cooperation from all gekiga writers.
>
> In light of the above, the former TS Workshop and Kansai Manga Artists Group have been consolidated into Gekiga Workshop. Gekiga writers [gekiga raitâ] have united to establish a new system under the banner of "Gekiga Workshop."
>
> It is our sincere hope to have your support and understanding for the future endeavors of the Gekiga Workshop.[273]

It's worth remarking here that Tatsumi had apparently uncritically bought into the idea that manga traced its origins back to classical Japan, an idea that by this point was only about 30 years old. It's also important to be clear about the age of gekiga's target audience; although the term today conjures a more "adult" group of readers, analogous to the seinen category, at the time middle school graduates, i.e. young teenagers, were the target audience for both gekiga and kashihon manga. Only about 55% of male middle school graduates and about 47% of female middle school graduates continued on to high school in 1955, rates that rose only about 5% more each by 1960, and these new members of society were precisely who everyone involved had in mind.[274] Those secondary education rates also explain why such "mature" topics as those routinely covered in gekiga were aimed at young teenagers.

A roundtable discussion in the first volume of *Mantenrô* (1959-60, Skyscraper), another Gekiga Kôbô anthology is quite revealing as to the airs they gave themselves: Sakurai said, with a laugh, that "gekigaka are men of good taste," while Ishikawa Fumiyasu (1937-2014) declared that "Our fathers and older brothers like *Sazae-san*; our aim is fundamentally different from that." K. Motomitsu declared that "gekiga is a new branch of the stream called manga, but I wonder whether in future it might become the main branch."[275]

Hyperbolic declarations about the gekiga readership and claims about the nature of gekiga and the demographics of its readers are generally borne out by the documentary record. The art style of everyone involved in that same volume of *Mantenrô*, for example, is remarkably Tezuka-esque in terms of character designs, but other artistic strategies, in particular the use of cross-hatching and shading in backgrounds (there were definitely no screentones in gekiga) were clearly derived from alternate influences. The first volume of *Mantenrô* is remarkable for how clearly all the participants blended Tezuka's style of character design, but combined that style with styles of crosshatching and shading clearly derived from alternate influences, most likely the emonogatari Westerns and jidaigeki stories that had been popular a decade prior. And most obviously, gekiga reveled in the kind of content that Tezuka never would have produced, at least in this stage of his career, and this was part of the point: the gekiga boys were aiming to produce something that didn't exist in manga before. They strove to adopt the techniques of movies; in K. Motomitsu's view, for example, whereas manga before had been theatrical, gekiga made free use of movie techniques.

Of course, mangaka had been incorporating cinematic visual techniques into their work for decades; they meant certain kinds of movies, namely contemporary noir and Western genre films from both Hollywood and Japanese studios. Sakurai and Motomitsu both made analogies between gekiga and music: for Sakurai, the new thing about gekiga was that "our method is rockabilly," while Motomitsu likened it to modern jazz. Satô simply declared that gekiga "has movement," while Ishikawa viewed the defining characteristic more abstractly, saying that "the expression is free (jiyû jizai)." Sakurai agreed, saying "that's what's new about it."[276]

The differences in content between gekiga and mainstream manga were not just a matter of subject matter, but also involved how that subject matter was treated. Satô Masa'aki (1937-2004) claimed that gekiga mixed in "profoundly human psychological depictions," whereas "goggle-eyed manga doesn't depict psychological worries at all." For Yamamori Susumu (b. 1935), the difference was that gekiga depicted things that could possibly happen in reality; thus "realism" was gekiga's method. These concerns blended into the question of who gekiga was for: in Satô's view, for example, manga and gekiga were "two different schools" and "that contrast is present in the readership as well." Motomitsu put a value judgment on that split when he added that "gekiga readers have better understanding (rikai ryoku) than manga readers," but Ishikawa brought it back to a question of age, pointing out that until this time there had been nothing to read in the gap from middle through high school (i.e. roughly 14-18). "We're aiming at the gap between children and adults," Satô summarized, and Ishikawa agreed: "That's gekiga." In a comment that was telling in more ways than one, Motomitsu concluded by declaring that it was fine if only the people with whom gekiga resonated read it: "because the philosophy is woven throughout, the readers are limited."[277]

Such ambitions for a small, devoted group of in-the-know readers notwithstanding, the gekigaka mentioned things like "expanding the readership" and "be read by children and adults" among their answers to a question about their hopes for the future. Satô pithily summed up those ideas with a comment implying that

gekiga should or could be "cheaper than novels, more economical than a TV," while Yamamori rested his hopes in "the development of the unexplored territory of gekiga hereafter." The roundtable concluded with the observation that "lately the world of manga has been undergoing huge changes" and that "the foundation of the new genre (sekai) of gekiga is one part of those phenomena. …manga has at this point become a thing of the past. The world of manga must be born into a new world hereafter."[278]

Gekiga 2: Rebels without a cause

The anthology series *Musô* (1959-60, Peerless) assembled by the group's members and published by their frequent collaborator Ugatsu Shobô in its name, is a good example of the gekiga phenomenon. The akahon heritage of gekiga is obvious in the book's physical characteristics: it was the same price, the same size, had the same illustrated endpapers, the same full-color table of contents illustrations and the same first quire of 12 pages long; the only appreciable difference was that the *Musô* series was issued in softcover rather than hardcover editions. Moreover, the visual style of the gekiga manga itself (which was largely focused on jidaigeki material) also recalls a cross between the limited akahon shojo style of and the postwar jidaigeki manga. There were no tones in *Musô*, either.

The influence of Tezuka and *Manga Shonen* was obvious in other ways too. Reader engagement was a key strategy on the part of the gekiga boys, who—in a break with what became the norm in mainstream manga publishing over the next decade or so—consciously marketed themselves as individuals, and moreover as cool individuals, to their readers via their publications. The fourth volume of *Musô* contains a page called the "readers' letter room" (dokusha retâ rûmu), which invited readers to submit letters to the editors, "no matter how small the matter" (donna chisana koto demo kekkô desu) and gives the group's address, saying that "this is the bridge between the readers and the editors."[279] The gekiga crew also maintained their brand, as we would now put it, by strictly policing potential contributions: the call for submissions at the back of the anthology specified not only genre but also page length and size and ink color and type.[280]

Musô continued the *Manga Shonen* strategy of encouraging amateur cartoonists among its readers as well. A five-page section called "Kimi nara dô egaku" ("How you would draw it") reprinted panels of the same image from an earlier volume that were redrawn and submitted by readers; Tatsumi himself selected the winners, of which three received prizes and many received honorable mentions.[281] There were also efforts to develop the kind of associations around gekiga that had supported manga in the 20s and 30s: the second issue of *Mantenrô* contained a solicitation for members for the "All Japan Gekiga Kenkyûkai," which met in Osaka and published a zine entitled *Gekigakai* (Gekiga World).[282]

An interview with Tatsumi in the second volume of *Mantenrô* echoed the earlier roundtable's statements about the age range of the readership; for him, gekiga was aiming between middle school and the first year of high school (roughly, 12-15), relying on those readers' increased power of understanding. The most important thing for him

in this formulation became the creators' "thought."[283] The readers evidently agreed with Tatsumi's assessment: by *Mantenrô*'s fourth issue, one Nakatani Yoshiyasu of Osaka (who also wrote in to the second issue, making him a very early adopter) wrote that "until now, speaking of manga, there was nothing but story manga for middle and elementary school students, but now the name of the new hope for a new age of new reading material for those of us from middle to high school to be able to read is called gekiga…" The gekigaka may have overplayed their hand somewhat in selecting such an overblown letter for publication, but the sentiment was echoed in less hyperbolic terms in other letters.

The gekiga boys also consciously played up the fact that they were men. The gekiga publications bear witness to self-consciously masculinist posturing by everyone involved, from the creators (who talked about getting into fights as kids, and posed for photographs variously playing Russian roulette, riding motorcycles, and wearing trenchcoats and berets), to the readers, who frequently opened letters with the explicitly masculine greeting "Ossu!" Another thing powering the gekiga boys' setting themselves up as idols was the fact that gekiga became the locus of amateur manga production after the demise of *Manga Shônen* via the publication *Machi* (1957-58, City). While this gekiga amateur phenomenon didn't last long, it did power a miniature amateur gekiga boom and it did, via the *Gekigakai* zine, create a fan club atmosphere that also powered the same kind of imagined community that had developed around *Manga Shônen* earlier.[284] In contrast to later dôjin culture, however, these groups were aimed solely at professional publication.

There was also an attempt by the members of Gekiga Kôbô to personalize the creators themselves—they talked about living in the Kokubunji area of Tokyo, they congratulated each other on marriage and other significant events in the back matter of volumes, and features such as the "Gekiga nikki" (Gekiga diary) in *Mantenrô* 4 explicitly invited readers along on their daily lives, including their gekiga work. Their ostentatious alienation from the moral certainties of the imperial social order and their youthful nihilism, however, placed them squarely in the mainstream of disaffected Japanese youth, and their potentially violent masculinity was straight out of the novels of future Tokyo governor Ishihara Shintarô, on whose books the so-called taiyôzoku films were based. The man who embodied the books and these nihilist ideals on film, Ishihara's brother Yûjirô (1934-87), was immediately compared to James Deen and Marlon Brando, and the gekiga boys almost certainly would have been flattered had they been part of the same comparison.

Given all the unrestrained egoism on display in the group's official publications, it is not terribly surprising that interpersonal disagreements quickly proved increasingly difficult amongst the Workshop members. Although the group members presented themselves as living in Tokyo, not all of them did, and Tatsumi was more or less left to act as editor-in-chief by default, since his living in the capital meant that publishers put pressure on him when deadlines bore down. Tatsumi being left holding the bag was not the only example of the group's ostensible equality breaking down; there were frequent disagreements and complaints amongst group members about who got how many pages or color pages in a given publication. Chasing after the other

members for manuscripts and overseeing the reader contests took up a huge amount of Tatsumi's time, which meant that his membership in the group actually wound up depressing his own creative output—exactly the opposite of his own goal for participating. Publishers such as the president of Hinomaru Bunko were leery of the group's union-like characteristics, and with good reason, as the Gekiga Kôbô members were able to charge very high rates while it lasted. Moreover, the gekigaka themselves were unable to agree on fundamental questions such as whether gekiga was part of or separate from manga. Tatsumi quit the group in the summer of 1959, and the other members gradually quit as well, until the group finally folded in January 1960. Sakurai and Ishikawa, the group's last two remaining members, split the remaining group funds amongst themselves.[285]

Although the Gekiga Kôbô lasted less than a year, it proved the popularity of gekiga content, and all of the gekigaka continued to publish manga, mostly through kashihon publishers: gekiga and kashihonya rapidly developed a reciprocal relationship in which the two were mutually supportive. The collapse of the Gekiga Kôbô as an entity, however, definitively put paid to the notion of gekiga as a separate category from manga, since gekiga-as-separate no longer had any institutional advocates: kashihon manga publishers saw themselves in the business of publishing manga, and had no reason to buy into the creative debates about gekiga as a separate kind of comics. An issue of the kashihon newspaper from April 1962, for example, classifies manga into A and B materials based on popularity; A titles were "principally shonen and adult," while B titles were "principally shojo." Moreover, the article named names: Tezuka and Hasegawa were two of the first names on the list of popular creators, for "science/other" and "*Sazae-san*," respectively, while Tatsumi himself appeared mid-list with the designation of "action" as his specialty.[286] Gekiga's continuing commitment to action, and kashihonya's continued commitment to profitability, meant that the two became increasingly entwined, and gekiga creators such as Tatsumi increasingly participated in interviews and meetings, such as the "Roundtable encircling manga creators" in October 1963, which asked him some very elementary questions such as "Do you play baseball?" (No) and "Do your ideas come from you or from the publisher?"[287]

The ban bad books movement

Kashihonya organizing into the National Kashihon Association via its associated newspaper, the *Zenkoku Kashihon Shinbun*, also seems to have made them a target for one of the least-discussed phenomena in the manga world in the postwar years, namely the akusho tsuihô undô or "ban bad books movement." It is no coincidence that in the same years that American comics publishers voluntary instituted a self-censorship regime known as the Comics Code Authority, manga came under attack from the "education mamas and PTAs" which were increasingly prominent in Japanese society from about the mid-1950s onward. In both countries the postwar socioeconomic order hinged on the notion of the meritocracy and the notion of education as a required credential to achieve a stable middle-class lifestyle, resulting in Japan in the rise of

"education mamas and PTAs" as mothers sought to provide their children with every possible educational advantage in order to ensure their long-term success. In their estimation, children reading manga that contained age-inappropriate content, or at all, was a threat to their healthy development and acquisition of the aforementioned educational credentials, and the ban bad books movement accordingly sought to prevent either or both under the rubric of "protecting the youth" from "harsh depictions" and "sexually explicit material."

On one level, the ban bad books movement was the natural endpoint of the debate about children's manga that had been nurtured by Home Ministry censors and bureaucrats under the fascist state; the debate about the proper relationship between entertainment and education in children's manga far outlived the military regime that birthed it. No less a figure than Tagawa Suihô had weighed in on this question in his preface to his early postwar manga *Chameken to Norakuro* (1948, Chameken and Norakuro), in which he wrote that it wasn't an educational book: there were others for that purpose, and manga books at least ought to be separate from "learning, homework, and such" (gakumon benkyô nado). In his view, "even if it's illustrated manga-style, if it doesn't have interesting and funny things, it doesn't have the value (neuchi) of manga," and it was important that manga books be interesting, funny things that gave everyone a smile and let them rest their tired bodies.[288]

The same views animated Tagawa's old *Shônen Kurabu* colleague, Katô Ken'ichi. Judging by his editor's notes in *Manga Shônen-shi*, Terada Hiroo's oral history of the magazine, Katô truly took children seriously not only as an audience but as a discerning group of consumers, and it's hard not to think that this attitude was also a factor in the magazine's success. Katô repeatedly defended manga during his tenure with *Manga Shônen*, insisting that manga was necessary for children and that banning them from reading it wouldn't work because of the spirit that manga contained: "Manga looks like something that anybody with just the inclination to draw can do roughly, so there aren't many people who will apologize to [i.e. acknowledge] manga," he wrote, but went on to argue that the opposite was in fact the case, and moreover, that the best manga was not only humorous but painful (kurushii). Interestingly, America loomed large in Katô's defense of manga as a site with a similar marketplace of manga consumption, both "good" and "bad," but also as a place where readers by 1949 had banded together via various institutions such as research meetings and clubs.[289] Ironically, those same U.S. reader organizations that Katô admired were powerless to stop the institution of the Comics Code Authority while Japanese comics largely escaped such measures, whether imposed by the government or by publishers themselves.[290] It would be another two decades before reader organizations became a force in Japanese comics on the whole.

Gekiga evidently epitomized the problems that ban bad books activists had with this kind of "immoral" content, as is made clear from an episode in *A Drifting Life* detailing an incident in Kofu, Yamanashi prefecture, in September 1959: declaring that "any book with pages, two thirds or more of which is without text, is immoral," ban bad books activists in Yamanashi—which seems to have been the hotbed of the movement, such as it was—specifically cited gekiga works by Satô Masa'aki, which in

their description sounded extremely questionable indeed: "The protagonist is a juvenile delinquent. In 124 panels, on 24 pages, there are 25 scenes featuring guns, 20 showing fights, and 61 without any text. Almost all scenes depict juvenile crime. This story is immoral and lacks any sense of justice." Although Tatsumi depicts himself as laughing off the article, the unfortunate Satô was blacklisted and could not get any work for six months: as Tatsumi put it, he was "hung out to dry by every publisher out of fear of the boycott" and only resumed work by attaching himself to a new manga publisher that had no prior knowledge of his "infamy." Satô reportedly later described his enforced hiatus as "days of hell.[291]"

The fact that kashihonya in Yamanashi were said to be cooperating with the Kofu police to accede to ban bad books activists' concerns is both typical and emblematic. The close association between kashihonya and non-mainstream manga such as akahon and then later kashihon manga and gekiga meant that they were a perennial target of ban bad books groups, and the latest developments related to the movement were a perennial topic in the pages of the *Zenkoku Kashihon Shinbun*. Indeed, the movement at times seems to have focused on kashihonya, and it did not outlive them. Partly this is a question of access: kashihonya had little capital, either fiscal or cultural, and it was much easier for local groups, often consisting of housewives doing activism in their limited spare time, to bring pressure to bear on their neighborhood rental bookstore than on the Tokyo-based publishers who actually created the content that was available in those bookstores. Kashihonya proprietors and their advocates then and now, by contrast, repeatedly argued that the groups' assumption that kashihon readers were children was false, and the KHMM goes so far as to describe the ban bad books movement members as "parents who were out of touch with reality."[292]

Indeed, Kajii Jun describes the ban bad books movement going after kashihonya as a "frameup," and insofar as it's possible to trace information about groups in the movement in the documentary record, his estimation seems fundamentally correct. One locus of the animus against kashihon manga, for instance, was an article in the evening edition of the *Asahi Shinbun* in April 1955, which condemned a book of pornography, *Issei teire,* and implicated kashihonya in its being sold to "youth." Pornography at the time, however, was generally considered to be a "one-time use" item and would not have been available at the rental bookstores for that reason (unlike, for example, the used bookstore chain Book-Off, which nowadays does have an age-segregated section of used pornography). As Kajii points out, such materials in fact were generally sold at night market shops and street stalls.[293] On balance, the fact that the first anti-kashihonya outcry took place just after kashihonya rose in popularity also does not seem coincidental; as Kajii recounts, there was a strong animus against kashihon manga and its associates among thought leaders in newspapers and such in the 1950s.[294]

The kashihonya certainly presented a target of opportunity for the ban bad books movement, partly because the big, mainstream manga publishers largely refused to have any substantive truck with the movement. Endless roundtables between publishers, kashihonya proprietors, and ban bad books activists went around in circles, literally and figuratively, for two reasons: activists struggled to define what constituted

a "bad book" and publishers continually and successfully evaded being pinned down on what kind of content they would publish.

Ban bad books activists evidently fell back on the 1930s-era canard that "commercialism" automatically meant that content was bad for children, but in democratic Japan commercialism was not ipso facto a bad thing, as a representative from Kobunsha, a member of the Kodansha group, made clear in his remarks at a meeting of the "Warui Manga wo Nakusukai" (Committee to Abolish Bad Manga) attended by representatives of 10 publishers: "Commercialism surely comes into the choice to publish good or bad manga, but that comes second; what comes first is readers. Since creators and editors both have a direct relationship with readers, you would say what will sell is commercialism, but it's not commercialism to think first of what will make children happy. In conclusion, what makes children happy is not bad manga."[295] While the statement is obviously somewhat self-serving, it is evident that for publishers manga's popularity was now a badge of honor, as opposed to grounds for suspicion; in the moral universe of postwar Japan, it was no longer tenable, even at the formerly morally minded Kodansha, to successfully argue that child readers were moral blank slates or that manga per se was by definition immoral. With that battle lost, the ban bad books movement became hopelessly mired in the local and specific.

The local and specific could still be highly inflammatory in a very literal sense, however. To the end of his days, Tezuka was greatly pained by an incident in the mid-1960s in which ban bad books activists apparently burned stacks of his manga outside the Diet building in Tokyo, and there are scattered reports of book burnings, mostly in Yamanashi prefecture, in those same years.[296] Burning books outside the Diet notwithstanding, the other reason that the ban bad books movement eventually failed was that its members evidently failed to generate buy-in from either politicians or bureaucrats above the local level, which doomed them to have limited impact in the highly centralized democratic Japanese state. The other reason, as will be discussed in the next chapter, was that mainstream manga was rapidly adapting itself to the new social and corporate order, leaving ban bad books activists out in the cold along with the kashionya and kashihon manga they attacked.

Proxy wars: Television's early years in Japan

Taking the 1955 *Asahi* article as a locus classicus for the ban bad books movement raises a question: what was it about 1955 and kashihonya that now understood their conjunction as a threat to children, and by extension to the future? In the ten years since the end of the war, what had changed?

The answer to that question could and does fill books, but certain aspects of the first decade of postwar Japan—in the strictest sense, the only postwar decade, as the economic turnaround dated from 1955 and the "postwar recovery" was officially declared over in 1956—are extremely relevant to the discussion at hand. Perhaps most obviously, in the ten years since the fall of the empire the consumerism that had been regarded as a threat to national morality by wartime officials had been enshrined as the foundation of the Japanese economic recovery and, by extension, of the reconstruction

of the nation. Gone were the austerity and frugality of the total empire, the self-sacrifice and the self-abnegation; in their place, the middle class was now constructed in terms of what they bought, and what they ought to buy was, by the end of the decade, colloquially known as the "Three Jewels" (a reference to the traditional imperial regalia, the mirror, the sword, and the jewel): the washing machine, the refrigerator, and the black and white television set.

The television was extremely consequential for history worldwide; in Japan, both the device itself and the new visual medium it supported were extremely disruptive to the media environment after Japanese television began broadcasting locally in Tokyo in 1953. Before that, mutatis mutandis, the Japanese mediascape was broadly similar to the one that had existed 20 years earlier in 1933; after 1953, that was no longer the case, and indeed, the similarities between 1933 and 1953 mask substantial differences. Most critically, radio had been commercialized in 1951, the better to serve democratization, and the NHK had lost its broadcast monopoly; although it remained an influential public broadcaster, its commercial competitors made money via advertising and so felt commercial pressures to grow their audiences as large as possible. NHK, in turn, felt pressure to compete with them. Radio sets, which had first become common in the 1930s, became "a standard household appliance" in the 1950s, and radio soon hit on serialized dramas, such as the breakthrough drama *Kimi no na wa?* (1952-54, What Is Your Name?), as a profitable and popular evolution of the medium.

As Jason Makoto Chun has documented in his social history of Japanese television in these years, television was already the object of an incipient moral panic even before it began broadcasting in Japan; drawing on the experiences of writers who had experienced television abroad, primarily in the United States, in Chun's estimation, "critics recognized that television would need to be regulated. Failure to do so would mean the penetration of commercialism into the middle-class family, children glued to the tube, and neglect of household duties by domestic housewives." Chun quotes an article published in the *Sunday Mainichi* in 1953, just before the advent of television in Japan, which laid out the danger to children in specific terms:

> The effect on families is a double-edged sword. The reason is that the sponsors broadcast the most attention-grabbing programs and so the children watch westerns and gangster movies on the screen. They cannot separate themselves from the front of the set, then imitate these programs when they play in front of the TV, and so they fall into lack of exercise and lack of studying.[297]

It is no coincidence that the genres of programs the *Mainichi* cited specifically were also those that were exceedingly popular in kashihon manga, including the genre-themed gekiga anthologies of the mid-1950s such as *Kage* and *Machi*. Moreover, when TV did debut in Japan in 1953, it boosted kashihon manga and kashihonya by creating whole new types of content for kashihon manga to poach, especially pro wrestling. Early TV in Japan was plagued by several related problems, namely that the cost of a set was extremely high and the picture quality was quite low; only the richest early adopters could afford a TV for their household, or frankly would want to do so. To circumvent these problems, TV boosters stoked demand by creating, in Chun's phase, "early TV as a mass event:" viewers would congregate around street-corner sets for

sporting and other events, especially the matches of pro wrestler Rikidôzan (1924-63), who routinely trounced Americans and other foreigners in the ring after renouncing his sumo career in 1950, notwithstanding that he was Korean-born himself.

Early TV thus competed less with radio than with kamishibai, and its successes were predicated on a vision of television as "a way to entertain viewers and sell them goods in the process," not "as a public service dedicated to uplifting the cultural level of the nation."[298] Entertainment versus uplift should sound familiar; it is, in other terms, the same debate that bedeviled early Japanese cinema. It is also the debate about manga that raged from the emergence of children's manga as a popular genre within the medium through to this same moment in Japanese history and beyond to 1959, when the Yamanashi ban bad books activists attempted to indict Satô's manga partly by presenting a simple accounting of the ratio of texts to images. In their simplistic paradigm, text was good and images were bad; manga that was not sufficiently textual was thus bad prima facie.

Previous decades' debates about manga, for children and otherwise, had centered on the question of laughter, not on text versus images per se; it does not seem too much of a stretch to posit that the new emphasis on images as bad or at least suspect by default may have been connected to the new prominence of television in Japanese society by 1960. The marriage of then-Crown Prince Akihito to his commoner bride Shôda Michiko in April 1959 was a key moment both for the reinvention of the Japanese imperial family as a democratic institution and for the adoption of television by individual households in Japan; again in Jayson Chun's estimation, the wedding "better symbolized to the people the rise of the television nation. […] A record number of about 15 million people watched the royal wedding on TV."[299]

There is a certain fairy-tale glitz to the idea that the wedding (the first in which a member of the imperial family married outside the aristocracy; Akihito had famously met Michiko on a tennis court) caused people to buy TV sets, but as Chun points out, that narratively satisfying idea probably misunderstands the nature of watersheds: "the presence of so many TV sets by 1959 transformed the wedding into a nationwide media event. The boom in TV purchases began in the mid-1950s years before, and by the year of the wedding the number of sets in the nation had reached a critical mass. If the wedding symbolized both the coming of age for the Crown Prince and the coming of age for television in Japan, then it also showed how television had centralized the nation on two levels. First, it worked on the individual level through the family members gathering around the home television set. Second, it did so on a national level by spreading Tokyo-based programming and events to all corners of Japan."[300]

It is perhaps difficult to understand the fears around television in the third millennium, now that the bleeding edge of moral panics over media has shifted to the internet and the proliferation of internet-enabled devices in the daily lives of people (and children) in the so-called advanced industrial economies. But concerns about the stultifying power of the "boob tube" were very real on both sides of the Pacific for decades, and the fear of television's endless flow of images—and, as time went on, increasingly proliferating broadcasting intervals, culminating in hundreds of 24/7 cable channels in the States by the late 1990s—evidently transferred relatively well to comics.

And while parents could exert control over children's television consumption simply by turning the set off or changing the channel once TVs moved into the home, the comparatively free-wheeling kashihonya were not so easily brought to heel: thus the need to agitate against "bad books" *tout court*, which gave concerned parents the means to exercise a similar level of control over children's access to manga.

Although the kashihonya proprietors were unquestionably small businesspeople who made their livelihoods from their stores, in important ways the kashihon association handily anticipated the vicissitudes of amateur and fan groups in manga and anime fan culture in later decades. Whereas early anime fans in the United States, for example, expended reams of dot matrix printer paper and gallons of copier toner arguing over the ethics of distributing unauthorized VHS tapes filled with anime, kashihonya were in a perennial argument amongst themselves and with publishers, creators, and ban bad books movement activists about what books kashihonya should rent to children, and how to ensure that children only read "good" books. Moreover, like fans and professionals of every era, they worried openly about whether manga in 1963 had passed its creative peak and whether any good manga would ever be produced again: as an article in October of that year fretted, "…recently there have been no masterpieces from the front rank manga publishers, and it really seems that the manga world is in a discouraging place in terms of its future."[301] (I most recently heard a Crunchyroll VP express the exact same sentiments in March 2016.) In this era, manga also faced some of the same moral panic that anime, video games, and otaku culture later inspired in Japan and abroad, as when "bad books" were cited in the case of the rape and murder of a third-grade girl in Yamaguchi prefecture in November 1963, which was then cited in order to encourage kashihonya to participate in the ban bad books movement.[302]

To be sure, the kashihonya were certainly being squeezed from multiple directions at this point in time: their own research indicated that kashihonya had seen a three-year dropoff in the readership of manga since 1960, which was most likely exacerbated by the decision of many individual proprietors to stop stocking "manga with bad content" (naiyô no warui manga) after the increase in the price of books went through in early 1963. Local ban bad books groups, such as one in Osaka whose activities were reported on in March 1964, mostly attempted to enforce age segregation in kashihon rentals, but the result was that kashihonya alienated their heretofore loyal customer base, who now had sufficient disposable income to be able to get the manga they wanted elsewhere. Middle school students, moreover, wanted increasingly questionable content just as much as parents' groups wanted to suppress it, and kashihonya not readily providing such materials even though publishers were still releasing them merely eroded their overall customer support. By 1963 the mediascape in Japan was changing rapidly, as were socioeconomic conditions, and in the end the ban bad books activists were much less successful at eradicating manga than the wartime censors had been. Tied to kashihonya and kashihon manga, the movement faded along with this particular platform.

Conclusion: Postwar platforms

Keen-eyed readers may have noticed that in the preceding chapter I have already slipped into the idioms of the contemporary digital age when discussing the rise of television: devices, not appliances; content, not programs; early adopters, not lighthouse customers. Obviously, television and every other form of media at this time was relentlessly analog; the digital revolution was still several decades out, not yet even a gleam in futurists' eyes. But thinking about television and more broadly about manga and the various formats it embraced in these years through the framework of platforms is nonetheless illuminating.

Although the discourse of platforms first arose in English in the States in the 2000s, it was already being theorized in Japanese management discourse in the 1990s after having emerged out a specific hardware context in Japan, namely that of the car production line platform. Japanese platform theorists, most prominently Deguchi Hiroshi, identified several different types of platforms by the early 2000s, of which the so-called "transaction-type or mediation type platform," examples of which Marc Steinberg identifies as credit cards, game consoles, dating clubs, and DVD players, is the relevant one for the current discussion. In this model, the platform itself is the intermediary agent in the encounter between two groups, i.e. of people or companies. Mediation-type platforms thus enable multi-sided markets, where users, money, and contents meet. The video game company Nintendo has become the paradigmatic example of a "platform business," i.e. one that provides a base for other companies to offer products and services, thus enabling transactions between third parties, for its mastery of the concept of games as a multi-sided market.[303]

In important ways, kashihonya themselves constituted a "platform business" in the years discussed in this chapter. The kashihonya system enabled a multi-sided market in which manga readers, kashihonya proprietors, and kashihon and mainstream manga publishers participated in transactions with each other via the kashihonya platform. If the key element of Nintendo's success is that it has created and maintained trust in the platform (i.e. its consoles) by ensuring a certain baseline quality in third-party games since 1985, it becomes quite easy to understand the unique dilemma that kashihonya fell into when the ban bad books movement systematically began undermining that trust. The kashihonya response, moreover, alienated the actual group of people who were giving kashihonya money for books—which is to say, manga

readers, who increasingly wanted the kind of questionable content to which ban bad books movement activists objected. At the same time, the rise of television and the changes mainstream publishers made to manga to compete with television fatally disrupted another aspect of this multi-sided market, which was predicated on the generally depressed economic conditions of the pre-TV postwar era.

Thinking about kashihonya as a platform is useful because it underlines the distinction between kashihonya and kashihon manga, which (thanks to the multi-sided market context) was able to use the kashihonya platform to promote an alternative to mainstream Tokyo manga magazines after the demise of akahon manga. The kashihon alternative, which included but was not limited to gekiga, demonstrated conclusively that a readership for manga existed that was not currently captured by those same magazines. Mainstream manga left kashihonya in the dust in the 1960s partly by retooling themselves to capture precisely that readership through the invention of a genre known as “seinen” or “young men’s” manga, which provided precisely the content that kashihonya were excoriated by the ban bad books movement for renting to their customers.

The essential problem kashihonya faced, however, was not even Tokyo manga companies stealing a march on them with seinen, which happened relatively late in the decade, but with the conversion of manga magazines from, roughly speaking, product to advertising. It will be recalled that one of the things that sustained manga under the total empire, both in the home islands and in the colonies, was children rereading manga magazines from their personal collections (or those of their friends) and obtaining copies of magazines second-hand at used bookstores. This rereading was possible because the magazines were relatively sturdy publications which, in keeping with the family reading strategy pioneered by *King* (which in many ways dictated expectations about what a “magazine” was), were designed to hold together while being passed around between readers multiple times. Beginning in November 1956 with the publication of *Weekly Manga Times*, however, manga publishers forsook this legacy of high-quality periodicals and switched to a model of magazine publishing which was in many ways a race to the bottom: using the cheapest possible paper and ink to cram the most content into each issue, which grew increasingly large, thick, and unwieldy because they were designed not for rereading but for quick consumption to sustain interest in the product by which publishers did make their profits: the tankôbon manga book, which collected multiple chapters of the same manga into one volume.

The tankôbon, pioneered in hardcover in the 1930s by Tagawa and *Norakuro*, rarely if ever again reached those heights of design and quality. Though they were higher quality than the magazines, they were not high quality; whereas manga series published in magazines occasionally got full-color frontispieces of either single or multiple pages, those pages were almost never reproduced in tankôbon softcover volumes, which used monochrome printing to save money. These formatting changes have condemned some fine multi- and full-color manga of the earlier era, such as *Norakuro*, *Kasei tanken*, and Tezuka’s *Phoenix*, to dull and muddy monochrome reprints which unquestionably provide an inferior reading experience compared to the original. Similarly, reprinting color pages from contemporary manga in tankôbon is a rare event;

the color illustrations that are published in the magazines are more likely to be repurposed into ancillary merchandise such as art books, calendars, clear files and other goods.

This cheapening of the manga experience was partly a product of two other changes in manga in the 1960s: the proliferation of manga thanks to the rise of weekly magazines and the increasing view of manga not as an end in itself but as the starting point of a media mix, in which manga became the wellspring of anime production and character merchandising. Although manga creators in Japan are unquestionably in a better position than comics artists working for the so-called "mainstream" U.S. publishers in that mangaka retain the copyrights to their works rather than working "for hire," these two developments together did tend to undercut the position of mangaka vis-a-vis publishers until and unless their manga became a hit. At the same time, weekly publication schedules ushered in the "era of the assistant," as tight deadlines meant that mangaka could no longer create manga alone. Indeed, the era of the assistant can be said to have begun in the 1950s in the Tokiwa-sô, whose members acted as each other's (uncredited) assistants during the years they lived there, even before most of them began publishing in weekly magazines.

All these developments together meant that the manga industry came to comprise many more people than it had before even as small-time independent publishers began to fold and the big Tokyo publishers came to play an even more dominant role in the field. It also meant that many people who were able to break into manga were unwilling or unable to make a career in it and stay there; over time, manga and manga-type techniques filtered into other creative fields such as design, illustration, and advertising as former aspiring or professional mangaka switched to industries with longer deadlines and a lighter workload, to say nothing of higher pay and better conditions. Female mangaka also frequently left the industry to get married and work as housewives.

This postwar period is often regarded as the era of the birth of manga, which is interesting in light of the fact that the mediascape of this period, at least in terms of manga, in many ways had more in common with the years of the total empire than with that of democratic Japan's economic heyday. While it is certainly accurate that story manga was synthesized in these years after Tezuka's debut, focusing on either story manga or Tezuka and ignoring all of the other simultaneous developments in and aspects of the manga world in this period does that world a grave disservice. It is, moreover, to willfully misunderstand the nature of manga in the 1950s versus (professional) manga now, which despite many transformative developments louring on the horizon still has more in common with manga as it stood in the late 1960s or early 1970s than with the era of akahon, kamishibai, kashihonya and street TV. To be sure, the roots of the present moment of manga stretch back to the 1950s, just as do those of the current Japanese sociopolitical system. But contemporary manga became contemporary largely by overturning the remaining foundations, laid in the era of the total empire, on which the 1950s world of manga was still based.

Part Four:
Manga in the Age of Anime, 1963 - 1975

Overview: Shambling towards the postmodern

The 1960s were an extremely consequential period in the history of democratic Japan. The decade opened with mass protests against the ratification of a revised U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (Anpo); it closed with the 1970 Osaka Expo, which heralded the arrival of a new, postmodern Japan even as the future its many space age thought experiments augured came to seem increasingly distant over the course of the 1970s. The Expo's more concrete impact instead came from the innovations it spurred in areas such as closed-circuit television, canned coffee, LAN networks and digital art, even as the dreams it nurtured provided inspiration to a new generation of hard-core popular culture fans who came to be known, by the beginning of the 1980s, as "otaku."[304]

Powering all of these developments was the economic engine that was christened the Miracle, Japan's unprecedented, and still historically unique, four decades of continuous economic growth as measured in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). The years of the Occupation and the postwar—which for our purposes can be said to have ended by 1964, the year that Tokyo hosted the summer Olympics for the first time—remade Japan into a society organized around economic growth, which lasted for a remarkable forty years before collapsing in 1991 with the bursting of the so-called "bubble economy."

In other words, the economic policies of the new democratic postwar government and the bureaucracy that supported it worked, but those policies were anything but natural or inevitable. As Andrew Gordon has detailed in *The Wages of Affluence*, Japan's economic growth was a result of society being "managed" for business via the interlocking operation of "a broad array of institutions, social policies,

and laws, supported and bolstered by a set of 'common-sense' ideas about the natural virtue of meritocratic competition and divided gender roles" that was centered around the corporate hegemony of big business.[305]

Although workplace unions contested this ideology as it emerged in the 1950s, over the course of the 1960s that ideology became more or less patent, which is to say, the unthinking default. This process required a realignment of social life in multiple fields, two of which are particularly relevant for the history of manga: first, the notion of the meritocracy led to a sharp jump in the notion of education as a required credential to achieve a stable middle-class lifestyle, resulting in the rise of "education mamas and PTAs" in the 1960s as mothers sought to provide their children with every possible educational advantage in order to ensure their long-term socioeconomic success. Japan's crushing "six days a week plus daily cram school" culture of education was the result. In the 1950s and 60s manga came under threat from this wing of the emerging corporatist ideology, as mothers in the ban bad books movement sought to prevent children from reading manga that contained age-inappropriate content, or at all.

The ban bad books movement, however, ultimately failed, and its failure was related to the second relevant aspect of the realignment of Japanese society around the emerging corporate hegemony, namely its re-instantiation of a highly gendered social order that insisted on a very sharp division of labor and earnings based on an ideology of "natural" gender roles. The archetypal man became the white-collar salaryman and the archetypal woman became the housewife whose unremunerated labor produced a modern household and family. This ideology was buttressed by employment and tax policies designed to lock women out of high-status and high-earning careers and incentivize them to remain at home, creating the next generation of the Japanese workforce via unpaid reproductive and educational labor while maintaining the current generation of corporate warriors via the emotional, sexual, and physical labor of providing for their husbands' needs and keeping house.

The end result, again in Andrew Gordon's phrase, was that "the so-called corporate warrior, even of the blue-collar ranks, was able and willing to make his professional commitment at work because his wife was secure in a homemaker's role, now defined as a modern, scientific contribution to building a new Japan."[306] Half a century later Japan ranks in the bottom quartile of the world's countries in terms of the gender gap as measured by the World Economic Forum, with this corpocratic social order and its maintenance by the bureaucracy and government policies squarely to blame.[307]

All that being said, it is important to recognize that part of what spurred the adoption then and continuing maintenance of these norms even up until now was the fact that they were not entirely a bad trade from the perspective of young women who had come of age during the immediate postwar period, working long hours at crappy jobs in order to make ends meet for their birth families. To these women, the idea of not having to work outside the home—a home, moreover, that was in this vision outfitted with the latest in modern conveniences—was in many ways a very attractive choice, and as corporations came to ask increasingly longer hours of male workers for

increasingly lower gains in real incomes in the 1970s and 1980s, staying off the management track came to be seen by many women as the more desirable and human life path despite its concomitant greatly reduced earning power. Nor has this view changed over the thirty years of natural disasters and economic doldrums, the so-called "Lost Decades," that have constituted the Heisei period.

Manga, as part of the publishing industry's response to the burgeoning threat of television, managed to successfully navigate this transition and realign itself with this gendered corpocratic social order. The story of this transition is the process by which the prewar and postwar genre of children's manga was split into the gendered categories of shonen (boys') and shojo (girls') manga, a process that took place over the course of about a decade from 1957 to 1968, when *Weekly Shonen Jump* (Shûkan shonen janpu), now Japan's leading manga magazine, made its debut. Having changed to a weekly format to compete with television, and having internalized the gendered division of labor endorsed by the corporate hegemony, manga was now in a position, in Anne Allison's phrase, to make "escape from the habits of labor seem possible through everyday practices of consumptive pleasure."[308] In other words, by suturing itself to the new techno-social order manga was able to fill the socially licensed role of escapist reading material, a role it continues to fulfill in Japanese society today. Indeed, by 1966 the kashihon newspaper was reporting that mothers now worried that their children *not* reading manga would make them seem weird and abnormal, a strong concern in conformist-minded Japan.[309]

Questions of conformity aside, the breakdown of the old categories of manga readership, which had their roots in the modern times of the 1920s and 1930s, into specific tranches along gender and age lines is also the story of the movement from the modern to the postmodern, the breakdown of "grand narratives" into smaller, more specific pieces. Nor was Japan alone in this movement in these years; all of the so-called advanced industrial democracies began moving along these paths in the 1970s as capitalism itself transitioned from Fordist to post-Fordist models of production and consumption. The "post" in postmodernism denotes not *after* in the sense of modernity being over and done with (although in some spheres, such as modernist movements in arts and architecture, it was), but instead in the sense of *further*: the transformations that modernity wrought became the foundations of the new socioeconomic order, one in which the continuing evolution of capitalism and society meant that capitalism began to affect the inner and emotional lives of consumer-citizens in new and previously unprecedented ways.

This transition in Japan was itself symbolized and partly effected by the pop culture media innovations sparked by the creation of *Tetsuwan Atomu* (*Astro Boy*, 1963-66), the first anime. Created by Tezuka and his Mushi Productions studio, *Tetsuwan Atomu* was a runaway hit that spawned what came to be known in Japan as the media mix, which media scholar Henry Jenkins called "transmedia" when he began discussing attempts by American contents industry companies to implement it from around the year 2000. The media mix and the profits it created in the decades after its inception with *Astro Boy* cemented manga's role as a crucial fount of content—in other words, intellectual property suitable for adaptation—in the Japanese popular culture

industries. Indeed, since approximately the 1990s, manga has been acknowledged as one of the three pillars of what is now broadly referred to as the "contents industry" collectively, along with anime and video games.

Video may have killed the radio star, but anime ultimately gave manga a new lease on life. The popularity of the *Tetsuwan Atomu* anime adaptation reinvented the role of manga in the age of television precisely because Tezuka and his collaborators wanted to break away from the full animation of Japanese movie studios such as Toei, which were more or less copying the approach of Disney Studios, and create something that was both "electric kamishibai" and "TV manga." The effect was to enthrone manga as the source of anime, which affirmed its relevance and its primacy in the relationship between the two media even as television proliferated. "With *Tetsuwan Atomu*," media scholar Marc Steinberg summarizes, "manga became more than a reservoir of thematic elements of characters (as comics had occasionally been previously); it provided the source of a new visual logic and a new relationship between motion and stillness."[310] The limited planar animation style that Tezuka and company developed as a unification of manga and kamishibai in motion was, precisely because of its constraints, endlessly generative of new relations in the pop culture industries.

One thing that *Atomu* in particular generated was piles of cash for Tezuka and MushiPro, which Tezuka, widely acknowledged by his former colleagues as a genius creator but a poor businessman, proceeded to plough back into a series of unprofitable but extremely consequential ventures. Chief among these was the magazine *COM*, which, along with the so-called "alternative manga" magazine *Garo*, touched off a wholesale reorganization of the ways that manga fans related to each other and to professional creators and publications. Crossing paths with the burgeoning science fiction fandom scene in Japan, this reorganization reached its apex with the birth of Comiket in 1975, now the world's largest fan event. The flattening of the relationship between creators and audiences that Comiket championed was the beginning of the destabilization of old established hierarchies in mass media under postmodernism, destabilizations which have continued to impact manga and anime and their development ever since.

At the same time as fan cultures in Japan began their rapid maturation, the newly independent manga genre of shojo witnessed an extremely fecund period of transformation in the early 1970s, which was symbolized by the entry of the so-called "Showa 24 Group" and other young female creators into the industry in that era. Ikeda Riyoko, Hagio Moto and Takemiya Keiko, among many others, revolutionized shojo manga, pushing the bounds of comics expression farther than any other global sequential art tradition had yet done at the same time as their dizzying successes instantiated a gendered paradigm of manga labor and consumption that reified young women as the ideal, and ideally low-paid and disposable, creators of shojo manga because they were themselves former shojo. Their collective creativity transformed manga expression in every category and placed the previously roundly despised category of shojo at the vanguard of the medium in terms of both professional and fan production.

Simultaneously, manga publishers adopted many, if not all, of the marketing strategies familiar to readers of manga magazines today, which can be summarized by saying that in these years manga magazines transitioned to being the advertisements for the industry's product (which is to say, the compilation volumes of single series known as tankôbon in Japanese) rather than the product themselves. At the same time, partly spurred by the success of *Garo* and *COM* amongst college students, and in particular college-age young men, the manga industry expanded its demographic reach to encompass these emerging readerships. This was the same move that Tatsumi and the gekiga boys had made a decade prior with the invention of gekiga, but by the mid-1960s the increasing fragmentation of manga readership meant that manga appealing to an older readership than previously no longer had to call itself by a different name to make itself comprehensible.

Instead, with the first appearance of the magazine *Big Comic* in 1968, the category of seinen (literally, "young men's") manga began its rapid emergence. Not coincidentally, given the magazine's heavy emphasis on sexual content from its beginning, it was around this same era that explicit pornography began to proliferate in Japanese comics, giving rise to the new form known as "eromanga." Eromanga's existence enabled the proliferation of sex and violence in seinen, which quickly spilled over into shonen, as creators could now say with some justification that what they were creating was clearly not actually pornographic. The manga-ification of porn that eromanga constituted, moreover, was part and parcel of the burgeoning transformation of creative fields in Japan generally, as ex-mangaka who found the punishing pace of weekly magazine publication and the endless competition for popularity with readers (as shown by magazines' reader surveys) to be not worth their time and energy left the industry and found careers in other fields. Spurred by the visual innovations of *COM*, *Garo,* and the shojo revolution, advertising, design, and illustration became increasingly manga-esque from this time period on.

All of these changes took place against the backdrop of the late 1960s and early 1970s, in which Japanese society was riven by mass protests and a renewed student movement while the cityscape of Tokyo in particular rapidly transformed into a new, nearly unrecognizable postmodern metropolis. The collision between the young adults born in the postwar era and their conformity-minded elders was global, and globally destabilizing; in Japan, the loci of protest coalesced around the renewal of the Anpo in 1970, the continued U.S. retention of Okinawa prefecture (which formally reverted to Japan in 1972), urban destruction in Tokyo, and the proposed construction of a new international airport in the cherry orchards of Chiba prefecture outside the capital, a protest that ultimately endured for 17 years and delayed Narita's completion until 1983. Japan's indirect involvement in the Vietnam War as a staging ground for the American military was also a major focus of protest for its duration. As the 1970s wore on, moreover, militant radical groups sprang up in countries worldwide including Japan, mostly of extreme left persuasion and increasingly practicing anti-state violence.

The energy and possibility of those years is difficult to recapture fifty years later. Anything seemed possible and everything seemed open to question; new social justice movements, including feminism, emerged worldwide advocating for the dissolution of

old hierarchies of power. The same intergenerational conflicts that were playing out worldwide ultimately reinvigorated and transformed manga as a whole.

Chapter Seven: Seeking Alternatives: *Garo*, *COM*, and the Maturation of Manga Fan Culture

Manga in motion: *Tetsuwan Atomu* and anime

The question of how to understand or think about anime has attracted a great deal of debate amongst English-language scholars, whose works, conveniently, can be characterized in terms of their answers to the question: in *The Anime Machine*, historian Thomas Lamarre argues for understanding anime as a kind of technology of perception via exhaustive attention to the technology and composition of the anime image itself; in *The Soul of Anime*, anthropologist Ian Condry argues for an understanding of anime specifically (and animation more generally) as a set of social relations, a form of collaborative creativity that is more than the sum of its parts and whose emotional rewards outweigh its punishing labor and low financial compensation; finally, media scholar Marc Steinberg in *Anime's Media Mix* argues that anime should be thought of as a medium of communication (and here Steinberg includes not only the actual animated shows but also their merchandise under the umbrella term of 'anime') enabling new capitalist relations between fan-consumers and the media themselves via the anime media mix.[311]

The good news is that all three of these scholars are, in some senses, correct: anime (in its most limited definition) is a form of animation which uses a distinctive technology or method of the moving image to accomplish its goals; just as it is a form of collaborative creativity whose excessive, non-financial paybacks provide sufficient motivation to its participants to incentivize them to continue in their work; and it is also a medium of communication amongst audiences, who are both fans and consumers

and, increasingly, producers in their own right. As a historian of new media, I do not feel any personal need to attempt to arbitrate over which of these approaches to anime should be privileged over the others; all of them are lenses through which we can understand different important aspects of anime, and all of them can be profitably applied to understand how Tezuka and company did what they did at the beginning of anime with *Astro Boy* in 1963.

What they did was to break definitively with the full animation style that was ascendant in Japan at the time, derived ultimately from Disney Studios via Toei Productions. "Full animation" refers to animating at 24 frames per second. (Full animation is also sometimes known as animating "on ones.") Since animation by definition means that every single frame is created individually by human labor, full animation, while visually lush, is also fantastically expensive and time-consuming; even today in the mostly or entirely digital era, a feature-length animated film generally takes two to three years to produce, during which the studio staff are working full-time on that one film.

Tezuka officially founded Mushi Productions in 1962, two years after he had learned the ropes of animation productions by doing the storyboards for Toei's *Saiyûki* (Journey to the West) in 1960. By the beginning of 1963 he had gathered a group of young upstart animators to the studio's staff, each of whom were distinguished by their willingness to abandon the relative security of the big, established animation companies for the bracing unknown of a scrappy start-up. But Tezuka, whose original ambition to be an animator himself had been thwarted by Occupation-era strictures on the creative industries, was faced with a stark economic reality: there was no way that Mushi Productions could afford to produce full animation for television, which at Toei rates would take six months, one hundred people, and thirty million yen for a thirty-minute time slot's worth of footage. Even slashing the frame rate to limited animation done "on threes"—eight frames per second instead of 24, familiar to viewers on both sides of the Pacific from Hanna-Barbera cartoons like *The Jetsons* (1962-63)—would cost six million yen per episode, still a prohibitive amount of money which no TV station would be willing to pay.[312]

Tezuka loved animation. He was well known for repeatedly joking that "if manga was his wife, animation was his mistress," and for Tezuka, not making animation was no choice at all.[313] He therefore took the plunge and decided to sell episodes of *Tetsuwan Atomu* to TV stations—in the event, the show premiered on TV Tokyo in 1963—for the bargain rate of 5.5 million yen per episode, approximately half of each episode's actual production budget. The rest of the costs would have to be made up with merchandising profits: initially Tezuka envisioned these coming solely from sales of the manga (meaning that Tezuka's personal income would bankroll half of Mushi Productions' budget), but after the anime's initial blazing success, this half of the costs, and all of the profits beyond that in fact came from licensing deals for co-branded goods such as the epochal Meiji Marble Chocolates, the history of which Marc Steinberg explores in depth, and finally from actual Astro Boy merchandise, officially branded by MushiPro. "With this decision," animation historian Yamaguchi Yasuo summarizes, "Tezuka became the pioneer of TV animation."[314]

Tezuka's decision, in Yamaguchi's phrase, "made the impossible possible and turned dreams into reality." Underselling each episode of *Tetsuwan Atomu* by approximately 50% established a pattern in the anime industry that endures to this very day, and its infamously depressing effect on studio production budgets—and, by extension, animation staff salaries—has earned it the sobriquet of "Tezuka's Curse" in some quarters. But it is important to realize that the "curse" was in fact a *necessary condition*: the only way to make anime was to make it as limited animation and to undersell it by 50%, and the fact that it is limited animation that is undersold by 50%, requiring the kind of merchandising deals that are now standard for every anime and necessitating the visual and technical constraints inherent to limited animation, even in the digital age, is what makes anime *anime* and not some other kind of animation. It is not solely the fact that anime uses a limited framerate, or even its use of planar motion within the animated image, that makes anime anime; nor is it the fact that it is created collaboratively (what animation isn't?) or that its merchandising systems enable certain sets of relations amongst producers and audiences. It is all of those things together that make anime distinctive, if not unique, and asking whether Tezuka's Curse is a feature or a bug misses the point entirely: it is inherent to the nature of anime that it is so. Animation without the enabling constraints of these conditions is not anime.[315]

The other important point to bear in mind about the patterns that Tezuka and Mushi Productions established for the fledgling TV anime industry is that some of these were in fact anti-patterns, which is to say, extremely dysfunctional norms related to corporate organization, conduct, and structure. It is certainly too much to draw a direct line between the general organizational dysfunction which was the hallmark of all three of Tezuka's companies when *COM* deputy editor Akiyama Mitsuru worked there in the late 1960s and, for example, the fact that anime studio Gainax's president and tax accountant were jailed for accounting fraud and tax evasion in 1999. But it is certainly not too much to say that the general norm of people who had no experience setting up functional businesses getting together to form anime studios with the goal of producing anime first and putting corporate structures in place later, if at all, was one that Tezuka and his associates established along with the industry itself, and one that re-occurred in the later waves of anime studio foundation in the 1980s and 2000s.

Quite simply, to borrow current Silicon Valley parlance, there were no adults in the room. Indeed, Akiyama paints a clear picture of an extremely dysfunctional workplace with an extremely poisonous corporate culture, familiar in its outlines to anyone who has had the misfortune to spend time in that kind of toxic environment. There were no all-hands or high-level leadership meetings, there was no sense of togetherness, no communication between departments and little communication even between superiors and subordinates; shadow infighting was the norm and nothing happened without Tezuka's say-so—but he never said anything to anyone directly because he was extremely passive-aggressive, and though he had all the real power, he didn't take on any of the responsibilities that position entailed. The infighting and lack of communication bred silence: people would routinely get fired and nobody would say anything about it even after they just stopped showing up to work. In one particularly spectacular example, the editor-in-chief of *COM* quit with three days' notice, putting

Akiyama in charge of the magazine at the age of 24—while he was also acting as the editor of Tezuka Productions' short-lived shojo magazine *Funny*. Moreover, he was expected to produce *COM* with a staff of just five people including himself, which in practice meant he and one other person because everyone else refused to work overtime and Akiyama had no mechanism to compel them to come to work in the dead of night, when most of the editorial labor actually happened.[316]

Indeed, the confusion between Tezuka Productions and Tezuka's other two companies, which ostensibly all did different things but in reality were not fully separate, is emblematic of the problems overall. Yamaguchi points out that MushiPro resembled Disney in the postwar era—no one recalls the individual directors (or even animators) who supervised the string of hits in the studio's "Golden Age" in the 1950s and 1960s, because everything was a Walt Disney production. Just as Disney directed nothing personally but supervised and had the final say-so on everything, Tezuka was the ultimate auteur of Mushi Production's animation, so that his identity overshadowed individual directors and animators.[317] (Compare the fact that Studio Ghibli as a style and a brand transcends the identities of individual directors, even ones as justly famous as Hayao Miyazaki and Takahata Isao.)

By his own report, Akiyama spent much of his career at Tezuka Productions attempting to start a union in order to secure an explicit wage structure with provisions for overtime pay and paid vacation, which the company lacked completely when he joined it, and to restructure the office in order to make it into a modern, normal company. Although the union was actually established and did manage to achieve the goals of overtime pay and paid vacation (no small concern for people who routinely worked 100 hours a week), Tezuka didn't support the union despite his attempts to cultivate a reputation as a "progressive man of culture," and he did his best to manipulate Akiyama into breaking the June 1970 Tezuka Productions strike precipitated by *Funny*'s summary cancellation. In order to preserve the union (and, one suspects, his own increasingly threadbare health and sanity), Akiyama quit instead.[318] Mushi Productions, the original animation company, filed for bankruptcy in 1973.[319]

Exit kashihonya, pursued by PTAs

Anime married the distinctive affordances of manga and television and so represented one way of resolving the conflict between the two media. The other, weekly manga magazines, eventually brought down the paradigm that had reigned for decades in the manga world, namely that of monthly magazines, and incidentally killed the kashihonya platform and kashihonya manga along with it.

The kashihonya association's newspaper makes clear that proprietors were well aware of the existential threat posed by increasing television ownership; in the 1960s, TV ownership became increasingly common in Japanese society, as the television set went from being touted as one of the "three jewels" of a modern household in the late 1950s to being absolutely normal. As TV ownership reached 30% by the end of that decade and kept climbing thereafter, combined with the fact that watching TV was now a private, domestic activity (as opposed to the public, street corner consumption of TV

in the 1950s), kashihonya foot traffic decreased markedly. During the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, for example, kashihonya proprietors reported that they simply closed up shop because everyone was inside watching the broadcast.[320]

Over the next several years, and after having rebuffed such extreme propositions as prohibiting children from entering kashihonya entirely, the remaining kashihonya eventually settled on a de facto strategy of low prices and clean content for their rental manga.[321] An article on the front page of the February 1965 issue voicing opposition to raising the price of a volume of manga to 330 yen, for example, declared that such a price increase would hurt kashihonya and thus manga sales, but this belief was not borne out by reality.[322] In terms of their pricing strategy, this choice placed proprietors increasingly at odds with manga publishers, who were responding to the TV threat by consolidating and moving to a publishing model in which manga magazines were increasingly published weekly, contained little to no non-manga content, and were not intended as durable consumer goods but instead essentially as advertisements for the product by which publishers made their real profits, which is to say, tankôbon volumes of individual series. The increasing cheapness of magazines and the increasingly high prices of tankôbon volumes harmed kashihonya both ways, and in an analysis from the kashihonya newspaper in April 1965, the writers concluded that increasing manga magazine sales actually hurt their own business model precisely because the manga in said magazines were being turned into TV, where kashihonya could not follow. Nonetheless, by the end of the year, the newspaper was publishing lists of books that were being adapted to TV and encouraging individual proprietors to put such titles on display in their stores.[323]

The air of desperation becomes increasingly palpable in the issues from 1966, which seems to have been something of a turning point for the industry as a whole; the January issue carried a column by the association's president Tanaka Toshiya in which he went on at length about how "those without unity will be destroyed," a classic sign of an impending organizational crack-up.[324] Although manga publishers paid kashihonya's concerns a remarkable amount of lip service in these years—the National Manga Publisher Association's president and secretary signed an open letter to the kashihonya about the price increase of the "we're sorry that you feel bad" variety that was printed on the front page of the newspaper in April 1965, and August 1966 carried a report from yet another roundtable between representatives of the kashihonya association and seven manga publishers—the kashihonya insistence that manga publishers needed them was clearly no longer accurate.[325]

The ban bad books movement had changed too. Kashihonya on the whole had evidently made a kind of separate peace with many such local groups around 1963, at which point the organizational newspaper began reprinting anti-manga articles from local newspapers verbatim, as in an October 1964 article from the *Asahi* which concluded that story manga was too influential, that too much action was dangerous for children, and finally that "cinematic-type" (eigatekina) motion was bad.[326] The kashihon newspaper had previously published an article in April 1963, "Naiaku manga de jimetsu" (Self-destruction via bad content manga), which blamed the demise of yônen magazines on population change, television and its emphasis on fast action, the

rise of weekly magazines, and young mothers focusing on their children's education in the post-postwar era. Manga had evidently moved so firmly into the "fun" column that it could no longer be sustainably marketed to elementary school students as educational.[327] The next month's issue contained a report on a subcommittee established by the national association with the goal of devising strategies for attracting "fujin" (housewife) customers, listing 16 in all.[328]

Although kashihonya ultimately did themselves no favors, it is important to note both that manga fan cultures were changing rapidly in this period, which also impacted the kashihonya bottom lines, and that there was some attempt to keep abreast of the latest manga publishing developments, however difficult that may have been to square with the emphasis on "good" content. Such concerns notwithstanding, ads for the alternative manga magazine *Garo* appear in the kashihon newspaper from October 1964, reminding proprietors that the fourth issue of the magazine went on sale in November, along with more from its publisher Seirindô. *Garo* both encapsulated and created many of the changes amongst manga fans that the dozen years after the debut of *Tetsuwan Atomu* witnessed, as reports about meet-ups between fans and creators organized by various bodies from the mid-1960s onwards make clear.

One of the first meetup reports mentioning fans is from an event organized by the Fujin Bokô Dôshusai in January 1965, in which more than 100 people participated, including children and such notable creators as Tatsumi, who seems to have made a habit of drawing the metaphorical short straw to attend such events. The meet-up was successful enough that another was planned for May, but just under two years later, in November 1966, a report from another fans/creators meetup reported that too many fans attended, so that it wasn't possible to ask questions, just to get things signed. Moreover, very few of the fans who attended were children, a clear sign of changing times.[329]

In a sign that mainstream manga was no longer wholly identified with that marketed to children, Tezuka in his answers to a Q&A in autumn 1965 promoting the *Jungle Leo* anime bluntly criticized adults in Japan for being "too arbitrary" in that they read pornographic comics (eromanga) and "political manga" themselves but worried about children reading manga. Tezuka contrasted the situation in Japan with that in the United States, where according to him more than 90% of audiences reported liking *Astro Boy* and both adults and children read comics. He asked retailers not just to give kids manga but to read it themselves, in the belief that if adults actually understood the content of manga, they would see that there was no harm in it.[330]

Increasing tensions between manga readers, manga creators, the kashihonya proprietors and the education mothers are a recurring feature in the final seven years of the kashihon newspaper's publication, which ceased in 1972, by which point its content largely consisted of screeds on its publisher's pet topics.[331] July 1967, for instance, contained a report on the increasing maturity of content in shojo manga, which was a problem for kashihonya because they had counted on it not to be like shonen manga, which was by this point growing increasingly violent. (Conveniently, a publisher's representative quoted in the article reminded them that shonen manga was bought mostly by people high school age and older.) The writers of the article concluded by

requesting regulations for manga content, but in the absence of external pressure no one involved in the manga industry had any incentive whatsoever to do such a thing.[332]

Mothers' groups, meanwhile, were softening their stance; by September 1967, the message from ban bad books types was that "manga is not bad, but we want to be careful about how kids read manga." Buoyed by publisher and reader support, however, creators responded, according to the article, along the lines of "well, if kids don't read manga at your house, they'll just read it at a friend's house," while mothers' groups were still asking kashihonya not to rent stuff that was too wild and had also begun to express concern about questionable content in the increasingly common tankôbon of popular shonen series running in the mainstream magazines. Even temporary upticks in kashihon manga readership such as the yôkai boom of 1968 were reported in the gloomiest manner possible—in this case yôkai manga, epitomized by Mizuki Shigeru's *Gegege no Kitarô*, were said to be not good for children and not pleasing to the education mama crowd.[333]

A different article from December 1966, reprinted from the *Nishi Nihon Shinbun*, sheds more light on why the ban bad books movement softened its stance. That article noted that banning all manga would be bad because nowadays children who didn't read manga were weird, as the introduction of TV had caused a manga boom and now everyone from pre-K to college read manga (which in this article evidently meant story manga), and went on to argue that "the most important thing is to have a household that reads," even if children weren't reading literature. Rather than total proscription, the article advised mothers to keep an eye out to make sure that their children weren't reading too much manga and encouraged them to talk to teachers, other parents, and kashihonya proprietors about content. The role manga played in shoring up the social consensus in the Miracle years will be discussed later, but this article and others like it clearly point to the fact that by this point manga had won through critics' opposition to become the pillar of popular culture in Japan that it remains today.[334]

Movies took a hit from the increasing popularity of televisions too, but movies ultimately survived the adoption of TV, albeit in a much diminished social role, whereas kashihonya did not, although the All-Japan Kashihon Association continued publishing its newsletter until 1972. That was long enough, however, for it to bear witness to the final degradation of kamishibai as a going media form, when the few remaining kashihonya latched onto wild schemes of "increasing earnings with kamishibai" by having performances in stores. Articles promoting this strategy are illustrated with depressing photos of children watching kamishibai while sitting in chairs in kashihonya, a far cry from the riveting street performances of kamishibai's heyday 20 years earlier. Why kamishibai could save kashihonya when selling textbooks, playing cards, candy, *Playboy* magazine and stuffed animals hadn't was never made clear, particularly since it was concurrently being used in schools for education as it disappeared from the streets. Attempts to promote kamishibai as a hobby apparently also failed, judging from the fact that the report on the first kamishibai convention, held in Tokyo in January 1969, was also the last reported in the kashihon newspaper.[335] Nor is this surprising: in terms of social relations, visual techniques, and verbal storytelling style, kamishibai's true posterity was visible on TV in the form of anime.

Garo: The wooden-mortared kingdom

One of the most famous magazines in manga history was enabled by, and ultimately transcended, the kashihon platform: for an epochal publication, it is as much fitting as it is remarkable that *Garo*'s origins were humble. It was founded in 1964 as a monthly magazine by the kashihon manga publisher Seirindô, and its audience was the "normal" rather than kashihon market. Nagai Katsuichi (1921-96), the editor, had founded an akahon publisher in 1948 and branched into kashihon publishing eight years later with the Nihon Mangasha, which published the first ninja manga by Shirato Sanpei (b. 1932). All of Shirato's ninja manga were popular, and in 1959 Shirato and Nagai formed Miyôsha along with a third friend, which published Shirato's *Ninja Bugeichô* (1959-67). Nagai and Shirato had the idea for a magazine in which manga creators could do what they pleased, and in 1962 they founded Seirindô together to do just that.[336]

Nagai was unusual in the akahon and kashihon world in that he only published works that he actually liked, and exercised a great deal of discernment in his tastes: by contrast, almost everyone else operated by a philosophy of "whatever, as long as it sells."[337] The magazine *Garo* itself was named for a character in one of Shirato's ninja manga, and its first hit was Shirato's masterpiece *Kamuiden* (The Legend of Kamuy, 1964-71), which united Shirato's trademark ninja themes with the Marxist worldview he had inherited from his father, the proletarian painter Okamoto Tôki (1903-86). Shirato's star was firmly in the ascendant after the success of his previous work, and his new manga was intended to be the draw for *Garo*; Shirato also served as co-editor for the first few years, and took upon himself the equally thankless role of financial benefactor: he worked for *Garo* for free until 1967, and he also waived his right to the royalties earned on his other publications with Seirindô.[338]

Fig 22: Cover of *Garo* #1, September 1964

The first issue to publish *Kamuy* contained an interesting foreword on "The Appeal of the Anti [Nega]," written by the head of the Contemporary Children's Center's research office. The article was clearly a response to the still-thriving ban bad books movement, but it took the developmentalist tack of arguing not that manga was not "bad" but that it wasn't possible for children to learn to appreciate life solely by looking on the bright [poji] side. Rather, the dark [nega] side was also necessary for children to develop a rational worldview. Conveniently, Shirato's manga helped with that process by exposing its readers to a less than exclusively positive world within the confines of its panels.[339] *Garo* expert Ryan Holmber has noted that Shirato explicitly intended *Kamuy* to be used pedagogically, "though for a much younger audience than the undergrad body to whom it was subsequently assigned." In the 60s it was on the syllabus of a course on "children's culture" at Kyoto Women's College and was the

subject of several theses, and it has since been used to supplement traditional depictions of early modern Japan in college courses.[340]

Shirato's leftist politics suffused the magazine and *Kamuy*, with the result that, as Holmberg writes, "for the first year or so of its publication, *Garo* can be understood as an antiwar, pro-democracy political magazine for elementary and middle school children, intended as as corrective to their enclosure by conservative education policies.[341] […] The self-conception of *Garo* in this period could be summed up through the cover illustration of its October 1965 issue: Shôsuke, the model Japanese child, sits surrounded by his peers in a cave hidden from the eyes of the state, teaching the future how to read and write in order to better navigate the letter of the law. […] Garo's children, however, fall prey to an evil spell called kotodama (essentially, 'magical words') and under hypnosis slay their avuncular ward. *Garo* the magazine sought to succeed where its namesake failed, and keep the seduction of the innocent at bay with models of reasoned thought, speech, and action, and instruction in class consciousness through a fictionalized 'people's history' of early modern Japan."[342]

Needless to say, this is all quite far from ninja action, the reason that readers were ostensibly picking up the magazine in the first place; nor should it be a surprise that *Garo* was in the red until 1967, with its print run set way too high at 8000 copies, many of which were returned each month. (Even into the 1970s, issues of the magazine advertised that back copies of the earlier issues could be obtained by writing directly to the publisher.) Moreover, it became clear that the people who were actually reading *Garo* were not children but college students, with the result that the pedagogical aspect of the magazine disappeared and the magazine eventually started turning a profit as its content changed to match its actual readership.[343]

Looking back, former *COM* deputy editor Akiyama Mitsuru wrote drily of *Garo* that "the atmosphere of anarchy was part of its charm."[344] Under the pressure of deadlines, Shirato proved unable to execute his original conception of the manga, and the magazine more or less abandoned its original leftist counter-project from about 1967, when its print run jumped from 8,000 to 80,000 copies. *Garo* quickly became famous as a haven for "alternative" manga, a magazine where creators could allow their inspiration free rein. In that role, it immediately offered a new publication venue for established gekiga creators such as Tatsumi Yoshihiro and Mizuki Shigeru, both of whom saw periods of regular publication with the magazine during its first decade. Significantly, it also provided a temporary haven for those kashihon manga creators who were unable or unwilling to make the jump to mainstream magazines as the kashihon manga market fell out from under them in these years. Consequently, the magazine was often described in retrospect as having what Ueno Kôshi called a "free dôjinshi atmosphere…but this was also half-bakedness and indifference."[345]

Because it placed no limits on creative expression, the alternative manga *Garo* published was alternative not just in terms of content but also in terms of visuals; it quickly established a reputation as a publication for "art" manga, and *Garo*, along with *COM* after its foundation in 1967, was instrumental in popularizing a changing style of panels and images, one that employed panel layouts more like montages. Critic Yamagishi Akane wrote of this visual style that "There is a relation of space and time in

the space between the panels, and the expression (hyôgen) of [panels and images] is what separates them from sashie and kamishibai." In other words, the visual style of manga promoted in these magazines was that of contemporary manga, and its growing popularity spelled the end of the line for the older, more cartoonish kodomo manga visual style.[346] Not coincidentally, this popularization was enabled by the fact that *Garo*'s audience was college-age young men: older and more affluent than child readers, their tastes were now increasingly coming to constitute the manga vanguard.

That being said, as critic Ono Kôsei points out, positing a straightforward comparison between *Garo* and the "underground comix" movement in the United States around this time is misleading; *Garo* was not "Japanese underground comics," because it was professionally published and had an established position within the Japanese manga industry. American underground comics, by contrast, were self-printed in a pointed break with both the newspaper comics and D.C./Marvel comic books traditions; even today, many independent comics creators first break into the so-called indie comics industry in the States via self-published comics zines sold on speculation at local shops. For Ono, moreover, the true impact of *Garo* manga, as it was sometimes called, was in its extremely personal viewpoint, a characteristic that is also responsible for the frequent invocations of dôjinshi in relation to the magazine. That viewpoint could be expressed in a variety of ways, as when Ono first read Sasaki Maki's avante-garde nonsense manga in the magazine and "felt like I was listening to jazz."[347]

It might at this point be relevant to recall that the jazz/manga comparison had been made before, in gekiga's heyday. As Ryan Holmberg points out, the fact that *Garo* has become the byword for alternative manga in Japan undersells the degree to which its politics were not so much "alternative" in the sense of progressive but "alternative" in the sense of "anti" and of nostalgia:

> Though many of its contributors were young amateurs in their late teens and early twenties committed to self-expression and formal experimentation, a fair number were former kashihon authors, thrown a lifeline at a time when their tastes and working methods had become obsolete as far as the manga industry was concerned, and whose innovations in the late 60s and early 70s were deeply invested in 50s aesthetics and social and psychological themes. While *Garo* has been canonized in manga histories as avant-garde, anti-traditionalists were in fact very few, especially in its first decade. In the main, its artists took up wide-ranging populist positions, based variously in mid-century popular cultural forms and political sentiments, and in most cases pitted against the elitism of high art and literature, and the vapidity of mass media entertainment and mainstream middle-class society, on the other. Modernism and progressivism was the exception in *Garo.* Populism, revivalism, and nostalgia was the rule.[348]

Nor was this the first time in manga history that cutting-edge popular culture had espoused retrograde social ideologies: in a word, one thing that *Garo* and American comix shared was a deep and unquestioned vein of misogyny that ran through both of them, and indeed in some ways provided the fuel for them. Meanwhile, female creators who might have aspired to be a part of these venues were largely shut out; only one woman regularly contributed to *Garo* in its first decade, Tsurita Kuniko (1947-85), and tellingly, her works were later described in glowing terms as not being within "the frame of future shojo manga"—and thus by definition better than that crap that girls

liked because her manga pioneered a new combination of SF and nonsense.[349] In the same essay, Ueno goes on to compare *Garo*'s innovations in manga expression to Pop art and the Beatles, which in this respect is equally telling, given how women fared in Andy Warhol's Factory and how Yoko Ono was roundly blamed for breaking up the Beatles even as her artistic career was repeatedly sidelined in favor of John Lennon's.

Like the surviving ex-Beatles, *Garo* managed to last into the twenty-first century: its final issue was published in 2002, more than eleven years after Nagai sold Seirindô to a games company and nearly six years after his death. But after the early 1970s it never again attained the interest or relevance it had possessed in its first decade.

COM: Like a phoenix

Although *Garo* has been retroactively enshrined as a magazine that was consumed by those in the know, it was *COM* that, when it debuted in January 1967, bore a cover tagline that declared it "a specialist manga magazine for the manga elite." In his initial editor's note, Tezuka linked the name with three separate concepts: *com*ics, *com*panion, and *com*munication, declaring that *COM* was "a new comic magazine that would communicate mangaka's true heart to those companions who love manga." The note continued:

> We are told that this is now a golden age of manga, but were that the case, wouldn't we expect that many qualitatively great works were being published? Isn't it actually the case that most mangaka are being worked to death while compromising, complying with and yielding before the requirements of strict commercialism?
>
> I want to prove through this magazine what sort of thing the real kind of story manga is. At the same time, like the old *Manga Shônen*, *COM*, which we're thinking will play the part of welcoming newcomers, will be a magazine for companions who love manga.

Fig 23: Cover of *COM*, May 1967.

The era when *COM* and *Garo* were both in print (1967-71) has been retroactively enshrined as the "united front years," and the influence of *Garo* is clear from the first pages of *COM*, which immediately look very similar, artistically speaking, to the work being published in *Garo*. But the shoutout to the long-gone but evidently not forgotten *Manga Shônen* is more interesting, and even 40 years after *COM*'s initial publication, people associated with the magazine were apt to discuss it explicitly in terms of a lineage of manga magazines that accepted amateur submissions. At a roundtable retrospective held at the Kyoto International Manga Museum in 2009, Masaki Mori (b. 1941), who served as the amateur submissions editor for *COM*, pointed out that the only other magazine besides *Manga Shônen* to accept amateur submissions in the postwar years until *COM* were kashihon anthologies like *Machi*. According to Masaki, for Tezuka the amateur submissions aspect was connected to the interrupted serialization of his masterwork *Hi no tori*, and he explicitly wanted to bring back the amateur submissions along with restarting the serialization of *Phoenix*. Some of the visual similarities with *Garo* are explained by the fact that the amateur submissions Masaki selected were in line with Tatsumi's picks while he was working on *Machi* and others, which at the time were unusual and different.[350] By the late 1960s, they were also distinctly retro and in line with *Garo*'s nostalgia.

In the same roundtable former Mushi Pro animator Noguchi Isao volunteered that the explicit idea was for *COM* to imitate *Garo* but cheaper, because Mushi

Productions, which had now jumped head-first into magazine publication, couldn't afford multiple volumes of furoku (freebies) like the monthly shonen magazines did at the time. Nor was it a coincidence that *COM* debuted the year that the Atom anime ended, meaning that MushiPro was no longer occupied with the Atom fanclub zine. According to former *COM* deputy editor Akiyama Mitsuru, whose tell-all memoir *COM no seishun* (1991, A Youth with *COM*) is one of the few instances in which anyone has broken the Mushi Productions omerta, the magazine went from planning to production in only two months, which was way too fast, and from the start Tezuka overpromised and underdelivered as usual, which led to dissent among the editorial department.[351]

The fact that *COM* mimicked the titular phoenix of Tezuka's manga has been the subject of more than one joke in the manga world, as Masaki acknowledged when he recounted that, while the magazine's editorial philosophy was to be adventurous rather than commercial, they may have gotten a bit more adventure than they bargained for. Hagiwara Daisuke bluntly opined that while Tezuka was a genius creator, he was a failure as a businessperson, and that essential problem was at the heart of *COM*'s flatlining fortunes. Along with visionary ideas for the future of manga, the magazine was marked by a total inability to judge market conditions: the initial print run of 10,000 copies was the same as *Shônen Magazine* and other big monthlies, which was wildly optimistic: even at its most popular, *Garo* never sold more than 80,000 copies per month, which was also *COM*'s peak circulation. Ironically, it wasn't Tezuka's *Phoenix* that made its name; instead, it was Ishinomori's *Jun* (1967-71), which won the Shogakkan Manga Prize in its debut year, which was the primary draw, along with Nagashima Shin'ichi's series of one-shots *Seishun zankoku monogatari* (1967-68, Story of a cruel youth) and the "Gura-Kon" amateurs' section, that drew readers.[352]

According to former *COM* staffers, the magazine was meant to change, or at least counter, anti-manga attitudes that had prevailed in the 1950s and were still (as made clear by the activities of the ban bad books movement) current in the 1960s: in the face of that movement, of manga book burnings, and of the national school policy to throw away any manga that kids brought to school automatically, *COM* was partly founded with the idea of making something affirmative about manga, and with the idea of enabling people who liked manga to connect with one another. The reader letters from the first few issues reinforce both those views and Tezuka's stated concerns about the current state of manga; indeed, a frequent theme in letters was wondering (again) whether manga was over: one letter in May 1967 lamented that many current manga had "yielded to commercialism," thereby closing the door on artistry and thoughtfulness. Another connected manga whose only concern was sales with the burgeoning popularity of manga in mass media and with "manga eiga (manga movies) that cannot be said to move" on TV, and wondered explicitly whether this was the end of manga only to conclude that the answer was no, because there was still at least one magazine for people who loved manga (i.e. *COM* itself).[353]

Commentators at the time and later have sometimes called *Garo* elitist and *COM* populist, which is an interesting inversion of how the magazines explicitly (and at least initially) marketed themselves, but the reader letters in *COM* to some extent support this characterization. One letter, for example, opined in May 1967 that the most

important thing for manga as a genre was the spirit of comparing and criticizing reality and justice; and wasn't that the spirit of rebellion?[354] The sentiment, while laudable, sounds odd in the context of the late 1960s, which were rife with student activism in Japan no less than in other industrialized countries whose postwar children were coming of age en masse. The other way to interpret *COM* as populist is to consider that Tezuka's ambitions for the magazine included not only creating a forum for amateurs, but also building a nationwide organization for dôjinshi—broadly, amateur manga—based on *COM* and running said organization out of the editorial department.

This ambition proved to be epochal, although not in the way that Tezuka originally envisioned. In the late 1960s, local fan networks were rudimentary at best and were largely created via the exchange of postcards and letters through the mail, as phone calls were still quite expensive. By making the nationwide presence of manga fans and amateur creators visible to everyone who read the magazine, *COM* provided a crucial impetus and mechanism by which local fans could connect with each other and organize local and regional groups and meetups.[355] But this success in a sense laid the groundwork for the magazine's own failure: the number of places people could share their work increased rapidly thanks to *COM* as manga fans began forming "circles" (groups of amateur creators) and creating mechanisms to distribute their dôjinshi—essentially, manga zines—amongst interested parties. As these groups and mechanisms mushroomed, their increasing numbers obviated the need for *COM* to act as either an organizational or publishing clearinghouse.

Another aspect of the magazine's successful failure was that it came to feel more and more like a dôjinshi itself as time went on, and even professional creators felt like they were writing their own dôjinshi with their contributions to the magazines. The amateur submissions contests overseen by Masaki were also seen, in retrospect, to have been essentially dôjinshi contests; unlike *Manga Shônen* or *Machi* in previous decades, the *COM* contests happened in a context where fan networks and groups were becoming increasingly widespread, and it was now possible for winning creators to share their work with other manga fans through other means than attempting to turn pro. To be sure, the geographical reach of these means was still hugely limited, but *COM* was unquestionably trending towards presenting manga that was seen as different from mainstream, professionally published manga in meaningful ways.

What was not different about *COM* was what was not different about *Garo*: both magazines rarely featured manga created by women. The two-volume anthology *Garo and COM: The United Front Years* features only two women total, Yadai Masako (b. 1947) and Okada Fumiko (1949-2005), both of whom were published in *COM*. If, as Noguchi asserted in 2009, "*COM* and *Garo* were a bridge to a new era in an age of darkness," it was a bridge that was mostly off-limits to female manga fans. This lack of women was all the more noticeable in light of the fact that kashihon manga and shojo manga magazines had offered female creators viable publication venues for a decade or more; although the great revolution in shojo manga was still around the corner of the 1970s, by 1968 people like Mizuno Hideko (b. 1939) were already putting out shojo manga that challenged the category's conventions on all axes and pushed against the visual limits of manga itself. In light of the shojo revolution that was already in the offing, what

COM and *Garo* didn't publish is particularly notable, and worth emphasizing. Although both magazines purported to open up new universes of manga, their ambitions of "welcoming newcomers" only went so far.

The degree to which the people involved with *COM* failed to achieve Tezuka's primary goal of welcoming newcomers is perhaps underscored by what may be a first and last moment at the end of the first issue, which profiled "the assistants who were studying to be the next big mangaka." Although Tezuka had decried the new, breakneck pace of mainstream manga publishing, featuring the assistants whose uncredited labor made that pace possible was unquestionably a capitulation to the paradigm of weekly magazines, which by now was iron-clad; ironically, Tezuka's own reluctance to fully employ assistants for his manga meant that his work for every magazine, and for *COM* in particular, was always extremely late. To be sure, *COM* did break some future stars: Okada Fumiko, Motoyama Reiko, Miyaya Kazuhiko, Aoyagi Yûsuke, and Asuka Kazuko, among others, made their debuts there, but even this list (which is Akiyama's; there are others) reveals the somewhat unfortunate truth that none of these creators reached first-rank status in the decades that followed. Takemiya Keiko, who debuted in *COM* and did attain first-rank status, is notably absent in Akiyama's accounting.

Moreover, as Akiyama himself recounts, the *COM* slush pile was not immune to the realities of publishing the world over, which is that most of it was crap with terrible art and bad stories: almost all of the actually good submissions they received were published in the magazine because they just didn't get that much genuinely quality material. At a rate of 200-300 submissions per month this was a punitive amount of labor for relatively small benefit, as the editorial staff had to look at all of them, divide them by genre, assign prizes, and provide feedback, among other tasks.[356] All these facts together meant that the real challenge that *COM* threw down to the established manga industry was, as the manga fan scholar Yonezawa Yoshihiro later wrote, to touch off what Yonezawa termed the dôjin third wave: by the time *COM* folded the fan networks were strong enough that they didn't need another magazine to foster them.[357]

Grand Companions/the underground

The "Gura-Com" section of the magazine was the locus of all these events; although it typically comprised a very small percentage of the magazine overall, it was in many ways the primary driver of the magazine's enduring interest. (That Akiyama Mitsuru mentions the section only to complain about the workload it imposed is symptomatic of the disconnect between Tezuka's vision, TezuPro editorial's vision, and the fans' vision of the magazine.) No mention is made of the meaning of the name either in Akiyama's memoir or the magazine itself; at first glance, the name possibly derives from a shortened form of "angura," the Japanese term for amateur and alternative art in the 1960s, and could be translated as "Underground *COM*." The Kita Kyushu manga group AS, however, offered a different etymology for the name in their 2016 festschrift: the group members claimed therein that "Gura-Com" was in fact derived from the Japanese transliteration of "Grand Companion," which dated back to the days of the

Tokiwa-sô and the Japan Children's Manga Research Group, denoting the grand ambition to join everybody into one common enterprise.[358] Whichever is true, both derivations are certainly indicative of the ambition and mood of the section and its devotees at the end of the 1960s.

The first instance of *COM* promoting fan organization actually occurred in the letters section in the second issue when a middle schooler from Kobe put out a call to form a research club (kenkyûkai) via mail, giving his contact information.[359] More formally and better organized, the Gura-Com section debuted in the third issue, at which point the readers' letters section was renamed the "Gura Com Lobby;" in its initial appearance, Gura-Com outlined the skeleton of a national organization of fan groups for those who "love manga," "live manga," "weep at manga," etc. The explicit call was to gather "kindred spirits" (dôshi) into a group with a new structure joining publishers, readers, mangaka, critics, and would-be mangaka, because, the editors reasoned, if everyone in those categories was individual and separate they were weak, but uniting them would change that: it would make manga stronger and would make those individuals manga masters. Significantly, the term "manga" (now written with hiragana rather than characters) explicitly included gekiga, jidô manga (the term that had replaced yônen manga after the demise of kodomo manga), gekiga and animation, which is a fairly large tent and a far cry from the atomised understanding of manga promoted by the gekiga crowd just a decade previously.[360]

The idea for the fan clubs was that the *COM* editorial department would act as a clearinghouse for groups in the eight regions into which they divided the country: *COM* appointed a regional head for each group, giving these heads explicit mandates to create newsletters/dôjinshi, etc, about their group's activities and to organize exhibitions of members' works and other such events. While these regional heads had local control, the management of the overall organization was to be centralized; each group chief (or perhaps "cell leader") was supposed to make contact with the *COM* headquarters in Tokyo once a month and to send their group's publications to Tokyo at least four times per year. They were also obliged to send lists of their members to headquarters and to choose officers for their group who would serve for terms of two years. Finally, they were also supposed to forward the works of promising creators in their group to Tokyo. In contrast to earlier magazine fan clubs or manga groups, there was explicitly no membership fee to join any of these groups.[361]

The ways in which *COM* directly and indirectly fostered the growth of circles and manga groups in the rest of the country are illustrated by the experience of AS, now the second-oldest such group in Japan, which was founded in Kita-Kyushu in 1966. As recounted in its fiftieth anniversary festschrift, the group began in the middle school art club, and all of its founders explicitly wanted to get better at drawing together, though not all of them had thoughts of turning pro. (Indeed, in 2016 the group placed particular emphasis on the fact that its explicit goal has never been about becoming professionals, an interesting and important development.) The two founders, both second-year middle school students (giving new meaning to the term "chûnibyô"), found the art club intimidating, so they decided to start a group that focused purely on manga where lack of formal art knowledge and/or training wouldn't be an issue. They rounded up

four classmates who also wanted to draw and who liked manga, and, as the group put it fifty years later, that emotion was all they needed.[362]

AS (the name was a Japanese transliteration of the English word, meant to convey the sense simultaneously of "alike" and "with") started modestly, with what they termed a "wall newspaper" (kabe shinbun), a one-sheet consisting of one- and four-panel comics. By chance, the first issue of *COM* came out just as AS's kabe shinbun did, and by their own admission, thereafter their publications were blatantly in imitation of the magazine. Nor was this simply admiration: in the group's recollection, the 1960s were a decade of real information poverty, a condition that was not limited to manga but which certainly shared in it: there were only three how to draw manga books in print at that time, and the methods illustrated therein hadn't changed at all since the 1950s, if not earlier. In these circumstances, everyone learned by copying manga they liked, but then and now, it was far easier to sustain fannish enthusiasm when it was shared amongst like-minded individuals than it was to do so on one's own: hence the impetus to start the group in the first place. Thus, copying *COM*'s publication style in their own materials was not only an example of standard practice but also a tribute to the freshness of the magazine's content.[363]

In addition to these more indirect means of support, *COM* played a direct role in sustaining AS in 1970, by which time the founding members of the group had all gone to different high schools and the group itself was in danger of folding. Just when all seemed lost, however, the October issue of the magazine featured AS's dôjinshi in the Gura-Com section, which routinely featured not only approving comments and constructive criticism of the dôjinshi in question but also the contact info for the group that published it. Because of the feature in *COM*, AS received a sudden influx of new members, increasing the group to 15 people, of whom only one was an original member. This influx of people who were not bound by a contingent connection (as the founders had been when they centered the group in its original incarnation around the middle school they had in common) enabled the group to survive and to flourish to 2016 and beyond.[364]

The fan groups that *COM* fostered were not just "circles," the term for groups focused on creating and distributing amateur manga—though today circles create media of all kinds, from manga to video games to anime and visual novels. Instead, as Yonezawa and his fellow Comiket founders repeatedly emphasized, *COM* "brought forth a new age" and also inspired a number of "research groups" (kenkyûkai), which focused on analyses of various elements of manga. Neither circles nor research groups were new in the history of manga; their origins stretched back more than half a century to 1915, when leading Tokyo mangaka had founded an industry group of their own. But the difference in 1971 when *COM* folded was that these groups no longer consisted solely or even primarily of professional creators, as the short-lived "gekigakai" groups of the 1950s, or even the Japan Children's Manga Research Group had, for example. With the advent of Xerox machines, it was now much easier for groups to maintain their cohesion at the local level, and the community was able to find a new structure even after its initial support system (i.e. *COM* itself) withered away.[365]

Although the magazine folded in 1971, for a time the short-lived *COM Comics* periodical attempted to continue the manga content of *COM* without the laborious Gura-Com section. Ironically, this only heightened discontent among fan groups: AS bluntly recounts the decision to create their own manga show and zine, "Hachi no ki," out of dissatisfaction with *COM Comics'* lack of the Gura-Com section. According to AS and others who were in and around the manga fandom scene in these years, the same can be said of the Nihon Manga Taikai event and its successor Comiket, both of which have been credited with preserving the will for the existence of Gura-Com or something like it. Though these national gatherings, inevitably held in Tokyo, were the most visibly flourishing fan events after *COM*'s demise, the infrastructure nationwide was such that groups could now operate independently, as AS did with its local exhibitions and zine activities and still does: local manga events such as the Kita Kyushu Manga Fest, still continuing today, were also part of *COM*'s legacy.[366]

The like-minded: Dôjinshi, kikanshi, zines

For those who are already familiar with zine culture as it exists in the United States or Europe, the concept of dôjinshi is not too much of a leap. The term stretches back to the 1910s and 1920s in Japan, when it is generally translated as "coterie magazine(s)" and refers to the privately printed material that literary circles would create and circulate amongst themselves. There is some evidence that this concept bled into manga circles in the 1930s, which after all had some overlap with those same literary circles; the magazine *Manga no kuni* (Manga kingdom), for example, is sometimes described as a dôjinshi for its focus on amateur production and converting would-be manga artists into manga professionals.

By the time that the editorial department at Mushi Productions was press-ganged into running a nationwide manga fan organization out of their understaffed offices in 1967, the terms of the discourse had shifted. Although *COM* eventually used the term "dôjinshi" to denote these sorts of amateur publications almost exclusively, in the initial issues it was used interchangeably with the term "kikanshi," literally "organization records," an overly mechanistic term which quickly fell out of favor, presumably for aesthetic and political reasons. The dôjinshi feature, moreover, in which the editors reproduced and offered constructive criticism on a dôjinshi that they liked each month, is a fascinating window into how fannish standards evolved and were disseminated amongst Japanese manga fans via the magazine.

The dôjinshi feature, headlined "dôjin," explicitly described the contents, size, and production values of each dôjinshi before going on to offer constructive criticism. One such feature, for example, said things like "for manga, having the spirit of fun is necessary," and admonished the leadership of the circle in question not to let only the best or most active members in the group dominate the contents of its kikanshi.[367] No justification was offered for how the editorial staff of *COM* could be said to know what made the best dôjinshi, or whether anyone involved with the magazine had any previous involvement in manga circles or other relevant activities. Nonetheless, it is

clear from the testimony of the members of AS that these pronouncements from Ikebukuro were taken very seriously by the magazine's readers.

On one level, it was almost overdetermined that the term "dôjinshi" would be resurrected from its prewar heyday and used to discuss fan publications in this era, as the self-focus that literary production was marked by in the era of the shishôsetsu—the "I-novel," a mode of Japanese literature that is ineluctably linked to modern, and particularly Taisho, Japan—recurred in the manga world in the 1960s. One description of *Garo*'s manga that occurs again and again is that it was "practically like an I-novel," denoting an intensely personal approach to storytelling that was felt to be new in manga at the time. *Garo* creators did not precisely invent this mode of storytelling; it had important antecedents in the self-promotion of the gekiga crowd, but the transition away from the (melo)dramatic noir narratives favored by them and common in kashihon manga was accompanied by a distinct turn to introspection in those mangaka who made the transition from kashihon manga to *Garo* and the alternative comics it promoted. The works of Tatsumi Yoshihiro, whose manga grew steadily more personal as time went on, are an apt indication of this evolution.

The use of the term "dôjinshi" also speaks to the general validation of highly individualized perspectives which is characteristic of the shishôsetsu, both in literature and in manga, and provides some context for the rise of the term "circle" (saakuru) to denote the groups that produce them in manga (and, at this point, contents industry generally) fan cultures. A circle, after all, is a non-hierarchical organization (think of King Arthur's Round Table), and the circles that produced dôjinshi were intended to be exactly that, which was why the *COM* editors chastised one of their featured dôjinshi for focusing too much on quality to the detriment of general participation.

This validation of the individual perspective also, by extension, validated individual creation for its own ends as separate from and increasingly not necessarily oriented towards professional production in a way that had not previously been seen in the manga world. Literary scholar Edward Fowler's description of the dôjin magazines of the Taisho era matches the dôjinshi scene of the 1960s and 1970s almost eerily well: these "coterie magazines," as he translates them, "catered to a small and homogeneous audience. Unlike contemporary [literary] coterie magazines, which often have a nationwide membership, the Taishô magazines were very exclusive and their memberships defined by mutual acquaintance and common purpose, a fact that resulted both in fast friendships and bitter infighting."[368] I have yet to encounter a more succinct description of the appeals and pitfalls of fandom and fan production.

Significantly, *COM* matched the self-promotion of gekiga in its own way, by treating the mangaka whose work was featured in its pages—and those who weren't—as celebrities in their own right. These breathless gossip reports about leading creators' lives—Tezuka-sensei is vacationing at Shirahama! Akatsuka-sensei went to Arima onsen!—seem somewhat anomalous from the vantage of the present day, when most manga creators (particularly women) are notoriously reticent about their personal lives and even their images being made public; it is fairly standard for creators to use a drawn avatar rather than a photograph in their public communications, even on social media. At the time, however, they served a different purpose than the gossip reports

that they resemble: along with other information about the manga world that appeared in the magazine, such as schedules for the publication of manga tankôbon and broadcast information for TV anime generally (as well as giddy reports about what anime had been licensed where abroad), *COM* was trying to create a feeling of community, a feeling that everyone who considered themselves part of the "manga elite" to which the magazine was pitched were part of this world and as such were entitled to be in the know about these things and these people.[369]

This attempt to create this kind of fellow-feeling was mirrored in other settings in the 1960s, including the science fiction fandom scenes in Japan and in the United States, the latter of which then and now has pretensions of encompassing science fiction fandom globally. The important thing to note in terms of both manga and science fiction fandom is that the illusion of a horizontal, non-hierarchical community is a lie, or more precisely a necessary delusion; the divide is more readily apparent in Japanese, in which it is still standard practice to refer to creators with the honorific title of "sensei" ("teacher") as opposed to neutral markers of respect such as "-san" (Mr., Ms., Mx., etc.) or even the more elevated "-sama." In effect, Tezuka and company were trying to have it both ways: to be both revered creators and enthusiastic fans, both a horizontal network and a vertical hierarchy, both (to use Deleuzeian terminology) a grass and a tree, and for this reason alone it is not surprising that *COM* collapsed after only four years: the productive tensions that initially animated the magazine took just that long to tear it apart.

The validation of people who were "just" fans and fannish production in the community that *COM* provided gave a renewed push to fan creation nationwide and encouraged manga fans everywhere to publish their own dôjinshi regardless of considerations such as quality or originality: the *COM* editors' repeated declaration that excluding people and their work based on these points was contrary to the spirit of manga was in many ways a direct invitation to continue, full speed ahead. The proliferation of manga groups and dôjinshi circles also had the effect of decoupling the goal of becoming a professional creator from these practices of amateur production; as AS repeatedly insisted, their activities were about their love of manga (and, implicitly, their own personal satisfaction) rather than about trying to convert that love of manga into a paying career, as had been the focus of manga groups in earlier decades. By the time of *COM*'s demise, making and exchanging dôjinshi—usually for money—had become increasingly understood in the manga world as a valid activity in and of itself. Equally significantly (and unlike many fan activities in English-language settings) it was understood by almost everyone as constituting not a threat, but rather a complement, to professional production, partly because professional creators themselves were from the beginning quite likely to be found at fan events as participants in their own right.

Where have all the mangaka gone? Anime

With all this upwelling of activity in the manga world in the late 1960s, it is striking to read publications from the time in which explicitly wondering whether manga was over is a frequent theme. There were, to be sure, indications that manga was now a mature professional field: the first round of manga prizes were founded in this era starting with the Shogakkan Manga Prize in 1955, and the Japan Cartoonists Association formed in 1964 with the explicit goal of providing a mechanism for mangaka of all stripes to deal with problems they all faced as a group regardless of genre: health insurance, life insurance, and other mundane but important concerns were all easier to obtain if they were unified. The group, which is now a non-profit organization, began awarding its own manga prize in 1972.[370] Despite these developments, the years that saw the birth of seinen and the first stirrings of the shojo and the fan revolutions were marked by the recurring lament, as one letter to *COM* put it in May 1967, that many current manga had "yielded to commercialism, closing the door on artistry and thoughtfulness."[371] This was neither the first nor the last moment in the history of manga in which people thought that it was finished; it was not even the moment in which that fear came closest to realization. But it is worth asking just what was also happening at this juncture that made that fear not only widespread but self-evident among manga fans.

The short answer was, anime. The wild success of *Tetsuwan Atomu*—as the *Astro Boy* fan club magazine eagerly trumpeted, it had even been syndicated in the United States—led to the sincerest form of flattery, namely imitation, and many of the most popular manga creators of the 1950s and 1960s followed Tezuka's lead into the animation industry, either creating studios themselves or working with established companies to create animation based on their works: perhaps the most successful of these was Tezuka's protege Ishinomori Shôtarô, whose manga *Cyborg 009*, initially serialized in *COM*, is still going strong in anime form fifty years later. But even when individual creators did not found their own animation studios, there was a general stampede to license popular print manga for what was still often called "TV manga," and anime being anime, these TV shows swiftly led both to upticks in sales of the associated manga and merchandise based on the anime.

But there were only so many proven hit manga to adapt for anime, and the costs associated with anime production were still high and fixed. Consequently, mainstream manga (which is to say, shonen; shojo manga was still largely locked into the short story paradigm, which it would take nearly a decade to fully slough off) that were published in the latter half of the decade were increasingly consciously aimed towards TV adaptation, with the result that they were not very innovative in terms of either visuals or storytelling. Compounding the problem, toy companies—following in the wake of Astro Boy again, whose licensing into character toys had almost single-handedly reinvented the domestic market for buriki (metal) toys beginning in 1963—were increasingly likely to be major subsidizers of anime shows, and in the conservative way of capitalism, they wanted to bankroll anime whose toy-selling power could be banked

upon, meaning again that they tended to fund shows that were similar to pre-existing shows that had already done well.

Another way that people characterized the problems of manga was simply "masukomii," or "mass communications," a very Sixties answer. This simplistic formulation was a common response in the "Monthly Manga Roundtable" in the fourth issue of *COM*, which tackled the question of what the problem with manga was in the age of its greatest social reach heretofore seen; as roundtable convener Ozaki Hotsuki (1928-99) remarked, "it's not at all mysterious today that college students read 'manga' along with Marx and Sartre." The mixture of (male) experts and college students that Ozaki convened harped on themes that were already familiar: the manga boom of the mid-1960s has raised manga's social profile but vitiated its literary value, children's manga is dead, and manga today is just stupid. Specifically, as participants remarked, compared to the manga they had read in elementary school—before the collapse of kodomo manga had created the rigid gendered content categories of shonen and shojo—when each creator had used to create their own original world, there was now much more "herding," and originality was decreasing. Ozaki observed, correctly, that the complaints about mass communication and its concomitant lack of originality were partly an implicit protest against the rising pervasiveness of assistants, who were necessary to meet contemporary publication schedules, as mangaka were required to do.[372]

To Ozaki's accurate observation that the new distributed production system of lead creators and assistants pushed manga closer to being a composite artform like movies, the students on the panel all worried that the personality of individual creators would be lost in such a system. Among other things, their concerns on this front are a clear reflection of the fact that they had not yet fully digested the contemporary New Wave movement in cinema and the auteur theory of directors that was developed in response to it, which privileged "visionary" (male) movie directors over the other people whose labor went into making movies, especially editors, who were and are often women and whose contributions are no less crucial to a successful movie. Nor is this a surprise, as Japanese movies then and now were in a rather sorry state overall.

The herding that participants complained about in the roundtable was undoubtedly the result of editorial intervention; the dawn of the age of the weekly magazines was one in which editors were distant and harsh and obsessed with reader rankings of the manga in their magazines, as shown by the reader surveys that were returned to the editorial offices. Even established creators could be dropped with little to no warning if their current work wasn't popular enough, with the result that publishers weren't willing to pay for manuscript pages more than a month in advance of those chapters' publication.[373] Additionally, although shojo tended to attract the lion's share of complaints about its being stereotypical, dull, and predictable, it is important to register the fact that shonen was subject to many of the same editorial approaches, with the caveat that male editorial staff sometimes dealt less peremptorily with male than female creators. *COM* and *Garo* were the exceptions that proved the rule; indeed, the mangaka Murakami Motoka (b. 1951) commented in a 2016 discussion with Takemiya Keiko that as a child he had initially wanted to be a shojo mangaka,

since it was possible to draw a larger variety of things there than in shonen manga. When Murakami first read Ueda's *Fuichin-san* after the works of Tezuka, for example, it gave him a shock because the world of daily life it portrayed (seikatsu/sekai) was so different from the fantastical adventures in the latter. Shojo, in Murakami's estimation, was the only kind of manga that portrayed that kind of individualized world.[374] In the next decade, that individualized world became the stage for some of the most consequential innovations in manga's history.

Chapter Eight: The Emergence of Seinen Manga and the Shojo Revolution

Shonen without shojo

The development of shojo manga has tended to steal the spotlight in discussions of the history of manga, perhaps due to an unthinking assumption that comics for boys are natural while the existence of comics for girls requires explanation. As we have seen, that is not the case; the first children's comics in the 1920s did not make any particular assumptions about the gender of their readership (although the magazines in which they were published did). We have already seen that girls and women were reading and creating manga as far back as the 1920s and 1930s, and that children of all genders read manga in magazines without regard to whether those magazines were differentiated by gender through the mid-1960s. Only at that point did the now-familiar, and then rigidly age- and gender-segregated manga marketing categories come into place, deliberately constructed so as to maximize publishers' profits and to uphold social ideologies of gender. Looking at magazines from the late 1950s and 1960s also reveals that shonen manga underwent a definite evolution no less than shojo manga did in this time period, as both diverged separately from their predecessors in kodomo manga.

On the level of form, what is immediately striking is how late both shonen and shojo magazines discarded some very old prewar legacies. The monthly magazine *Bôken-ô* (1949-83, Adventure King), for example, which in December 1956 was published under the tagline "good manga and literature," still employed a number of content practices that could be directly traced to prewar manga, starting with panel

numbers but also encompassing the prewar style of the table of contents and insert ads. The magazine also evidently relied heavily on freebies (furoku), a strategy that has been identified with shojo magazines in recent years but which evidently persisted in shonen magazines for at least the first decade or two after their emergence. The first issue of *Bôken-ô* advertises that it contains "five large-size separate furoku" right on the cover, one of which was a special holiday freebie for New Year's.

At the same time, some recognizably contemporary strategies were already in evidence in this first issue, as in the vertical flavor text printed in the gutters of some manga. These days the flavor text is usually used to hype up readers about the series' next chapter or notify them about the publication of materials related to the manga in question, creating a sense of community; in the first issue of *Bôken-ô,* by contrast, "people who want to study manga" were directed to look at Tezuka's *Manga no kakikata* (1956, How to Draw Manga) in the gutter of an unrelated manga.[375]

The prewar legacies were still in evidence in 1960, when the magazine published prewar-style ⅔ and ⅓ size insert furoku, and also still published color pages according to the older prewar paradigm, as opposed to the newly emerging contemporary paradigm in which one manga per issue gets color pages and a few others get single-page color frontispieces. The tagline now read "a fun shonen magazine," and while each issue still featured a few non-manga items, it was easily 85% manga. The non-manga content disappeared entirely by the mid-1960s: in 1965, the magazine's tagline was simply "for all boys." This was evidently somewhat optimistic; Akiyama Mitsuru recalls that by the time he began working as an editor at *COM* in 1968, he was the only person in the office who read *Bôken-ô* because for him the magazine, along with *Shônen Gahô*, was a pleasurable site of childhood nostalgia.[376]

Weekly Shônen Magazine (1959-), the leading shonen manga magazine of the day and still a major player, went through a similar evolution: the December 1959 issue, which billed itself as "a shonen magazine for dreams and hope," still used the cheap three-color scheme for some series, while the lead manga received one four-color cover page. By October 1968, the magazine had adopted the now-standard scheme for differentiating chapters of each series by color: *Shônen Magazine* used different color ink for each series, while nowadays other magazines such as *Weekly Shônen Jump* use different colors of paper stock. Even at this relatively late date, however, *Shônen Magazine* still retained some articles containing content that could be summed up as "what boys like:" in this case, baseball players and nuclear-powered naval vessels. The magazine no longer bore a slogan, however. *Bôken-ô* employed a similar content mix; in 1965, for example, its issues were full of features about military hardware and military vehicles, Japan's peace constitution evidently notwithstanding. The manga it published revolved around similar themes: one series published in the magazine in that year was actually a submarine manga complete with evil Nazis, while another manga demonstrated that the *Yamato* was not the first naval vessel to take to the stars in Japanese popular culture.

Screen tones, often stereotypically considered one of the hallmarks of manga versus other comics traditions, in fact made a very late appearance in *Bôken-ô*; it was only in 1979 that manga running in the magazine began employing tones. Similarly,

panel numbers disappeared very late: *Weekly Shônen Magazine* did away with them only in 1975 (the same year that non-manga content also vanished from the magazine's pages—though the year-end issue still featured a "Movie Times" guide), while in *Bôken-ô* the transition took place around the same time or even later (i.e. not before 1979), meaning that it took nearly 75 years for Japanese comics publications to decide that their readers could be trusted to work their way through the flow of panels without editorial hand-holding.

The case of another failed magazine, *Shônen King* (1963-82), is also instructive. Launched in 1963, it fell in the gap between what Yonezawa Yoshihiro identified as the first and second waves of new-style manga magazines: the first began in 1957 with the inaugural weeklies, while the second can be said to date from the foundation of future juggernaut *Weekly Shonen Jump* in 1967. Writing in a critical dôjinshi, *Shônen natsu man'ô*, in 1995, Yonezawa noted that *Shônen King* remained a second-class publication for its entire existence, despite the fact that it published some great stuff, including the works of many Tokiwa-sô creators; in fact, Yonezawa identified the magazine as the source of what he later described as the "myth of Tokiwa-sô," which kids at the time had never heard of before the magazine began discussing it. Tegardless of the quality of individual works, in Yonezawa's analysis, they were in the aggregate too varied to give the magazine a coherent identity or fanbase as such—*Weekly Shonen Jump* and the way its individual works are so coherent as to have facilitated an entire chain of Jump Stores hawking merchandise from all the current *WSJ* manga series is an illustrative contrast.[377]

The evolution of *Weekly Manga Times*, which was one of the first weekly manga magazines when it began publishing in 1957, is equally telling. The tagline for its first few issues was "a weekly magazine of topics and manga stories," meaning that its initial content mix included a notable proportion of articles as well as of manga. In this respect, it initially looked more or less like other manga publications, even including a fair amount of old-style one panel manga in its first few issues, but it converted swiftly to selling sex, with its first cover depicting a beautiful woman being published in May 1957, with the tagline "sex in movies and literature" splashed on the same cover. Ten years later, the same year that *COM* began publication, the amount of sexually charged content in each issue had only increased and now included full-color folding pages of half-naked women of the type which are even now familiar to readers of manga periodicals such as *Shônen Magazine*. That such publications are ostensibly aimed at middle schoolers is still somewhat surprising.

In 1967, however, the manga in *Weekly Manga Times* still looked stylistically much more like the 1950s than the 1970s: paneling was still fairly regular and panels were still numbered, while dialogue was still hand-lettered. Just three years later in 1970, however, everything had changed, and the magazine now appeared much more contemporary: while old-style manga persisted, there were now many new-style manga, which are readily distinguished by their use of screen tones, of printed lettering for dialogue, and their lack of panel numbers. By 1975, the magazine's transition into the mainstream (and still contemporary) mode was complete, with its final

abandonment of articles and its adoption of the three-color scheme for the initial "splash" pages of some manga series in each issue.

The rise and demise of gekiga had a big influence on the development of shonen in these years in that by the late 1960s one of the things propelling the evolution of the category was its wholesale absorption of gekiga content and tropes in the age of James Bond and other virile pop culture figures. The college-age participants in a *COM*-sponsored roundtable on gekiga in June 1967 agreed that there was no longer much of a distinction between manga and gekiga; one student astutely pointed to the fact that gekiga star Saitô Takao was currently being published in *Shonen Magazine* as emblematic of that very fact.[378] Gekiga's emphasis on realism was one such key trope; future seinen mangaka Murakami Motoka (b. 1951) remarked in 2016 that as the manga magazines changed in the 1960s and emonogatari disappeared, he was unsure what to do for a future career, but by the time he was in high school, manga had become sufficiently realistic that he thought he could try it.[379]

Even as shonen came into its own, many creators working in the category were trying to push its bounds further, attempting to create manga that more directly conveyed their views and experiences and could satisfy an increasingly older readership. Indeed, for critic Ueno Kôshi, writing in *Garo*'s twentieth anniversary issue in 1984, what made the united front years "so great as to seem like a lie looking back" was that everyone working in the magazines was developing their own style individually, interpreting the age through the medium of themselves.[380] The fact that protagonists in the pages of *Garo* and *Shônen Magazine*, two of the acknowledged big three magazines of this brief golden age, became just as likely to be older adolescents, if not outright young adults, was part and parcel of this evolution. Before the end of the decade, this continuing expansion of manga came to be recognized as a new category, that of seinen, with the foundation of the third of the big three magazines, *Big Comic*.[381]

Big Comic and the birth of seinen

Though *Garo* and *COM* were self-consciously offering alternatives to the previous manga mainstream, the united front years saw their alternative self-consciously become the new orthodoxy, as in *COM*'s one-year anniversary message in which Tezuka proclaimed that 1967 had witnessed the birth of seinen manga.[382] Nowhere was the new dominance of their previously deprecated ideas about manga more evident than in the new seinen magazine *Big Comic*, which was first published in April 1968. Within three issues, it sported cover art that could have passed for a Beatles album illustration or a still from one of Terry Gilliam's *Monty Python* animations.

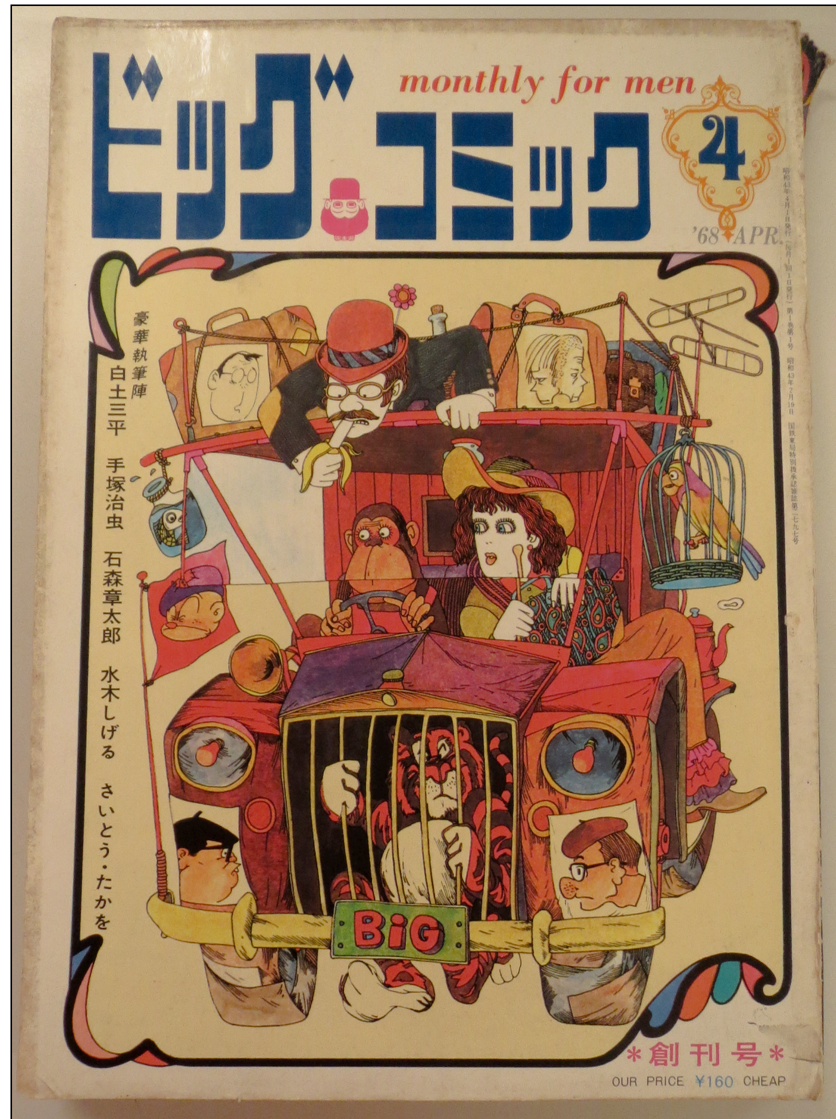

Fig 24: Cover of *Big Comic* #1, April 1968.

Big Comic proudly took advantage of recent innovations across the manga industry: for instance, it proclaimed on the cover, "Our Price ¥160 CHEAP," a sign that the magazine was definitely part of the new magazines-as-advertising rather than the old magazines-as-product model. The names of mangaka that it trumpeted on the cover were a who's who of men who had hit it big in the past ten years: Shirato Sanpei, Tezuka Osamu, Ishinomori Shôtarô, Mizuki Shigeru, Saitô Takao. Its cover also proclaimed it a "monthly for men," and sure enough, it was tits out from the very first interior page, which featured an advertisement containing a topless woman. Even *Swallowing the Earth* (1968-69, Chikyû wo nomu), the Tezuka comic which was serialized beginning in the magazine's first issue, has a lot of nudity. While *Big Comic* did not quite yet contain solely manga—the first issue featured a translated excerpt from the Vin Packer mystery novel *The Hare in March* (1967)—even its non-manga

content was in line with these themes, as in the article by Komatsu Sakyô in the same issue, "SF Erochika" (SF Eroticism).[383]

The increasing diversification of the manga market as the previous peak age group aged was partly a function of the lessening stigma against manga *tout court*, but it was also a consequence of Japan's rapidly prospering economy. Like the gekiga boys before them, the men involved in *Big Comic* were not shy about proclaiming their own innovation. The back page of the first issue featured messages from the various mangaka, all of which congratulated themselves for being so cutting-edge. Ishinomori wrote that "There's no doubt that *Big Comic* is pioneering a new audience. For that purpose…I want to show that you can go this far even in comics. In my work for *Big Comic* […] I want to make a world that has never existed in comics before." Saitô wrote that, "I think that *Big Comic* is a magazine that happened because it had to happen at this moment when comics have completely transformed in order to appeal to young men." Tezuka, meanwhile, asked "What kind of touch is right for the kind of shonen manga *Big* will pioneer? It's not the same as children's manga, and it's also different from nonsense manga. That was my first challenge." Mizuki declared that "Through *Big*'s publication shonen manga—in other words, the new comics—genre has been established. In my work […] I want to satirize humans and sexual mores."[384]

Fig 25: Internal ad from *Big Comic* #1: "*Big* breaks the mould like my big breasts break the frame"

Manga had appealed to "young men" before April 1968. The more interesting question is what exactly had changed to allow these men to speak of their work at this time in this way; Tezuka's mentioning children's and nonsense manga in the same breath as this "new kind of shonen" manga points to the answers. The reference to nonsense manga is particularly telling, as the last time that such unabashed eroticism had featured in professionally produced manga was the era of "eroguro" nonsense manga in the 1920s and 30s, which sold sex in the form of women in pieces in order to sell magazines. But in the 1960s, when the rise of actual pornography in manga placed marketplace pressures on the appeal to the growing demographic of "young men"—who were increasingly college students with disposable incomes—(female) nudity and eroticism in mainstream manga seemed both necessary for sales and also, in comparison to actual eromanga, comparatively non-threatening. Indeed, inasmuch as

manga was rapidly becoming a socially licensed outlet for fantasy, the inclusion of sexuality in mainstream manga was, as Saitô implied, overdetermined because playing that role essentially *required* that manga incorporate sex and sexuality, particularly in a society that remained predominantly homosocial.

Big Comic incorporated other cutting-edge manga practices from the start, particularly its decision to eschew panel numbers: after more than six decades, readers of Japanese comics could apparently finally be trusted to intuit the reading order of panels on their own, although this change took more than a decade to become standard across all manga magazines. Though *Big Comic* still featured some cheap three-color pages in some manga, its first issue also contained one color page insert; one series per issue receiving color pages, while the rest were monochrome, became the standard practice across manga magazines over the next decade or so.

The magazine also sought to consolidate an idea of what seinen manga was, though the evidence is that readers participated more evenly in this project than they had in the construction of gekiga in the previous decade: an interview with Tezuka in the third issue, for example, used entirely reader-submitted questions. In his answers, Tezuka stated that he had drawn stuff for adults for years, but that *Swallowing the Earth* was his first seinen work.[385] In answer to a question about the difference between "ero" and "eroticism art" (erochishizumu geijutsu), he replied that "it's like oden in that it's entirely a matter of personal taste," but in art, some degree of non-realism may be necessary for the purposes of eros: "if it's like a picture, it's ugly." As befitted an interview published in 1968, another question asked Tezuka's opinion of underground art, of "saike" [psychedelic art], and "what's a happening you want to do?" Another question asked about the nature of seinen manga, to which Tezuka replied that "strangely enough, it's not about fighting spirit or artistic consciousness. It's okay to take the provisions of life from outside the manga."[386]

Reader responses were enthusiastic from the beginning, as evidenced by those published in the inaugural comments section in May 1968. One twenty-year old wrote that, "I thought when I saw *Big*'s contents that finally here was a real comics magazine." Another offered his congratulations on the magazine's publication, admitting that, "At any rate, I was surprised; this is exactly the comics magazine I've been holding out hope for." Another reader wrote that, "I don't need any articles or nudes outside of manga. I just want manga that makes me think. I want you to expand the possibilities of manga." That letter actually garnered a published response from the editors, who answered that "That is exactly *Big*'s mission."[387]

Today many sophisticated series concerning a dizzying variety of subjects and appealing to readers of all genders are published as seinen. But that development was eventually spurred by the dôjin sphere; in this era *Big Comic* and the seinen category in general promulgated a far greater tolerance for sex and violence in non-pornographic manga. Furthermore, in this era seinen's sex and violence was distinguished from that of the shonen manga of the next two decades mostly through greater psychological realism, rather than a difference of degree or kind. Freed from the need to appeal to girls, shonen manga quickly began brimming over with violence and sexual content, which mostly involved the objectification of and sexual violence against girls and

women. Go Nagai's *Kekkô kamen* (1974-78), in which a female superhero who is naked except for boots, gloves, and mask appears at Sparta Academy to save (mostly female) students who are about to be subjected to sexually humiliating S&M punishments by the (mostly male) teachers, can be taken as representative of shonen manga in these years: Kekkô Kamen's signature fighting move is landing crotch-first on her (male) opponent's face.

"That feverish season which has already passed into history," the heady years of the late 1960s and the very early 1970s, cut short by the oil shock, encapsulated the first peak of creativity in the seinen category and was bookended by the categories of manga aimed at male readers lapsing back into what manga critic Murakami Tomohiko (b. 1951) described in 1978 as a formulaic and mannerist era, a "retrograde age."[388] The 70s were known as the 'Me' Decade in the United States; although the comparable sociopolitical forces in question manifested in Japan as a longing for the furusato, the (vanishing) rural hometown, the ideological shift that Murakami was criticizing, from social to personal concerns, was similar.

In the same article, Murakami acknowledged that "Though this wasn't the case just a few years ago, now you can't talk about manga on the whole without talking about shojo manga. The same cannot be said of shonen manga or seinen manga now; without a doubt, shojo occupies the mainstream position within manga overall."[389] The torch of pushing the edge in manga in terms of both innovative content and artistic strategies passed in the decade between *Big Comic*'s debut and Murakami's writing to the despised younger sister of shonen and seinen: shojo, manga for girls.

The emergence of shojo manga

The conventional narrative of shojo manga—girls' comics—in Japan is that it "emerged" in the 1950s at the hands of male creators like Osamu Tezuka and Ishonomori Shôtarô, who dominated the field until the rise of female creators such as Mizuno Hideko and the members of the Shôwa 24 group in the 1970s. This conventional narrative of is one of girl power, in which shojo manga came into its own once it was drawn by creators who were themselves former shojo, but it is highly misleading.

What is conventionally called the shojo revolution was less one clear movement than multiple assaults against the stagnant shojo paradigm by multiple creators, both singly and in loose affiliations. Nor does there seem to have been much, if any, communication between these groups; Takemiya Keiko's memoir of the shojo revolution and the creation of her masterpiece *Kaze to ki no uta* (1976-82, Song of the Wind and Trees) discusses her role in the creation of the celebrated Ôizumi Salon and cites several established creators such as Mizuno Hideko and Yamagishi Ryôko by name, but never once mentions other, equally epochal figures such as Ikeda Riyoko.

The other thing to be clear about is the fact that the shojo revolution and the creators who fomented it emerged more or less independently of the so-called alternative comics turn embodied by gekiga and *Garo*. Most of the members of the Showa 24 Group and the post-Showa 24 Group (many of whom among the latter got their start in the manga world acting as assistants to the former) came from the

provinces, and most of them went directly from high school into the industry, skipping the college campus scene where they were more likely to have come into contact with *Garo* and its readers.

The similarities between the "shishôsetsu" manga of *Garo* and the burgeoning psychological complexity of the shojo revolution is an example of convergent evolution rather than of the influence of the former on the latter, as is made clear by Takemiya and Hagio's comments on *Garo* in the magazine's twentieth anniversary issue in 1984. Hilariously, Hagio wrote in reply to an invitation to comment on the magazine's impact that she didn't know anything about *Garo*: she once picked up a few issues in a used bookstore and tried to read *Kamuy*, but she thought it was too difficult, and that was the answer she got when she asked her friends about *Garo*, too. Takemiya was kinder; she affirmed that the magazine had an impact on both artists and readers, and wrote that she read it in that spirit, though when she joined the other side—i.e. became a professional mangaka—she gradually stopped.[390]

It is undeniable that shojo manga—and, though this was less clear at the time, manga overall—turned a corner on 21 May 1972, when Ikeda Riyoko (b. 1947) published the first chapter of *The Rose of Versailles* (Berusaiyu no Bara) in the magazine *Margaret*. But while the publication of this series proved epochal, with Ikeda and other shojo creators soon being hailed as revolutionaries whose manga pushed the boundaries of shojo far beyond what it had previously contained in terms of both content and visual expression, it is important to remember that this revolution was contained within pre-existing industry structures, namely the monthly and weekly shojo manga magazines. These magazines in turn followed practices that had been laid down beginning a decade earlier.

What did the typical shojo magazine of the later 1960s, in the "united front years," look like? And where did they come from? Like shonen magazines, the roots of this current crop of shojo magazines stretched back to the late 1950s, when weekly magazines were just being created to compete with TV. As anthropologist Jennifer Prough summarizes, weekly magazines "were an attempt on the part of publishers to counter the draw that television had on children and to reorganize themselves to fit the new weekly lifestyle timetable spawned by television."[391] The implicit construction of masculinity in *Shônen Magazine* and its fellows was matched by an explicit construction of feminine behavior and mores in shojo manga.

When Jennifer Prough conducted her ethnographic research in the shojo manga industry in the early 2000s, the notion that female mangaka were best suited to be shojo creators "under the rubric that those who are recent graduates from girlhood can better intuit the fushigi (mysterious) things that girls like" had long since become axiomatic.[392] Conveniently, this focus on affect neatly elides the gendered division of labor in the shojo manga industry—young female creators, older male editors—and the pay gap between those two sides of the workforce (comics creators are generally speaking overworked and underpaid worldwide, and women are doubly likely to be so), largely because it is based on the historical fact of the 1970s shojo manga boom, when shojo came to be equated with "what girls like," used, in Prough's analysis, "as a descriptor of shojo manga and the essence of both its content and economic variables."[393]

One of the most notable shojo magazines then and now is *Nakayoshi* (Good Friends), which began publication in December 1954 and which has held the record for longest-running comics periodical in Japan since April 1997, when it surpassed the old *Osaka Puck*. Looking at the magazine's evolution from just after its start to 1965 shows the same basic evolution that other magazines aimed at children underwent in this period: the magazine's content started out as a basic transposition of the content mix found in children's manga magazines (illustrated stories, manga, photo spreads, and bound-in freebies of diferent sizes) in 1955, under the slogan "a magazine [for] pleasant and fun good friends" (yukai de tanoshii nakayoshi zasshi). By the next issue, the slogan now specified that it was a "magazine for pleasant and fun young female friends."[394] Five years later, the slogan had disappeared and the magazine's content was now at least half manga, with the two leading series receiving full color cover pages and three-color printing for their interior pages. The more interesting change lies in the way that *Nakayoshi* handled the readers' corner: by 1965, with Tezuka's *Ribon no kishi* (1953-56, 1958, 1963-66, 1967-68, Princess Knight) and other hit manga, the editorial staff had transmuted the old readers' corner, which took a catholic view of the magazine's contents, into pages for fans of those particular hit manga. *Ribon no kishi*'s fan (aidokusha) pages featured drawings of its characters by fans, a fan letter, and instructions on sending in for a giveaway. The fan page for another hit manga featured more of the same, including a photo of a fan dressed up as one of the characters—almost certainly one of the earliest recorded instances of cosplay.[395]

At this point it is necessary to say something about freebies (furoku), the "extra" content that had become a standard part of children's magazines during the 1930s in the golden age of the Kodansha sibling magazines. For the first few decades these freebies were almost always printed matter that was bound into the magazines, frequently taking the form of manga or short stories. *Norakuro* freebies included things like Norakuro cut-outs and paper crafts similar to those that were included in the original *Norakuro* tankôbon hardcovers; Tagawa took the value of freebies further by featuring parts of Norakuro's story in the freebies that were never republished elsewhere, such as the period that Norakuro spent in officer school. This parceling out of exclusive content across media to drive sales became, starting in the 1970s, a key feature of the mature, Kadokawa-style media mix, but even in the 1930s freebies drove sales of new copies of the magazines, as the freebies were almost never still included by the time the magazines made it to used bookstores. After the war, children's manga magazines re-introduced the practice of freebies as soon as it was economically feasible, and by the 1960s, as the economy began really taking off, they had become standard practice across the industry.

Furoku were a key part of shojo (and shonen) magazine strategy even in the 1960s, as when *Ribon* (1955 - present, Ribbon), which at the time played a distinct second fiddle to *Nakayoshi* on account of its publishing fewer marquee mangaka, made freebies a key part of its attempts to compete with its rivals from 1961 onwards, going so far as to advertise the fact that all of its freebies were long-form manga. Jennifer Prough's fieldwork in shojo manga publishing at the turn of the millennium explored the question of freebies, and the testimony of creators and editors about the goals of

freebies applied just as well in the 1960s as it did in the 1990s: one editor told Prough bluntly that freebies "are included to deter people from passing the magazines around; this way you want your own. You buy your own magazine because you want the [freebies]."[396]

Freebies were quickly supplemented by formalized reader surveys, in which readers could fill out and return bound-in postcards to express their opinions about what they liked best in the magazine and thereby influence editorial decisions. Reader surveys were the ultimate arbiter of magazine content, and they remain extremely influential today; in the mid-1970s, the surveys were so important and codified that Shogakkan only allowed manga ranked fifth or higher in the surveys to receive color pages in its magazines. Takemiya Keiko wrote that when she started pay attention to the reader surveys was when she became a real creator, and her friends in the field became her rivals.[397] When Jennifer Prough conducted her fieldwork, she found that readers' opinions were taken into account even at the granular level of "character prominence and romance; often a side character becomes a main heartthrob or sidekick due to readers' response, and likewise characters and plotlines can be demoted or dropped altogether if unpopular."[398]

The somewhat self-explanatory practice of survey prizes, which offered readers who returned the surveys the opportunity to win exclusive goods, began in this era, as did the practice of mail order goods: in a further bid to attract readers and force them to buy their own individual copies of the magazines, publishers began offering exclusive merchandise that was available only by filling out an application form cut out (not copied) from the magazine and returned with a nominal amount of money and postage for the return shipping costs.[399] By the time Prough did her fieldwork in the industry in 1999, all of these goods were almost always character goods for specific manga, but this practice was only solidified after roughly 1990; before that, mail order goods in particular were equally likely to be simply popular merchandise, not necessarily directly related to the manga in the magazine in question.[400]

By the mid-1960s the impact of the all-but-certain demise of kashihonya and kashihon manga was being felt across the manga world; as previously discussed, male kashihon mangaka frequently fled to *Garo* and then *Big Comic*, while female kashihon mangaka—many of whom had only broken into the profession within the past few years—overwhelmingly tended to switch to the mainstream manga industry and its shojo magazines. Many, if not most, of these women were children of the postwar who had grown up reading manga and who were not content to continue the hitherto default paradigm of shojo manga, which manga scholar Matt Thorn once pithily summed up as comprising "passive, pre-adolescent heroines in melodramatic situations, often involving separation from a mother."[401] While important conventions did evolve in this period, such as the introduction of the infamous "sparkly eyes" by Takahashi Macoto in 1954, shojo manga until the early 1960s may be characterized as the last refuge of the previous children's manga paradigm, albeit recast with girl-child protagonists. (Again, think of Ueda Toshiko's *Fuichin-san*; nor is it a coincidence that Ueda's last major work featuring a child protagonist, *Ohatsu-chan*, ended serialization in 1969.)

You say you want a revolution: The state of shojo manga in 1969

Above and beyond questions of format, however, what obsessed everyone concerned with the state of shojo in the late 1960s were questions of content. Nor was this concern limited to the young women who were starting their careers in shojo, or even to the people who read it; in a sign of its broad interest in manga generally, *COM* convened a roundtable in August 1967 that was dedicated to exploring the state of shojo. The terms of the debate were laid out clearly when Ozaki began the conversation by opining that while shonen manga had made a lot of progress as conflict and criticism moved to the center of the genre, shojo manga was in shadow and becalmed.[402]

Some of the comments from the mixed-gender group of participants, aged 13-19, were specific to this point in time, as when there was widespread agreement that shojo manga was boring, predictable, and lacked the individuality of shonen manga, which was universally agreed to be better. (Ironically enough, the same criticisms are being leveled at current shojo manga now as I write this in 2017.) Some comments, however, were perennial, as when the participants noted that girls read shonen manga, and would read shojo if it was good, but that boys didn't read shojo manga.[403]

There were different opinions as to where to place the blame for all this: one girl stated flatly that shojo was bad because all the creators were men, while another participant defended shojo's stereotypical stories and unrealistic depiction of the girl's devoted love as presenting what female readers, especially middle school readers, wanted and yearned for. Another anticipated Murakami's comments fifty years later when they noted that shonen was un- or hyper-realist, but that shojo actually reflected everyday life and feelings. And in a clear indication of why so many manga of the shojo revolution were set in historically specific (and non-Japanese) locales, many participants complained about the "culturally odorless" (mukokuseki) settings and stereotypical narratives that predominated in shojo at the time.[404] The participants called for a number of changes that they wanted to see in shojo: less predictable stories, deepening of creators' individual themes, a shift to talking about shojo manga as one form of manga expression rather than merely appealing to girls' sentiment, and finally, to have shojo manga that boys would want to read and would think was interesting.[405]

It's worth comparing Takemiya Keiko's perspective as a manga reader and creator herself on the shojo manga of this age, and its problems, which occupies a good deal of the space in her recent memoir *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*. "Shojo manga was full of nothing but things that couldn't be done," she remarks, and places the blame for that squarely on editorial: as well as the storylines being exceedingly stereotyped and predictable, even art and character designs were very same-y due to editors' directives. Above all, she found the depiction of love and romance to be almost offensively inaccurate. Members of the Showa 24 Group sought to bring more romance into the genre as a way to fight back against the portrayal of love that predominated in shojo at the time, in which at most, as Takemiya writes, there was a kiss, after which one of the characters remarked "I'm glad," and then maybe a baby would appear in the final scene: the implication was that a woman's life ended with a kiss, but the members of the Ôizumi Salon wanted to ask "What happens after the happy ending?"[406]

The other point Takemiya makes is that the depiction of love in pre-Showa 24 group manga was almost exclusively spiritual, which in her mind meant that it was practically a different thing than real love, because actual love changes by necessity when the physical component is included. (Takemiya specifically references pregnancy, but the vicissitudes of sexual relationships are not limited to the potentiality of child-bearing.) The editorial prohibition on depicting the physical component of love was derived from the general idea that girls didn't like the physicality of bodies, and that creators would be criticized if the depiction of the same was too "rough." Practically speaking, this meant that character designs for girls in shojo had a peculiarly weightless quality, while the few boy characters that were depicted in shojo manga didn't look like real boys. As Takemiya drily observes, all of this was just the opposite for seinen creators of the day, of course.[407]

The paradigm of gender relations that prevailed in shojo manga at this point was aptly termed the "love trap" by manga scholar Fujimoto Yukari. Summarizing Fujimoto, Deborah Shamoon wrote that these stories presented a heterosexual love story in which the female protagonist "finds her identity and self-worth through a close emotional bond with a boy. The girl, who sees herself as unpopular, clumsy, and unattractive, eventually achieves happiness by completely subsuming her desires to the one boy who loves her despite her defects. Having made passivity a virtue, a girl can find true love only by sacrificing herself to her boy. Deprived of agency, the girl must rely solely on the 'power of love' to achieve her goal."[408]

Youth culture was no less a dislocating—and, for those enmeshed in it, intoxicating—social force in Japan than it was in other countries by this point in time, and the shift in shojo manga from girl protagonists to "teenage heroines who were actually interested in boys" over the course of the decade was on one level a natural outgrowth of larger population shifts: this sort of content was what readers wanted, and even conservative publishers like *Nakayoshi* were prepared to give it to them to sell magazines. The work of female Tokiwa-sô member and former Tezuka assistant Mizuno Hideko (b. 1939) in this respect can be viewed as a key bridge from the older paradigm to the newer one: her masterwork *Fire!* (1969-71) was one of the first shojo manga to feature a male protagonist, American musician Aaron, who perfectly encapsulated some of the older tendencies of shojo (such as the habit of setting shojo manga abroad with half- or non-Japanese characters as the protagonists) even as it broke new ground thanks to its sexually explicit scenes. That Aaron, something of a Bob Dylan figure, was a rock star who wore his hair relatively long was part of the manga's distinct youth appeal in the era of the Summer of Love; that he was male and not female looked forward to the great shojo manga of the 1970s: despite the fact that shojo magazines before that era were ostensibly aimed at girls, there were almost no boys in the magazines, which was a distinct contrast to girls' magazines in America.[409]

Mizuno herself had a grand piano and a full drum kit in her basement as part of her research for the manga, as Takemiya learned when she attended a house party hosted by Mizuno in 1971: among other things, *Fire!* was influential on Takemiya and other members of the Ôizumi Salon because of the research Mizuno put in to obtaining a degree of verisimilitude, in terms of action and setting, that had not previously been a

concern in shojo manga. Takemiya was inspired to take the research for her own manga more seriously, and the other Salon members followed her lead.[410] By the next decade, this realism had become one of the hallmarks of shojo and one of its distinct advantages over shonen manga of the time.

A manga of their own: The Magnificent 49ers

So who were these women? They were, in a word, born to make history as children of the postwar: most of them were born in or around 1949, earning them the sobriquet of "the Shôwa 24 Group," which at least one scholar has rendered in English as the "Magnificent 49ers." By courtesy, the name has come to include those women who were slightly older such as Ikeda Riyoko, who like the female *Garo* mangaka Tsurita Kuniko was born in 1947. And though the names of Takemiya Keiko, Hagio Moto and Ikeda Riyoko ring most familiarly to readers of manga, the Shôwa 24 Group included many other women whose impact and works were significant to the development of manga as a whole. While the 49ers are often associated with the 1970s, when they came to prominence almost overnight, most of them had careers stretching back to the mid 1960s, making their professional debuts while they were still teenagers in many cases.

One thread that connected many of these future stars was that of kashihonya, and kashihon manga. In interviews with Yonezawa Yoshihiro, Ichijô Yukari, Satonaka Machiko and Maki Miyako all affirmed the importance of these platforms to their origins in manga: Ichijô, a self-professed weirdo, recalled spending all her time in rental bookstores reading kashihon manga and gekiga as opposed to talking to people, while Satonaka read so much kashihon manga that she was told it was weird for a girl. Yamato Waki also read a lot of manga as a child, specifically the manga that her older brother bought, while Maki Miyako's family actually owned a bookstore, with the result that she submitted her first manuscript directly to a kashihon publisher in their Osaka neighborhood, only making her magazine debut after her first manga had already been published in the kashihon format.[411]

The continuing longevity of kashihonya and kashihon manga, even as the media environment changed rapidly around them, was clearly important to many of these women's careers, including that of Ikeda Riyoko herself: she got her start in gekiga manga and, like many other female mangaka of this generation, only moved to the mainstream magazines after kashihonya entered their final decline in the late 1960s. Ikeda later recalled that when she worked as a gekigaka the editors said that she could do whatever she wanted, but her editors in mainstream shojo publications were vehemently opposed to her doing a historical manga; the supposedly permissive editor Yamamoto Jun'ya in fact extracted a promise from her that she'd drop BeruBara immediately if it proved unpopular.[412]

Another important factor in the rise of the Shôwa 24 generation as a whole was the fact that shojo magazines, specifically *Shôjo Friend* in 1964, started the practice of directly converting amateur manga creators into professionals: before that, magazines just gave prize money without any actual promise of jobs or helping amateurs break

into the industry. As Yonezawa pointed out, the manga contests in *Shôjo Friend* and later *Ribon* did in fact find top talent: Ichijô Yukari, Satonaka Machiko, Morita Jun, Yamato Waki, and Yuzuki Hikaru (who is a rare postmodern example of a male creator drawing shojo manga) were all discovered via the contests.[413] Ichijô Yukari won the inaugural *Ribon* amateur manga prize at the age of 18, making her professional debut in the magazine in 1968. Waki Yamato had been told to give up manga in middle school, but in her penultimate year of high school she saw that Satonaka Machiko had been published in *Shôjo Friend*: realizing that she and Satonaka were both 16 years old, she resolved to try to become a mangaka herself, and succeeded in doing so after she finished high school.[414] Other members of the Shôwa 24 generation such as Aoike Yasuko (b. 1948) were brought into the manga world via other pathways, as when Mizuno Hideko noticed Aoike's work in a *Ribon* contest and told the editors to publish one of Aoike's short comics.[415]

Another thing that boosted the Showa 24 group and post-Showa 24 group as a whole was the fact that three of its central figures, Takemiya Keiko, Hagio Moto, and Masuyama Norie, consciously set out to create a social network which could double as a support mechanism for the young women involved in it. Takemiya met Hagio Moto, like her a brilliant young creator from the provinces, for the first time through the offices of her publisher, a meeting that, she later wrote, "changed [my] destiny for the rest of my life," and it was through Hagio that she met Hagio's pen pal Masuyama Norie, who had written Hagio an enthusiastic fan letter after the publication of her first manga. Takemiya wrote that her meeting with Masuyama, who became Takemiya's creative and personal partner, "changed her destiny still further," and called the fact that the three of them—all around twenty years old in 1970—met when they did "miraculous."[416]

Masuyama's role in the shojo revolution has long remained obscure; a fan translator once wondered whether it was going too far to describe her, somewhat tongue-in-cheek, as the "dark lord of shojo manga."[417] Takemiya's memoir of her days in the vanguard of the shojo revolution makes clear that this obscurity was to some extent self-willed: after Takemiya moved out of the Salon in 1972, Masuyama essentially acted as her manager and creative partner, but in the 1970s Takemiya needing a manager would have reflected badly on both of them. At the time the idea of one person writing the script and another doing the art for the manga was still somewhat stigmatized, so their collaboration on the manga series *Hensôkyoku* (1974-85) would have damaged both their reputations, and Masuyama voluntarily eschewed being credited for the manga in print until the twenty-first century. Takemiya's recent memoir, however, addresses these realities frankly, and makes clear that Masuyama contributed both material and emotional support to the women of the shojo revolution, as well as much of the movement's intellectual fire: in Takemiya's telling, Masuyama was way more passionate about the need to change shojo manga than either she or Hagio were when they first met.[418]

Tokyo's children have been renowned as fast-talking sophisticates since back when Tokyo was Edo, and Masuyama was apparently no exception to this rule: a movie fanatic and an accomplished classical pianist whose original, parentally thwarted

ambition in life was to be a mangaka herself, her self-immersion in manga combined with her impressive knowledge of literature and film to lead her to take what was then an uncommon approach to shojo manga, namely treating it seriously as an artform worthy of criticism (and thus, implicitly, as one capable of improvement) in its own right. Manga in general had been the subject of this sort of criticism—taking it seriously for itself, and not just railing against it as debased schlock in art journals and other publications—for roughly the past two decades by the time Masuyama, Hagio, and Takemiya met in 1970, but shojo manga, that crap that girls liked, had come in for relatively little serious critical attention.

Significantly, Masuyama subjected shojo manga in general and Hagio and Takemiya's works in particular to that sort of serious critical attention. She also proposed the initial idea for what later became known as the Ôizumi Salon on the explicit model of the Tokiwa-sô, with the clear idea that its existence would be a good idea for shojo manga as a whole, not just for the three of them. The house that Masuyama had in mind was a small two-story building just across the street from her own residence in Nerima-ku; it was a dump, but it was extremely cheap, and Hagio and Takemiya moved in together in late 1970, Hagio coming directly from Fukuoka and Takemiya moving across town from her previous single housing. The house had been vacant for some time, and the bathroom was so small that they both went to Masuyama's house to take baths.[419]

Facilitated by living and working side-by-side, Takemiya and Hagio spent their time in the Salon critiquing and advising on each other's work, as did Masuyama, who in Takemiya's recollection was both women's harshest critic. Masuyama also took it upon herself to handle their fan letters for them, and it was also she who instigated the practice of inviting letter-writers who seemed like promising talents to come stay at the Salon. The first were Sakata Yasuko (DATES) and Kai Yukiko (DATES), who were already doing dôjinshi and who visited from Tottori on their summer vacation in 1971. Future professionals Sasaya Nanae, Itô Aiko, Jô Akiko, and Tara Sawamichi and Satô Shio were also among the guests, and the Salon became a place where they could hang out and talk about manga and the industry amongst themselves before and after many of them broke into it. Takemiya and Hagio paid for the expenses, and the other Salon members who weren't on the lease paid them back by working as their assistants for free: "I'll pay you back with my body" became their standard way of promising to help with each other's manga.[420]

The influence of the Salon's members on each other was profound, and ranged from content to economics: it was Satô Shio, for example, who was responsible for the general turn amongst members towards science fiction, and she and Masuyama, who until Satô joined the group had been the only SF fan, remained friends until Satô's death in 2010. The group also operated under the loose principle of, in Masuyama's words, "strength in numbers:" even at the time, Takemiya and the others thought that it was better to have "many comrades." In her judgement, it was because all of them were pushing against the restrictions simultaneously and at multiple publications that the shojo revolution was able to succeed.[421]

Although Takemiya does not use this language, her memoir makes clear that the Ôizumi Salon was an important site of emotional support for the women who participated in it, as women-only groups often do in male-dominated settings like shojo manga publishing was at the time (and in many ways still is). Masuyama observed at one point that the Salon resembled nothing so much as a sad story of factory girls from Japan's modernization because of the conditions they were laboring under: they were paid less per page than male creators; they were laboring under discriminatory regulations for manga expression, such as the fact that the only expectation for shojo characters was that they possess a "naive simplicity;" they were all subject to exclusivity contracts, which were standard in shojo at the time despite the fact that all mangaka were ostensibly freelancers; and simple employment discrimination: because there were almost no female employees at the publishers, their editors were very detached from the thoughts and feelings of their readership and the female manga creators.[422]

The Salon provided a concrete way to push back against many of these restrictions: for example, the realization that they were all getting paid just ¥2500 per page while first-rank male creators like Chiba Tetsuya received ¥50,000 *per page* on *Ashita no Joe* (Tomorrow's Joe, 1968-73) in an era when salarymen cleared ¥320,000 a month—and Chiba was only doing the art, not the art and the story. Discussion amongst themselves, and discussion amongst members of the Salon and other people in the industry at industry parties, enabled Salon members to learn things like pay rates, and also to share tips for how to ask for pay increases—which Yamamoto was willing to grant in Takemiya's case, for example, once she did ask.[423]

Springing the love trap: *The Rose of Versailles* and shonen'ai

Beginning in the late 1950s as corporations increasingly won their political and ideological struggles against their own employees' unions, adult women were, in Andrew Gordon's summary, "socialized into this role by bureaucrats and educators, both male and female, with significant help from the major companies themselves."[424] Socializing future women—which is to say, girls—into these roles required less direct and more pervasive efforts than bureaucratic and educational intervention: in other words, manga, which adapted to the emerging social order of "intensified competition in the schools, the re-creation of the family system, and the spread of consumerism" by adopting these ideologies of gender roles as marketing categories designed to encourage the consumption of manga as a consumer good. By the late 1960s, manga was becoming increasingly normalized in society so that for both male and female readers, manga, in Anne Allison's phrase, made "escape from the habits of labor seem possible through everyday practices of consumptive pleasure."[425] It still does.

Another way to think about the shojo revolution is that it was the process of shojo manga transitioning from stories written by men to socialize girls into their future jobs as wives and mothers to stories written by women to provide more directly escapist and less overtly didactic narratives of gender relations: they were determined to escape the love trap by creating female protagonists with more agency. The love trap, as the autobiographical quality of Fujimoto's work indicates, perfectly reflected the

paradigm of gender relations in the emerging postmodern Japan of 1970 and later: for both men and women, heterosexuality was the only socially sanctioned form of sexuality, and marriage, which was and still is very tightly linked with childbearing, was the explicit goal of heterosexual relationships. Corporate and government policies were designed to support these linkages, ranging from the tax rules that penalized households with two full-time incomes by taxing them at a much higher rate to the government refusal to license hormonal contraception for prescription in Japan, leaving people to rely on other methods of birth control with higher rates of failure. Not coincidentally, when those methods did fail, abortion or marriage were the only socially sanctioned courses of action. The end result of all these factors was that for women in Japan marriage was both celebrated as the goal of their adult lives but also widely understood as the end of their independence and agency in their own existences, as they were supposed to subsume their identities into the socially sanctioned roles of "wife" and "mother" upon their marriage: corporate policies requiring women to quit their jobs upon marriage, or at the very latest upon pregnancy, were merely another buttress to this repressive paradigm.

The revolution in shojo manga in the 1970s assaulted this emerging paradigm on multiple fronts, trying to use the space for fantasy which manga now constituted to imagine alternatives. On one level, this revolution succeeded; by 1979 all of manga was different than it had been a decade prior thanks to the work created by the women who made this revolution. On another, it failed dramatically, as even this extremely innovative group of creators could not work out a way to fully spring the love trap. Indeed, by making this challenge in the arena of manga, their efforts to do so in some ways wound up reinforcing the very paradigm they indicted.

It was Ikeda who hit the big time first with her runaway bestseller *The Rose of Versailles* in 1972. *The Rose of Versailles*, often shortened to "Beru Bara" from the Japanese title, was an epochal manga. It ran in the magazine *Margaret* from 1972-74 and was hugely popular with female middle and high school students, who avidly read the new issue amongst themselves each week, recalling the old *Norakuro* fever in schools in the 1930s. But the "Beru Bara Boom" really took off after the manga's serialization ended, with the musical adaptation of the manga by the Takarazuka Revue: it was the musical that introduced the story to the whole country, and once the musical became a hit, the Japanese mediascape was changed forever.[426]

The connection between (shojo) manga and the Takarazuka Revue can seem so overdetermined as to be fated. The Revue was founded in 1913 by railway entrepreneur Kobayashi Ichizô (1873-1957) in order to attract guests to the eponymous onsen town of Takarazuka outside Osaka, which Kobayashi's railway company (now the Hankyû Railway) was redeveloping. The Revue was from the beginning an all-female venture, and the company proceeded to perform a mixture of Japanese and Western productions over the course of its existence, training its own performers via an affiliated application-only drama school.[427] Takarazuka was also the hometown of Tezuka Osamu, and his mother worked as a costumer for the company in his childhood; Tezuka was thus exposed from a young age to the "gender gymnastics" of a theatrical spectacle in which female performers played both male and female roles, and its influence is particularly

evident in his classic manga *Ribon no kishi*, which involves a female protagonist who can readily change genders (as indicated in the English translation *Princess Knight*).

Tezuka's manga is unquestionably the locus classicus for a certain strand of shojo manga and anime centering on cross-dressing and girls with swords, which was cemented as a lineage by Ikeda's *Rose of Versailles* drawing on and evolving many of those same tropes. The plotline is baroque: in the waning days of the ancien régime, a French aristocrat decides to raise his daughter Oscar de Jarjeyes as a boy so that she may inherit his position in the French military. Oscar grows up to be the captain of the personal guard of the young Dauphine, Marie Antoinette, and her attempts to find love and personal satisfaction are complicated by the fact that she dresses as a man and plays a man's role in society despite being openly female. Against the backdrop of the burgeoning French Revolution, she flirts with but rejects a relationship with Marie Antoinette's lover Count Ferzen, who attempts to force her back into female clothing and roles, and eventually finds love with her childhood friend, the household servant Andre. At the same time Oscar's political awakening leads her to resign from her royal position and join the revolutionary forces. She and Andre consummate their love on the eve of the fall of the Bastille, in which Andre is killed; Oscar herself dies shortly thereafter and the manga ends with the execution of Marie Antoinette and then Ferzen's death at the hands of a mob some years later.

Fujimoto Yukari identified two reasons why first teenagers and then, after the debut of the Takarazuka adaptation, adult women fell so hard for Oscar and her story: first, that she was beautiful, and while she dressed like a man it wasn't just that she was cool: instead, over the course of the manga she also suffered personally and matured both personally and politically. By 1974 the impact of the 1960s student movement and the beginning of the women's movement were being felt, and Ikeda herself as a postwar writer was "groping for the possibility of a new image of women, of a new society."[428]

As Deborah Shamoon has pointed out, however, the image of women and of romance presented in *Rose of Versailles* also drew on an older lineage of girls' media stretching back to the magazines of the Taisho and early Showa periods, which promulgated an ideal of "dôseiai" (literally, same-sex love; the word is now used to refer to homosexuality) relationships between schoolgirls. The Oscar/Andre relationship is a successful romance in that Oscar does not have to compromise her complicated identity to be with Andre, as she did with Ferzen. But the relationship is still predicated on the inequality that structured the love trap: whereas in actual Japan that inequality was gendered, the inequality between Oscar and Andre is class-based; she is an aristocrat and he is a commoner. (Significantly, Andre also loses the sight in one eye before he and Oscar declare their love for one another, further emphasizing the way in which the man in the partnership must be diminished for it to be believable and "equal.")[429]

Furthermore, their gender equality is predicated no less on abandoning the shojo in that Oscar's taking on a man's role in society was literally not possible for the manga's readers and the romance boils down to an androgynous partnership between two characters who resemble one another in dress, hairstyle, and body type. The fact that the manga ends romantically, with death and heartbreak, is unquestionably part of

its popularity, but the stark ending is also a bleak commentary on the impossibility of challenging Japan's gender binary. Ikeda could not escape the hegemonic framework that employed her and successfully marketed her work, even in historical fantasy.

Fig 26: Cover of *Berusaiyu no bara* vol. 11 depicting Oscar de Jarjeyes

The other reason that *BeruBara* struck such a chord amongst Japanese women and girls, according to Fujimoto, was not just the the manga featuring dresses, palaces, doom and high romance, but also that the manga was contrary to everything that was said at the time about being a woman or about overcoming women. Ikeda herself later agreed, stating her own belief that the reason Oscar was so popular among adult women at that particular moment was because she embodied their heart's desire: to work and to live being treated as an equal human being—surely a fantasy in 1970s Japan, and today too.[430] In this sense, *The Rose of Versailles* was certainly revolutionary, and it unquestionably helped to touch off an ongoing revolution in Japanese pop culture whose impact continues to reverberate to this day. To understand that impact, it is necessary now to turn to the other half of the 1970s shojo revolution: shonen'ai.

The invention of boys' love

If *The Rose of Versailles* showed the impossibility of a heterosexual relationship in which the female partner was not necessarily diminished by the relationship, the manga of the Ôizumi Salon members and their invention of shonen'ai represented the next phase of attempts to spring the love trap and depict equal romances in shojo manga. If *BeruBara* was shojo-skeptical in that the endgame romance depicted its male and female partners androgynously, emphasizing their sameness—and in that the same-sex senpai/kohai relationship between Oscar and the young court lady Rosalie Lamorlière was steadily de-emphasized over the course of the manga in response to reader reactions—as the name indicates, the shonen'ai subgenre of shojo rejected the shojo entirely by depicting same-gender romances between boys.

The origins of shonen'ai have historically been both very clear and somewhat obscured. It was said for many years that both Takemiya and Hagio were inspired to shonen'ai by Masuyama, who allegedly showed them both a French film with homosexual themes that was playing in Shinjuku in 1969 or 1970. In her recent memoir, however, Takemiya offered a different account, saying that both she and Masuyama had independently been drawn to groups of boys, and the potential for emotional entanglements among them, since middle school; it was the fact that they were both into that kind of thing that helped cement their friendship almost as soon as they met. Nor was their interest entirely *sui generis*: Takemiya, who specifically denied that age difference between the partners was a facet of her interest in shonen'ai relationships, had long been inspired by the Vienna Boys' Choir. Both she and Masuyama were inspired by novelist Inagaki Taruho (1900-77)'s volume of criticism, *Shônen'ai no bigaku* (1968, The beautiful study of boys' love), which provided a more analytical take on 'aesthetic eroticism' and the potentialities of erotic and romantic relationships among beautiful adolescent boys; soon after they met, they were delighted to find that they had both already read it.[431]

The Ôizumi Salon was solidly responsible for the development of shonen'ai in manga, beginning in 1970 when Takemiya published the short "In the Sunroom," which featured the first same-sex kiss in manga. Takemiya had come to Tokyo at her publishers' behest in the spring of 1970; after making her professional debut in *COM* in 1967 and taking a year off to attend college in 1968, she had been publishing stories for different magazines with multiple companies from her hometown of Tokushima on Shikoku, which was even more isolated then than it is now: her parental home lacked its own telephone, and she always had to go to the neighbor's to take calls from her publishers in the capital. Within the first week of her arrival, she had chosen to work principally with the up-and-coming publisher Shogakkan for several reasons: because Kodansha's monthly publications were full of established creators she couldn't compete against, because her new editor at Shogakkan, Yamamoto Jun'ya, encouraged her, and primarily because it was in her estimation the age of weeklies, and therefore she wanted to create for weeklies.[432] Kodansha, by contrast, had been slow to adopt the new weekly paradigm and remained reliant on monthlies.

The one comment everyone who read the shojo manga of this era makes is that it was stagnant and stereotypical, and the editorial departments of the magazines in question were squarely to blame: they had rigid ideas about what girls would and wouldn't like, and routinely shot down ideas that didn't fit those constraints without giving them the chance to prove their popularity via publication. Takemiya, who struggled for six years to find a publisher for her masterwork *Kaze to ki no uta*, commented that it felt like her work was a ball she was trying to throw to readers, who she was certain would, in throwing it back, prove that they liked what she was doing and do their part in creating the work collaboratively, but that the editorial department did nothing but put up a wall between creators and audiences.

The metaphor highlights the somewhat ambivalent role played by the editor of *Shôjo Comic* magazine during the period in question, Yamamoto Jun'ya. Although some have hailed him as a visionary, largely because he agreed to publish all of Hagio Moto's manga that the editors of Kodansha's established (and conservative) shojo magazines had rejected after an introduction arranged by Takemiya, Yamamoto made up for the fact that he exercised relatively little editorial control over the prolific and preternaturally reliable Hagio with his general opposition to Takemiya's radical ideas in particular and the idea of the Ôizumi Salon on the whole. Takemiya's one and only coup over him before she secured the publication of *Kaze to ki no uta* through the offices of a different editor was the publication of "In the Sunroom," which she effected by a fait accompli: by the time she turned in the manuscript pages, there was literally no time left for Yamamoto to demand rewrites if he wanted to keep the publication of the issue in question on schedule. He was, in fact, opposed to the story's concept and had already rejected it once because the protagonist was a boy and, rather than being about a boy and a girl, it was about two boys.

Although Takemiya was vindicated in her predictions that the readers would love it, Yamamoto did not then change his general attitude towards her and her work.[433] The real impact of "In the Sunroom" may have been its impact on other creators, some of whom joined the ranks of the Ôizumi Salon because of it, starting with Yamagishi Ryoko (b. 1947) and Morita Jun (b. 1948). Yamagishi in fact confessed that she'd been interested in shonen'ai for a while and was shocked to find she wasn't the only shojo mangaka who felt that way. At the time, however, Yamagishi was publishing with Shueisha, whose content policies made publishing that kind of work with them impossible.[434]

Salon members encouraged and spurred each other on in the depiction of shonen'ai no less than in other arenas, with an extremely rough split emerging between those who were self-professedly more interested in the spiritual aspects of such same-gender relationships and those who were more interested in the physical aspects, with the dividing line generally being whether a mangaka was comfortable drawing more than kissing. (There was also a subsidiary debate about whether kissing could be a sign of "just" friendship.) Masuyama was well-known for being on the physical end of the division, with Hagio being more interested in the spiritual aspects, and Takemiya herself standing for both: she wrote decades later that the warmth of physical bodies

and the strength conveyed by clasped hands were what constituted real humanity, an oblique affirmation of her notion that the two sides of love were not really separable.[435]

Yamamoto explicitly told Takemiya that he would accept any manga from Hagio, with almost no questions asked, due to her popularity with readers and her ability to turn pages in on deadline with clockwork regularity. Thus it is not surprising that it was Hagio who published one of the first major works of shonen'ai. Her popularity with manga readers of all demographics had been cemented by the publication of her early classic *Pô no ichizoku* (The Poe Family, 1972-76) in the monthly *Bessatsu Shôjo Comic*, telling an interrelated series of short stories about the sibling vampires Edgar and Mary Poe. It was this manga that introduced Hagio's signature innovation of vertical oblique lines to a wider audience, and they were so visually distinctive that it was possible to tell immediately when a creator had read Hagio's work, starting with Ichijô Yukari. In Takemiya's words, "manga is open source," so it wasn't that creators couldn't or didn't ruthlessly pilfer others' visual innovations, but everyone *did* immediately adopt Hagio's style of vertical oblique lines, and her art remained the standard for this kind of visual.[436]

Hagio's popularity also meant that she was the first to introduce movie-style expression into shojo, and she and the other Shôwa 24 creators together expanded movie-style expression into a much more personal and psychological affair. Jennifer Prough's summary of these innovations is succinct: "Utilizing overlapping and cascading panels, fade-outs, close-ups, and panels that fall off the page edge [i.e. abolish the gutter], the pictures in shojo manga often flow from one to another. These artists took Tezuka's initial cinematic innovations a step further by adding interspersed layers and views to his use of close-ups and cutaways organized neatly in rows. […] Finally, in order to express inner thoughts and memories along with the main dialogue, different styles of font and text were experimented with, moving beyond word bubbles, to express a wider range of thoughts and feelings."[437]

In the wake of the success of *Rose of Versailles*, which had proved the feasibility of story manga-style serial narratives in shojo, and also of collecting shojo manga into paperback tankôbon format, Yamamoto asked Hagio for a weekly serial. She responded with *Tôma no shinzô* (1974-75, *The Heart of Thomas*), an expansion of a manga short she had published in 1971 called "The November Gymnasium."[438] Significantly, *Thomas* is set not in Japan but in Germany, and though it revolves around a same-sex relationship between two boys at an all-boys school, the eponymous Thomas and the older Juli, who spurns Thomas' affections due to his own traumatic backstory, initial reader responses were dismal. The manga was saved from cancellation only by the fact that the tankôbon of *Pô no ichizoku* were flying off the shelves as word spread and manga fans who wouldn't have been caught dead reading a shojo magazine instead picked up the books.[439] Nor is it a coincidence that this supposedly more equal relationship is not actually equal; Juli is older than Thomas, and his past trauma is both the fulcrum that makes their relationship possible and the rock on which it founders. Tellingly, the manga opens with Thomas already having committed suicide, indicating again the limits of women's fantasy in postmodern Japan.

Fig 27: Cover of *Heart of Thomas.*

The Heart of Thomas blazed a trail, but as scholars of the media mix have noted, it is often the second work that is more important than the first, because it is the second work that establishes the pattern. Thus, it was Hagio's Ôizumi Salon comrades who established shonen'ai as a category in the second half of the 1970s, beginning with Takemiya Keiko.

Revolutionary romance: The BeruBara boom and the media mix

Although *The Rose of Versailles* was an extremely popular shojo manga, with legendarily intense engagement among its first readership of middle and high school girls, the so-called "BeruBara boom" really kicked off in 1974, after the manga's serialization had already concluded. The spur for the countrywide boom was the Takarazuka musical adaptation of the manga, which introduced the story to everyone, and its popularity was so sudden and immediate that Ikeda, who had been on a trip to Europe when the musical premiered, first learned of the boom when she arrived back at Haneda and saw a reporter talking about it on TV in the terminal.[440]

Takarazuka was at that point in time weathering a slump in its popularity, which as Leonie Strickland notes, "is usually attributed to overwhelming competition from television, cinema and the 'underground (angura)' theatres of the time."[441] The Revue at

that point seemed somewhat stodgy and old-fashioned, but the first *Rose of Versailles* musical, with a book by Ueda Shinji, was a runaway success that completely changed the company's image and converted many, many girls and women into lifelong Takarazuka fans. As Fujimoto recounts, at the height of the boom in 1975 the lines for the same-day ticket booth were routinely over one kilometer long, and one day they sold over 30 million yen's worth of tickets: in the pre-digital era, fans often made the pilgrimage to Kansai without having secured tickets.[442] It was the biggest hit in the company's history, and it remains a milestone in media.[443]

Although old-school Takarazuka fans were embarrassed that the company was adapting a manga, the success of its efforts were undeniable, and equally significantly, the girls and young women who made pilgrimages to the theater from as far away as Okinawa and Hokkaido, and who cried when they couldn't get same-day tickets and had to watch on the overflow CCTV setup specifically established for that purpose, became the company's enduring fanbase for the next forty years.[444] The Takarazuka fan magazine's print run was increased from 40,000 to 200,000 and every show of the traveling productions of the musicals sold out, making Takarazuka a household name nationwide.[445] By the time the last *Rose of Versailles* musical closed in 1976, all four of Takarazuka's troupes had played the productions to a total of 1.6 million attendees.

The *BeruBara* musical was the first time a manga had ever been adapted into this medium, and its runaway success not only revived Takarazuka's fortunes, but also profoundly impacted the way that manga was adapted across the media mix thereafter. On the more obvious level, there is a direct line between the Takarazuka *BeruBara* musical and every anime musical ever staged; without the success of Takarazuka's *Rose of Versailles* efforts, this aspect of the media mix would simply not exist. Less obviously, it is important to note that the *Rose of Versailles* musical also inaugurated and served as proof of concept for another aspect of the media mix: that of the importance of *synergy* to the developing anime media mix, which as we have already seen, reached its first form with the advent of *Tetsuwan Atomu* in the early 1960s. Although Marc Steinberg rightly focuses on the importance of Kadokawa Books to the development of the anime media mix in its mature form in the 1980s, and situates the origins of Kadokawa's winning marketing strategies with Kadokawa Haruki's creation of a film production unit within Kadokawa Books in 1976, the fact that Kadokawa bet big on a media mix strategy characterized by what Steinberg describes as "the continuous, serial consumption across media texts that characterizes the anime media mix" had an important precursor in the success of *BeruBara*.[446]

Specifically, the Takarazuka Revue created multiple versions of the musical, which in Strickland's summary "told the same basic story but focused upon different aspects of the relationships among the main characters, [and] proved to be a flexible vehicle in subsequent years to highlight the talents of various performers…"[447] Equally to the point, this character-driven media strategy inaugurated a key shift in how audiences consumed and interacted with the media itself. Takarazkua staff noticed immediately that, in the words of the head of the company's publishing division at the time, "What was different about the performances [of the *BeruBara* musical] was that

the fans were screaming the names of the characters, not the names or nicknames of the actors, probably because so many of them were fans of the manga."[448]

The *BeruBara* fans who made the pilgrimage to Takarazuka, in other words, weren't doing it because they were fans of the Takarazuka Revue, because they weren't; they were doing it because the musical was a new way to consume the characters and story they loved. (The fact that musicals are by definition an extremely immanent art form certainly didn't hurt; the *BeruBara* musical allowed fans to consume their beloved characters not just visually and imaginatively, but in-person and face to face.) This development was a significant expansion of the media mix, not just in terms of character consumption, but also in terms of bringing audiences to what may, on the face of it, have seemed to be some extremely unlikely arenas. The extremely rich potential for collaborations between media mixes and other partners in Japan today is a direct result of this legacy, and a significant part of what makes the media mix in Japan both extremely powerful and extremely successful.

Takarazuka pioneered this character-driven strategy of media adaptations with *Rose of Versailles*; its next hit, 1977's *Gone with the Wind*, also used dual versions of the same story (specifically, "Butler" and "Scarlett" adaptations) to attract notably large audiences, totaling nearly 1.34 million people. And though Steinberg writes that Kadokawa's "media mix venture was nonetheless highly significant insofar as it expanded the media logic and continuous consumption found in anime media to film, the novel, and the sound track [and] thereby also expanded the range of media mix consumers from children to adults," as we have already seen, these developments in the late 1970s took place against the backdrop of a media environment in which adults were already being captured by new developments in manga, specifically adult men with seinen. Takarazuka and *Rose of Versailles* together brought the previously underserved demographic of adult women into contact with manga and anime as well, an effect that was amplified by the wildly successful *Rose of Versailles* anime (1979-80), preparing the ground for Kadokawa's extremely successful expansion of the anime media mix logic later in the 1970s and 1980s.

The success of *BeruBara* as manga, musical and anime put shojo manga on the larger cultural map, providing a crucial way by which adult women were brought into the fold of shojo manga readership: the number of shojo magazines jumped from 10 in 1973 to 28 in 1978, with nearly two billion copies in print.[449] Moreover, manga fans of all ages and genders continued to avidly consume the string of hit shojo masterpieces that Shôwa 24 group members produced through the end of the 1970s, often, after the premiere of *Star Wars* (1977), with a strong science fiction and/or "space opera" emphasis. As both 49ers creators and their initial young female audiences continued to age, however, and shojo manga became the vicim of its own success (in that since shojo was now reliably profitable editors began to emphasize profit projections as opposed to allowing creators the freedom to do whatever they wanted), the genre lost its cutting-edge appeal and older readers increasingly began wanting manga that spoke to their daily lives and actual quotidian concerns in addition to their science fiction fixes. The stage was set for the development, in the early 1980s, of the last major postmodern manga genre/category: that of josei or women's comics.

Conclusion: Tankôbon: The meaning of a format

Although it is undoubtedly accurate to say that the transition to weekly magazines as the main driver of the industry was a shift from magazines as product to magazines as advertisement, there is a great deal of evidence that this shift in fact took a decade or more to be completed. In particular, the current norm that manga published in a magazine is almost invariably republished in single series tankôbon editions, unless a manga is cancelled before it accumulates enough chapter for a single volume, seems to have taken quite a while to become the default. Instead, editors appear to have initially assumed that series that weren't popular in magazines would not be popular in tankôbon, with the result that they focused maniacally on the reader surveys about content in the magazines and frequently hesitated to republish even middlingly popular series in tankôbon format.

The prejudice towards magazines as the primary publication venue, even in the new age of the weeklies, had material impacts on the various genres of manga and on its social position. For one thing, the tendency to regard magazine sales as the be-all and end-all of popularity (and hence, prestige on the corporate side) created an implicit attitude that shonen manga was where the best editors worked, with shojo being distinctly less prestigious. This tendency was a double-edged sword; it was as liable to make shojo editors open to new ideas as it was to make them slavishly devoted to sales figures. The contrast between Yamamoto Jun'ya and her later editor Môri Kazuo's treatment of Takemiya and her work is instructive: though both were relatively early in their careers when they began working with her, Môri, who opened their acquaintance by stating that he was still learning about shojo, was the one who eventually secured a greenlight for the serialization of *Kaze to ki no uta* after Takemiya's previous manga, *Pharaoh no haka* (1974-76) had climbed as high as #2 in the reader rankings for *Shôjo Comic*.[450] Shojo's comparatively lower sales figures may also have contributed to the fact that it was a *shojo* revolution: the Tezuka-influenced paradigm of story manga hung on longer in shonen magazines, where it was still sufficient to drive sales and the editors were opposed to changing it. Influenced by that same paradigm, the creators of the Showa 24 group were, in Takemiya's words, convinced that they wouldn't lose to their editors in terms of bringing longform manga and the other changes they wanted to their own work—and it was never entirely clear that the editors actually understood their manga, anyway.[451]

The burgeoning shojo revolution and the increasing sales of tankôbon paperbacks in the early 1970s were linked, and together they constituted proof that manga was entering the post-Tezuka era: as Mizuno Hideko once commented to Murakami Motoka, the 1970s was the first time that tankôbon of shojo manga were more popular than shonen magazines.[452] Tankôbon were not new at this point in time, but they were different than before: whereas previous tankôbon of individual series had followed the predominant publication paradigm of being hardcover, in the early 1970s a number of publishers switched to paperback for the majority of their books in general, not limited to manga. Consequently, the years 1970-73 witnessed a book-buying boom that was stymied only by the economic impact of the first OPEC oil embargo. Putting manga in paperback, moreover, allowed it to go places, physically and socially, that it had never been able to reach before. (Switching to paperback as the default also enabled publishers to sell additional fancy editions of the most popular series in various formats, although this development occurred somewhat later.)

The first point to bear in mind about Japanese manga magazines of the post-1963 era is that they are massive, unwieldy, and cheap. With spines routinely measuring two to two and a half inches (and, for monthlies, routinely three inches or more), these phonebook-sized volumes are physically awkward to read and, because they are essentially intended to last a week at most, printed on the lowest-quality newsprint possible. Though this has become something of an unusual sight in the present era of shrinking magazine sales, they are in fact so disposable that people once routinely left their copies of the magazines on the subway platforms in Tokyo and Osaka rather than carry them home; in the old days, the piles of magazines on the publication date of *Weekly Shônen Jump*, for example, were known to reach several feet high at the busiest stations. The other point to bear in mind is that it is impossible to prevent people from knowing that you are reading a manga magazine when you are reading a manga magazine in public in Japan: they are visually distinctive and impossible to camouflage, a somewhat unfortunate fact in a society in which bookstore clerks routinely offer to wrap your purchases in anonymous brown paper covers so that no one else can ascertain just what you are reading as you sit or stand on the train.

Although the social stigma against manga per se has now faded, particularly compared to the mid-1960s, it was still quite strong in this time period, and moreover has not vanished completely—depending on which magazine an adult is seen to be reading, it may still be regarded as kiddish at best and the sign of a potential social deviant at worst, for reasons that don't need exploring at this juncture. Tankôbon paperbacks, by contrast, made it possible for people who wouldn't be caught dead reading the magazines—whether it was male manga fans who couldn't stomach buying the saccharine pink shojo magazines where Hagio and Takemiya were published, or adult women who had put their manga days behind them, or had never really read manga in the first place—to read manga in a format that was affordable, disguiseable, long-lasting, and portable. The advantage of the tankôbon paperback, moreover, did not merely boost shojo sales; it also allowed shonen series to escape the confines of failing magazines which not even people in the target demographic wanted to read, as in the case of Leiji Matsumoto's classic manga *Galaxy Express 999*, which ran in the

doomed *Shônen King* from 1977-81: the magazine sold dismally while the tankôbon flew off the shelves, particularly after the broadcast of the anime in 1978-81.[453]

The shojo revolution has previously been described mainly as a revolution in content, in that it brought new subjects and new stories to shojo manga (and thence to manga in Japan in general, and two decades later, to the United States and the world); or in manga expression, in that the members of the Showa 24 and post-Showa 24 groups pushed the bounds of comics expression further than they had ever gone in terms of psychology and paneling by obviating any difference between the two; or in creator demographics, in that the people who made the revolution as manga creators were exclusively young and female. But it was a revolution in audiences and in formats too, and in many ways it was those two latter aspects that turned the tide. If we take Takemiya's metaphor of her manga constituting a ball thrown over the editorial fence to the audiences on the other side, who helped to create the manga by throwing it back to her, we must think of publication formats as the baseball glove by which audiences caught that ball initially. As anyone who has played pickup softball can attest, gloves really do make the difference in your ability to catch a ball in play.

The point here is that if the postwar period was a story about platforms, the post-postwar period from the creation of anime to the creation of Comiket is a story about formats. As Jonathan Sterne has written in his excellent book on the history of the MP3, "*Format* denotes a whole range of decisions that affect the look, feel, experience, and workings of a medium. It also names a set of rules according to which a technology can operate. […] The format is what specifies the protocols by which a medium will operate."[454] Although the remark about "a set of rules" is specifically a reference to the software code which describes how file formats run, thinking more generally about the rules or protocols (alternatively, the algorithms) by which a format operates, whether digital or analog, can produce some useful results.

"If there were a single imperative of format theory," Sterne continues, invoking a field which by and large does not yet exist, "it would be to focus on the stuff beneath, beyond, and behind the boxes our media come in, whether we are talking about portable MP3 players, film projectors, television sets, parcels, mobile phones, or computers. […] [Format theory] invites us to ask after the changing formations of media, the contexts of their reception, the conjunctures that shaped their sensual characteristics, and the institutional politics in which they were enmeshed."[455] In the case of manga, what lies beneath, beyond, and behind the twin formats of this era, the weekly magazine and the tankôbon paperback, is on the one hand television, whose weekly broadcasting schedule produced a powerful imperative for manga to evolve, and on the other, again, audiences who were willing to read across the narrow demographic categories created by manga publishers if the manga itself was good, and ordinary adult women whose interests (and burgeoning spending power) were not yet fully captured by any of the existing manga categories. Over the course of the next fifteen years, manga continued to evolve to meet both of those challenges—but it was not solely, or even principally, manga professionals and publishers who led the medium into this new era.

Part Five:
Manga Turns Postmodern, 1975 - 1989

Overview: Applauding the DJ

There's a scene towards the end of the indispensable movie *24 Hour Party People* (2002, dir. Michael Winterbottom) in which Steve Coogan, playing Factory Records impresario and local Manchester TV personality Tony Wilson (1950-2007), turns to the camera on the floor of the Haçienda, Factory Records' legendary doomed nightclub. Wilson tells the audience that ca. 1987 we are now witnessing the birth of rave culture: "And tonight, something equally epoch-making is taking place," he says, as the clubgoers around him break into applause. "See? They're applauding the DJ. Not the music, not the musician, not the creator, but the medium. This is it."

"Applauding the DJ" is an effective shorthand for the rise of an entirely new kind of cultural paradigm in which arrangement, remixing, and juxtaposition of pre-existing (and sometimes also new) elements came to be seen as worthy, creative work in its own right. This cultural paradigm is, in a word, that of postmodernism, and its rise worldwide from the 1970s onward proved epochal in popular culture, enabling the rise of entirely new art forms such as hip hop and transforming others irrevocably. If the era of the DJ marks the advent of postmodernity in music, in manga and anime this transition was marked by fan creators' rise to prominence *as fan-producers* in an industry that had previously marked a clear distinction between fans and professionals. These changes were in turn both symbolized and catalyzed by the creation of Comiket in 1975.

Now the world's largest fan event, with more than 600,000 people attending over three days, the biannual Comic Market began in contentious and rather anarchic circumstances, emerging out of the convergence of manga and anime fan networks with the burgeoning science fiction fandom scene in Japan. That scene in turn was highly

influenced by the U.S.-centric science fiction fandom scene around the annual Worldcon science fiction convention, which then and now awards the Hugos, science fiction's Oscars. As is only fitting for fan events, Comiket began in controversy, and its animating principle—that there would be no difference between fans and creators at the event—was a gauntlet defiantly thrown in the face of existing norms in Japanese fan culture.

Though it is often forgotten these days, in 1973 the OAPEC oil embargo severely impacted the global economy, depressing markets in the countries subjected to the embargo (Canada, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and leading to a great deal of inconvenience, if not misery, in the daily lives of people in those countries. The ensuing global economic recession affected people worldwide. In Japan the economic and social effects of the oil embargo had a large and long-term systemic effect on the overall direction of the Japanese economy, spurring a shift away from oil-intensive industries to high-technology products such as electronics and fueling demand for fuel-efficient Japanese cars abroad; within a decade, these effects led directly to the high-flying Bubble economy.

In the short term in the manga and anime industries the first oil shock spurred a period of retrenchment: sales of many magazines shrank, and their page counts followed. With sales down, magazines reverted to a fairly trite content mix, and action and sports manga became the mainstream in shonen manga magazines in particular. As the *Comiket 30's* anniversary publication put it, "Experimental manga and innovative expression disappeared from the face of magazines."[456] In these times, the creators of the shojo revolution were widely seen as being a single bright light in the darkness of the current manga scene, but their works were not enough to single-handedly turn an entire commercial tide. Thirsty for innovative content aside from the works of Hagio and Takemiya, the most hard-core manga fans increasingly turned to the burgeoning manga fandom scene for their fix of new and experimental material.

In this context, it seems fitting that the immediate inciting event for the creation of Comiket was the refusal of an established manga event to allow some female fan creators to participate. Fed up and indignant, the members of the manga salon Meikyû reacted by creating their own event that was open to all and defiantly non-hierarchical. Just 32 circles and approximately 600 attendees participated in the first Comiket event in December 1975, but it was successful enough that the Comiket organizing committee continued to hold the event three times a year until 1982, when it became a biannual affair regularly drawing crowds of more than 10,000 people. As Comiket continued to grow, the style of fan event it promoted became increasingly normalized in Japanese fan culture, and participation in such events both as consumer and producer became an increasingly common feature of being a manga and anime fan.

One invidious characteristic that much discourse on fan cultures in Japanese and in English share is the assumption that fan culture exists as such only in its own respective country or language sphere. This is not the case: the Japanese fan culture of dôjin works has thriving counterparts worldwide, with many variations based on local differences. It is true that dôjin culture occupies what may be a uniquely prominent position in the Japanese content sphere compared with other fan cultures, and that its

appeal *may* be uniquely wide, depending on how those terms are defined. Certainly Comiket, with its more than half a million attendees, dwarfs the 2015 protests against constitutional revision, which drew an estimated 120K people in the largest mass protests since the 1970s. But fan cultures globally spring ultimately out of similar currents in postmodernity, and the subculture of boys love fanworks and their fans—now widely characterized as 'fujoshi,' literally 'rotten women'—has its equivalent in what has been known in English as "slash" fanworks (particularly fanfiction) and their creators, often derisively characterized as "fangirls."

Many partisans of fanworks will point out with some justification that from a certain point of view it is possible to see transformative works as the lifeblood of culture worldwide for the past several millennia, with one of the earliest recorded examples being the impulse to fill in portions of the so-called "epic cycle" that Homer left untold in the ancient Mediterranean world. (Experts might also point to the evidence that the *Odyssey* is itself the Greek half of a bilingual Greek/Hittite epic tradition.) But while it is certainly the case that the impulse to tell and retell stories featuring known characters appears to have cropped up repeatedly in the history of human cultures, it would be quaint to ignore what has made both the modern fixation on "originality" and the postmodern challenges of remix creativity possible, which is to say, the relatively recent legal framework of intellectual property and copyright law. Although fanworks are in theory protected by the legal doctrine of fair use in the United States, no such equivalent exists in Japan, with the result that dôjin works occupy what is known as a legal "grey area:" rightsholders generally look the other way when it comes to fanworks of established properties as long as fan creators do not overstep certain implicit norms of behavior, which have evolved over time. Their permissiveness without legal basis stands in glaring contrast to many U.S. rightsholders' litigious attitudes towards fanworks, despite the nominal protection of fair use.

In the 1970s the manga fan scene was too small to be a threat. Compounding the doldrums of mainstream manga was the doldrums of anime on TV: as the 1970s wore on, toy companies increasingly became the primary sponsors of anime studios' shows, with the result that the toy companies began to regard the anime they funded as, essentially, elaborate half-hour toy commercials. Although the decade did produce some classic anime—*The Rose of Versailles* (1979-80), Matsumoto Leiji's early masterwork *Galaxy Express 999* (1978-81), *Space Battleship Yamato* (1974-75)—such shows were the exception to the rule that anime was increasingly boring and dull; they also, crucially, became popular at the end of the decade. In the meantime, animators and directors chafed under toy companies' requirements but were not yet capable of bucking them effectively.

Although Comiket's first few years were dominated by fanworks devoted to shojo manga, the impact of *Star Wars* and the first *Yamato* movie in 1977, swiftly followed by the first *Gundam* anime in 1979-80, proved decisive. Science fiction fans—who tended to be male, unlike the fans of the shojo revolution, who were predominantly female—quickly became increasingly prominent on the fandom scene. The young men (and they were by and large young men; the anime industry remains exceedingly male-dominated even today, although that norm is slowly changing) who

were obsessed with *Yamato*, *Gundam*, and *Star Wars* were the generation who had been very young children when *Astro Boy* had first been broadcast in 1963: having grown up on TV anime, they now wanted to make it themselves. Just as the manga that the first manga generation created altered the medium permanently, the anime that these lifelong anime fans created also proved epochal.

The animation studios that these people founded were frequently ramshackle affairs at best, but their shaky grasp of corporate structure was, at least initially, no impediment to producing some dazzlingly creative anime. Studio GAINAX, which legendarily and fittingly first made its mark as an ad hoc group of amateurs producing the opening animations for two legendary science fiction conventions in Japan, DaiCon III and DaiCon IV, exemplified this trend even as its principals conceived of and promoted themselves and their fans as a "new type" of human being, known as otaku.

The otaku discourse was relentlessly, although frequently unconsciously, gendered, but female fans of manga and anime were no less active in these years; women too were huge fans of *Star Wars*, a fact that was immediately visible from the precipitous shift of Showa 24 creators towards science fiction in the second half of the 1970s. At the same time, these creators increasingly began to find the category that they had revolutionized constraining: as they and their readers grew older, they increasingly found themselves wanting to tell stories which shojo, for all that they had radically expanded its horizons, simply could not encompass.

Shojo revolution creators made three moves in response to this condition: first, many of them moved to seinen manga, which despite the name was no longer very gender-segregated (thanks in large part to the shojo revolution having proved that male readers would read manga by women). Takemiya Keiko's science fiction masterpiece *Terra E…* (1977-80, Toward the Terra), published by Shogakkan's *Gekkan Monthly Shônen* magazine, is an exceptional example of this phenomenon, as is her later collaborative manga *Andromeda Stories*.

The fault lines amongst the creators of the shojo revolution are often traced in terms of whether they were more interested in the physical or spiritual aspects of shonen'ai, but the more important distinction is probably whether creators were more interested in telling stories of heterosexual love between men and women or homosexual love between men or boys. The former group of creators, epitomized by Ikeda Riyoko's post-*Rose of Versailles* move into historical romance manga starring great female rulers of the past, created what is now known as josei or women's manga; the latter group of creators, epitomized again by the most prominent members of the former Ôizumi Salon, created what is now generally called BL or boys' love manga. These two categories are the last and newest of the major manga categories, and they both represented different ways in which manga publishing was increasingly oriented towards total market capture. That said, once they were established, former shojo revolution creators moved freely between them.

At the same time, however, changes in global capitalism and the media environment in Japan meant that efforts at total market capture were not just broad (i.e. extensive, bringing as many people as possible into manga readership) but also deep (i.e. intensive, capturing as much of the money and attention of each member of the

audience as possible). In a word, the maturation of the anime media mix in the 1970s and 1980s from its early form epitomized by *Tetsuwan Atomu* into the mature form perfected by Kadokawa Publishing in the 1980s, with the media mix spawned by the *Rose of Versailles* in the 1970s an important bridge between the two, meant that manga was now part of a contents industry that was now organized around the media mix principle. Although manga remained central to the anime media mix in general and was a key feature of many of the most successful franchises from 1975 onward, it was also undeniable that the rise of the anime media mix as the primary mode of franchise creation increasingly linked the fortunes of the two media. By 1989, publishers were well aware that manga sales did best when that manga was adapted into an anime.

At the same time, the revolt of animators against the constraints of toy companies and other sponsors in the mid-1980s revolutionized the anime market and the anime production system, changing the way that manga publishers interacted with anime studios and the media mix. No longer content to merely make animated toy commercials—as symbolized by the dramatic fate of Magical Princess Minky Momo, who was killed off mid-series and reincarnated as an infant when the animators of Ashi Productions became too fed up with the toy company sponsoring the show—the best and brightest animators in the industry quit the major studios in a wave in the mid-1980s and instead founded their own companies focused on the OVA (original video animation) market. While direct-to-video products can safely be assumed to be crap in the United States and Europe, in Japan the rise of the OVA enabled animators to sell directly to fans, who (since the animators were fans themselves) they knew would happily buy whatever corporate sponsors thought was too weird or daring to bankroll.

As well as advancing the medium precipitously, the rise of OVAs functionally emancipated anime studios from the chokehold of corporate sponsorship. Within a few years, a new paradigm for anime production known as the production committee system had replaced the old dictatorial model, with anime studios, sponsor companies, broadcasters, and frequently manga publishers sitting down at the same table on an equal footing to hash out the specifics of a given anime in advance, from story content to media mix deals to broadcast rights and music licensing. The production committee system now dominates all Japanese media production, even those media such as live-action television which have traditionally been the least likely venues for anime media mix-related contents.

All of these developments took place against the dizzying background of the Bubble, the boom years when Japan was flush with cash and success, when the rest of the world worried about "turning Japanese" and it seemed that Japan would shortly displace the United States as the world's number one economy. Indeed, in the very short term Japan's continued success despite the crash of 1987—the worst one-day financial downturn worldwide between 1929 and 2008—seemed merely to confirm the fact that its fortunes would rise in perpetuity: the party showed no signs of stopping, and for the time being at least, everyone in Japan seemed to be reaping the financial benefit as the Nikkei soared and took household wealth along with it. Philosopher and "otaku scholar" Azuma Hiroki once famously observed that "Japan in the 1980s was entirely a fiction. Yet this fiction, *while it lasted*, was comfortable to dwell in."[457] While

Azuma meant to signal a complicated discourse about the postmodern and the 1980s fad of postmodernity in the Japanese public sphere with this observation, it is equally accurate on a purely material level—as long as one was happy paying ¥10,000 for a t-shirt.[458] But it is undeniable that the material luxury of the 1980s enabled certain structural developments in manga that would not have happened otherwise, just as the erosion of that material luxury in the years thereafter has shaped manga's development in the decades since.

Chapter Nine: Something postmodern going on

The work that shall become a new genre itself: COMIKET

When we last checked in on the manga fan scene in Japan, it was thriving despite—or even because of—*COM*'s untimely demise, which had enabled a thousand flowers to bloom nationwide in the form of manga circles and local manga research groups. Both Osaka and Tokyo boasted several regional groups and events, but despite the vibrant local and regional manga fandom scene, by 1975 there was only one comprehensive national manga fandom event: the Nihon Manga Taikai, which had been held annually in Tokyo since 1971. ManTai, as it was known, was based on science fiction conventions, with the result that it was a poor fit for a scene in which (unlike science fiction) amateur production for its own sake had been given unofficial official imprimatur at the highest levels of the medium.[459]

The late and much-missed Yonezawa Yoshihiro, the amateur fan scholar who became one of the leading organizers of Comiket, later wrote that there were three main problems with ManTai from the perspective of its critics: first, the ManTai organizers asserted their right to bar people from participating on the nebulous and arbitrary grounds that they thought said people made the event unfun; second, ManTai restricted "manga" solely to that which was produced by professional creators and as such was too focused on professional media; and finally, the organizers didn't create enough structure in the event itself: though it was the only national event for manga fandom, it didn't do anything but gather them together and charge them for the privilege. As Yonezawa sarcastically remarked 20 years later, ManTai participants didn't schlep all the way to Tokyo just to discuss *Cyborg 009*.[460]

The fourth ManTai was held in the summer of 1975, and its decision to bar certain people from participating provided the spark for the circle that Yonezawa and other key figures were involved in, Meikyû, to begin organizing their own counter-event, which they named, obviously and defiantly, Comic Market or Comiket (sometimes Comike) for short. It was not a coincidence that it was Meikyû that wound up raising the banner of opposition to ManTai, just as it was not a coincidence that it was female members of Meikyû who were barred by ManTai in the first place. Meikyû, which had coalesced as a salon in the year or two before, was, in Yonezawa's phrase, opposed to "commercial magazines' manga stuck in the rut of sports or school love comedies, old-school manga criticism, manga fandom which had fallen into the socially isolated games of BNFs [big name fans], and fans who were under the delusion of *COM*: it was a young generation that was rising, critical of everything. More than just demolishing everything, they were creating a new manga state of affairs within the confused state of affairs. Their intention to separate from manga festas aimed at collectors and the ManTai was part of that."[461]

Although the story was later told in such a way that gave the impression that the break with ManTai was immediate and decisive, Meikyû's arguments with and about ManTai occurred concurrently with the approximately six months' worth of work in setting up the first Comic Market, and the ManTai controversy in fact dragged on into 1976. As Yonezawa wrote in 2005, "it's not inaccurate to say that [the meeting to complain about ManTai] in the summer of '75 was the start of Comiket, but it was only one cause." Despite their simmering opposition to ManTai and the old-school approach it embodied, the Meikyû members piggybacked on ManTai and other popular fannish means of communication to get the word about their plans out, and they started the work on their event in earnest in August 1975.[462]

The members of Meikyû had certain goals for their event, some of which were articulated in direct opposition to ManTai's policies: because ManTai charged a participation fee and barred people from participating, they decided that their event would be free and open to everyone. That way, the participants themselves would be the draw, as opposed to conventional fandom events where the star power of industry guests was (and is) generally the draw for people to attend. In opposition to ManTai defining "manga" as just professionally produced media and in the distinct hope of making an event that was more fun than ManTai, they decided that their event would welcome people and circles selling their manga dôjinshi at individual tables. Most radically, they were also explicitly hoping to bring about a revolution in manga fans' consciousness: they wanted Comiket to be a place that would produce more powerful works, more fan communication, more circles.[463] In an era in which professional manga was—with the key exception of shojo—stale, boring, and predictable, this ambition amounted to displacing professional manga as the key site of innovation in the field of manga overall. The cutting edge of manga, in other words, would move out of publishers' offices in Jinbôchô and into event halls around Tokyo.

The flip side of this ambition was that the Meikyû members envisioned Comic Market as an event that put fans at the center: as part of that ambition, they also made the radical decision to stipulate that those professional creators who did attend would

not be addressed as "sensei," which was and still is a standard term of respectful address for professional mangaka in Japanese-language industry circles. Instead, Comiket "was an event for fans, by fans." Putting their money where their mouths were, the members of Meikyû each chipped in an initial ¥3000 to defray costs for printing and other expenses. The Comiket organizing committee in fact continued to borrow money from Meikyû until 1977, when the remaining debt was swapped for the circle being guaranteed eternal space at the event.[464] Not coincidentally, this development coincided with the Comiket organizing committee, which had previously been an independent entity only on paper, formally breaking off from Meikyû: until the end of that year, the event was run entirely by two men from the salon, with Yonezawa shadowing them and five to ten helpers assisting as needed.[465]

Although Comiket eventually settled on a policy of covering costs by selling event programs for a profit, supplemented in later years by sales of official Comiket publications, cosplay fees, and exhibitor fees, its initial years were somewhat touch and go financially; the organizing committee was still operating in the red through at least Comiket 15 in September 1980, which was made possible by deferring printing costs.[466] Moreover, the event did not start out with any particularly auspicious auguries. The first Comic Market, held in December 1975, had about 600 attendees and just 32 participant circles—up from 20 in November, when the members of Meikyû had made a desperate appeal to everyone they knew to exhibit at the event.[467] By Comiket 7, held on two floors of the Ôta-ku Sangyô Kaikan in December 1977 (still a venue for dôjin events in 2016, as the author can personally attest), there were 131 circles officially registered, and the organizers were already making plans to move to continuous operation.[468]

The report from Comiket 7 describes what is still a typical pattern for smaller dôjin events in Japan: the venue opened at 9:00 in the morning for participants to setup, with attendees held outside the venue, lined up and down the stairs, until doors officially opened at 11:00.[469] Comiket 7 had the most attendees in the event's history up until that point, with organizers estimating that at least 2500 people attended; 7 was also notable for including a special meeting of animation circles, with a showing of amateur films including an 8mm *Lupin the Third* fan film made by members of the Wakô University manga club. As befitted an event held in December 1977, the circles that got shoutouts in the official report were mainly focused on animation and shojo manga, which was where the greatest energy in both professional and fan circles was concentrated at the time.[470]

One of the more remarkable aspects of Comiket is how familiar its trials and tribulations sound to anyone who has been involved with similar fan events worldwide in the current millennium. The report describing Comiket 15, held in September 1980 at the Kawasaki Shimin Plaza, recorded 340 circles participating and between six to eight thousand attendees. By this time, certain aspects of the event were relatively set: the general schedule of 9am arrival and set up until 11, the event being open from 11:00-17:00, breakdown and cleanup from 17:00-19:00, and after that the afterparty, which was known as the "Yûjunkai," during which a fan film would be screened. The usual problems were also relatively stable: there were reminders in the report that everyone

needed to read the event rules in advance, to dispose of their trash properly and help with cleanup, and that there was no drinking in the event. Other reminders indicate some of the challenges of the fandom scene at that point in time, such as the reminders that only sales of "original" items were permitted (which in this context seems to mean things that the sellers made themselves) and that there was to be no resale or piracy permitted, most likely a reference to the practice, later legitimized in some circumstances, of animators selling production artwork from shows they had worked on for extra cash.[471]

Comiket 15 was also an inflection point in the history of the event. The report details the communication problems between participant circles and the organizing committee, which could have been attributable to the growing pains of a rapidly expanding event but which was a clear sign of Comiket's increasingly obvious organizational problems. Other complaints were actually about growing pains, such as the complaint that it had grown too big and was now more like a rummage sale than a festival: to this, the organizers replied that the shape of Comiket was created within the participants themselves, so it was inevitably going to change as time went on and the participants changed. They also reminded attendees that Comiket's primary purpose was to facilitate communication amongst manga fans: that communication *took the form* of a dôjinshi marketplace, so Comiket's other animating principle was to offer a place where people who wanted to participate in that marketplace could do so. "Moreover," the report continued, "Comiket will not have the same form more than once. As participants, manga, and manga fans keep changing, Comiket will continue to change. If it doesn't, Comiket won't succeed."[472]

The trend in participant circles and attendees was perpetually increasing until Comiket 16 in December 1980, one of the few iterations of the event that saw a decrease in the number of circles; Comiket 16, 17 and 18 saw an increasing number of circles refusing to participate in the event because the organization was becoming increasingly vexed, and vexing. The problems came down to the fact that running the event three times per year was a brutal pace for any organization, compounded by the fact that the leaders of the Comiket Junbikai evidently did not feel the need to continuously put in effort towards the event. Instead, they seem to have operated on concentrated bursts of intense activity relatively shortly before the event itself, which conflicted with the needs of circles and participants for better long-range guidance in advance and made communication between the circles, the participants and the organizers difficult.[473]

Things came to a head at Comiket 18, held in Yokohama in the summer of 1981, which despite the fact that it had 512 participating circles and more than 8000 attendees was universally agreed to have been a hot mess. Although other events might have withered and died in similar circumstances, Comiket was already beloved enough that there was instead a coup d'etat on the organizing committee, which was thoroughly reconstructed by means of bringing in new staff and telling old staff not to come back. Yonezawa Yoshihiro alone of the original organizers survived this insurrection, as his faction of the committee, which saw no reason for Comiket not to expand in perpetuity, prevailed.[474] The new leadership put out an emergency appeal to circles and participants for Comiket 19, vowing that they would work towards the next event every

day, a pattern that held thereafter. In 1982 Comiket switched to its current biannual schedule, held once in August and once in December during the school holidays each year, which also significantly alleviated the pressure on the organizing committee. Tellingly, it is from 1982 onwards that the Comiket directories are held in the National Diet Library, and Comiket 19 was an immediate success, with approximately 600 circles and over 9000 attendees.[475]

Is it any wonder? *June* and BL

What were the fans who participated in the first years of Comiket specifically fans of in manga? Overwhelmingly, they were girls and women, and they were fans of shojo: it wasn't until the *Yamato* boom began in 1978 that men and "anime-kei" (roughly, "anime-themed") stuff began to take off in the dôjin sphere as represented by Comiket. Moreover, it wasn't until the 1980s that "subculture stuff" began to predominate at Comiket; looking back for the event's thirtieth anniversary in 2005, Yonezawa judged in an interview that the 1970s as a whole had been dominated by dôjinshi.[476]

Hagio Moto's works were an important spur to dôjin circles in their own right, particularly in the first half of the 1970s before Comiket; fan clubs devoted to her work frequently evolved into manga circles.[477] If Hagio's works represented the "spiritual" side of the spiritual/physical debate about (boys') love within the Ôizumi Salon and the shojo revolution, her masterpiece *The Heart of Thomas* encapsulated that viewpoint. But it was the publication of Takemiya Keiko's landmark masterpiece *Kaze to ki no uta* that touched off the creation of what is now known as BL as a separate genre within manga.

With much collaborative input from Masuyama Norie, Takemiya had worked out the bare bones of the story in 1970, just after she had first come up to Tokyo. But it was six years before she developed the artistic chops, and recovered enough from the depression she fell into in late 1972 which precipitated her departure from the Ôizumi Salon and led her to break off her friendship with Hagio for several years, that she was able to get approval from her new editor at Shogakkan to begin serializing the story.[478] Like *Thomas*, *KazeKi* is set in Europe, specifically in France just before the beginning of World War I, but its differences are much more salient than its similarities: whereas *Thomas* is a complicated, retrospective tale of anguish and lost love, Gilbert, the protagonist of *KazeKi*, has been banished to an all-male boarding school by his parents for being too sexually promiscuous with other boys, where he allays his spiritual malaise—which it is revealed is the result of his uncle's systematic sexual abuse—by taking money for sex. The central drama in the manga revolves around the question of whether Gilbert can escape his incestuous love for his abusive uncle (actually his biological father) Auguste and accept the affections of his roommate and peer, the aristocratic Serge; tellingly, both relationships are ultimately foreclosed by rape and tragedy.[479]

Takemiya wrote in her memoir that she felt that the manga was her greatest contribution to the shojo revolution. In important ways, however, the manga's publication was also a limit marker: though it began as a shojo series, the last two

volumes' worth of the story, nearly 20%, were moved to a josei magazine because the subject matter had become so adult.[480] Moreover, it hardly needs to be said that shonen'ai, taken at face value, didn't fit the label of shojo, but the struggles that the Showa 24 creators had with their editors did not begin with the desire amongst some of them to depict boys kissing, or even doing more than kissing. Takemiya's memoir at times reads like a litany of ossified editorial restrictions; indeed, at one point she observes that in these years shojo manga was "nothing but things that couldn't be done."[481]

The fact that she and her fellow creators were able to persevere and to finally defeat her editors' objections and get *KazeKi* and other boundary-pushing manga into print was ultimately the mark of the shojo revolution's success: to characterize this shift extremely roughly, by 1975-76 it had moved from being "manga for girls" to being "manga *by* girls." As critic Ôgi Fusami wrote, "From the 1960s to the 1970s, as 'girls' themselves became creators, the meaning of the 'shojo' who appeared in 'shojo manga' began to change. 'Shojo manga' changed from a genre that represented 'shojo' to one which was strongly connected with the independence represented by 'girls,' and when 'girls' drew it anything could be 'shojo manga'—it was that kind of age. In the 1970s works that didn't fit the label of 'shojo' appeared in great numbers."[482] But *KazeKi*'s publication—and the fact that its last two years ran in a women's manga magazine because they were simply too sexually explicit for shojo—marked the end of that period in shojo in important ways. Shonen'ai was no longer fully legible within the shojo category and had to be broken out into its own separate genre. Meanwhile, as the shojo revolution creators themselves aged out of the category they had transformed, the editors left behind adapted their definition of shojo into "what girls like," a formulation that was perhaps first endorsed by Takemiya's editor on *KazeKi*, Môri Kazuo, and one that endures today. (Indeed, Môri's willingness to publish *KazeKi*, in Takemiya's telling, arose in part from Môri's status as a newcomer to the category.)[483]

Fig 28: Cover of *Kaze to ki no uta* vol. 3 depicting Serge and Gilbert

KazeKi was a landmark in multiple respects, first and foremost for its relatively explicit depiction of sexuality and sexual relationships, which was a milestone for shojo manga in general and the first magazine of its serialization, *Shojo Comic*, in particular: the manga opens with Gilbert and another student embracing naked in bed.[484] Although the tastefully and vaguely drawn sex scenes are quite tame by contemporary standards, they were nonetheless a significant advance in terms of what could be published professionally in manga. Equally significantly, the manga's success led Shogakkan and other publishers to attempt to capitalize on this newly discovered audience by creating a new manga category and magazines to provide it to readers. In this respect the companies were *following* rather than *leading* the manga market: more than any other genre, BL was comprised equally of fan and original content from the beginning, another sign of the maturation of the manga sphere by this period.

The first commercial shonen'ai magazine was *Comic Jun*, which launched in October 1978 as a monthly publication; from the third issue onward, it changed its name to *June*. Its tagline was "Now, awaken a dangerous love," and it was very obviously targeted towards a female gaze, with beefcake ads depicting men on the inside front cover of the first issue. Although *June* then and now mainly operated on a reader submissions model, with pieces chosen for publication receiving small honoraria, its first few years of publication were notable for containing manga by many

members of the Showa 24 group and Ôizumi Salon alumnae. Equally notably, its aesthetic for those first few years was very nearly pure Takemiya, which incidentally was also the aesthetic of David Bowie (1947-2016) in this same period: the post-Thin White Duke "Berlin era" in which his masculine but still distinctly androgynous and alien-inflected presentation incorporated aspects of his earlier Ziggy Stardust and *The Man Who Fell to Earth* (1976, dir. Nicolas Roeg) personas. Bowie, who had lived briefly in Kyoto earlier in the decade, was everywhere in *June*, both in terms of magazine content focusing on the star himself (the Bowie poster freebies are missing from the Diet Library copies of the magazine) and in terms of reader submissions, ranging from manga in which distinctly Bowie-looking characters were often the older, more experienced partner in homosexual relationships to user-submitted fanart depicting Bowie directly as himself or indirectly as readers' "ideal beautiful man." Bowie also routinely topped or placed highly in reader polls of "favorite stars" and "favorite musicians" in the magazine.[485]

The Bowie connection also highlights the importance of the global music scene to manga in this era, specifically the rapidly evolving shonen'ai category. Paging through the early issues of *June*, those characters who don't look like Bowie look like they could have stepped out of Led Zeppelin or other androgynous rock bands of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Music was now a clear source of inspiration for readers' fantasies, a development that can ultimately be traced back to Mizuno Hideko's *Fire!* but which had important forward ramifications as well. The world of 70s rock was evidently one that was very easy to interpret queerly for women who consumed it at the time, as fan letters to the magazine indicate: aside from the exceedingly camp aesthetics of such bands, the female readers who wrote letters to the magazine also cited *Rose of Versailles* and women who took the man's part (dansei-gata josei) as inspiration. Letter-writers also routinely evoked the history of same-sex sexualities in ancient Greece and Japan's own Edo period as justifications for their interest in male-male relationships. Reader invocations of past historical milieus in which same-sex sexualities were socially acknowledged and/or accepted were matched by magazine features on gay writers of Europe and America in the 19th and 20th centuries, on gay writers in Japan, and on gay practices in Japanese history.[486]

Fig 29: Cover of final print issue of *June*, February 2013.
The name was allegedly derived from French writer Jean Genet (1910-86)

June encouraged a degree of frankness about sexuality that would have been unthinkable just a decade before, starting with the letters from the editor page, which was titled the "Editors' Restroom," and in which, in the first issue, the editor-in-chief confessed that his previous career had been in editing pornographic magazines for men, while another editor admitted to having a "huge" Lolita complex. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the readers' corner was called the "Readers', Writers', and Editors' Bedroom." This candor was matched by the reader-submitted art, which generally fell into two categories: the ideal bishônen (beautiful boy) and sex scenes, which did not let the magazine's prohibition on depicting dicks get in the way of depicting explicit sex acts. While the lack of genitalia made *June*'s manga awkward at times, it also created a clear opening for dôjinshi, which were not necessarily bound by the same commercial strictures on explicitly depicting the same.

Something queer going on

The question of why publishers were now willing to not only acknowledge but provide content for the shonen'ai readership, which was and is overwhelmingly female, is on the one level self-evident: by providing a product to meet a proven demand, they

were merely being competent capitalists. On another, shonen'ai moving out of shojo and out of the dôjin scene into its own established category was a significant accommodation on the part of manga publishers to the manga fandom sphere, inasmuch as the proven demand for the category was entirely created by manga creators and fans despite the resistance of editors and publishers in the middle. Commercial shonen'ai, in other words, represented the first fulfillment of Meikyû's ambition for Comiket. In and of itself, this was a landmark for the industry.

The question of why female readers and creators were interested in shonen'ai is quite another topic, and one on which oceans of ink have been spilled in Japanese and English. Rather than writing another entire book on the subject, I will briefly summarize some of the most salient factors which led shojo manga creators and audiences to turn to shonen'ai in this decade. There are many other arguments that could be made about boys' love manga and slash fiction, some more valid and less morally policing than others, but not all of them are relevant to the discussion at hand.

Interviews with and memoirs by the women who made the shojo revolution make it clear that from a very young age they personally found interactions between boys to be fruitful sites of eroticism and fantasy, sexual and otherwise. Kurimoto Kaoru (1953-2009), author of the 130-volume *Guin Saga* science fiction series and herself a pioneer of shonen'ai in literature, admitted in an interview in the first issue of *June* (under her other pseudonym Nakajima Azusa) that the first thing she ever found erotic was not nudity itself but a scene in a certain shonen manga in which a male character was tied up. In the same interview, Sasaya Nanae (b. 1950, now writing as Sasaya Nanaeko) reminisced about an incident in the first year of middle school when one of her male classmates grabbed another from behind to avoid an accident in science class as a key point in her own erotic maturation. Takemiya Keiko described her own affinity for boys of the same age *in groups* as sites of eroticism in the interview, which she discussed at greater length in her memoir: thus her enduring obsession with the Vienna Boys Choir, for example.[487] In contrast to later arguments about boys' love which posited that the attraction of the genre for female readers lay entirely in imaginative erotic transference, the category's pioneers were unequivocal in their interest in actual male same-sex interactions as well as those found in fiction.

At the same time, it would be a gross misrepresentation of the social strictures of postmodern Japan to ignore the ways in which the emergence of shonen'ai was about power and control: specifically, the power that social expectations had over girls and women, who surrendered control and agency in their own lives upon marriage, when they were expected to take on the socially licensed and self-abnegating roles of wife and mother. Kurimoto made this clear when she commented frankly that shonen'ai was related to sadomasochism: in contemporary society it was obvious that women were the ones who would be overcome and that men were the conquerors; sooner or later, boys grew up to be men. But shonen'ai (like BDSM) perpetrated a pleasurable erotic reversal by exploring the sexual possibilities of boys when they were stranded temporarily by immaturity on the young and weak side, with the ages of 23-25, in Kurimoto's view, being especially ripe with dramatic potential for reversals both ways.[488] In the same

interview, other people asserted that they had no interest in boys past the age of 20, a common refrain in early discussions of shonen'ai in *June* and elsewhere.[489]

Depicting male characters in sexual relationships and in general also allowed female creators more freedom than they would have had in depicting stories in which the relationships were primarily heterosexual. Male protagonists were on one level a natural reaction to the restrictions on female characters that had stifled shojo manga no less than girls and women themselves: Takemiya commented in her memoir that she could make boy protagonists do what she couldn't because of society, including going to the places she wanted to go and wearing the clothes she wanted to wear, all of which were closed to her as a woman.[490] On the more specific level of eroticism, depicting sexual relationships between two male characters granted creators greater freedom to depict sexuality as well as, in some senses, a certain liberatory degree of distance: "Because the characters are boys," Deborah Shamoon wrote in summary of this angle, "they are not only distanced from girl readers' own bodies, but also from the possibilities [one might also say, the depressing reality] of marriage and childbirth. Moreover, in the 1970s, it was easier for readers to imagine sexually active boys than girls."[491]

Many arguments about the attractions of boys' love ignore the existence of comparable fan cultures elsewhere entirely: their existence, bluntly speaking, indicates that the consumption of male-male eroticism in media by female fans is not restricted to Japan but is in fact inherent in, or at the least related to, the postmodern condition. Specifically, English-language slash fiction—the depiction of male characters from established media properties in sexual relationships with one another—arose in English-language fandom at very nearly the same time as the first shonen'ai manga: what appears to have been the first slash story ever printed, an ambiguous and controversial Kirk/Spock story, was published in 1974, with the first dedicated Kirk/Spock zine being published in 1978.[492] Today, much like BL media in Japan, slash fiction in particular and internet fan fiction in general is a thriving—if not overwhelming—part of media consumption online.[493]

On one level it is remarkable that it took so long: *Star Trek* aired from 1966-69, and anecdotal evidence indicates that female fans of the show immediately sensed and began exploring privately the erotic potentials of the Kirk/Spock relationship. The show enjoys the distinction of being one of the wellsprings of both "transformational fandom" and "affirmational fandom," a rough rubric that tracks some of the ways in which various fannish impulses and cultures differ in postmodern societies worldwide, in ways that are frequently gendered as female and male, respectively. Affirmational fan spaces tend to center on exploring the source text in various ways that do not alter or contradict the text: the famous scene from the movie *Clerks* (1994, dir. Kevin Smith) in which the characters discuss the probable existence of contractors on the Death Star in *Return of the Jedi* (1983, dir. Richard Marquand) is perhaps an extreme example of this tendency. Transformational fans, by contrast, "collectively revise and rewrite the source text," in Abigail De Kosnik's summary.[494] Catherine Tosenberger points out that in early academic fan studies, "Transformational fans were also likely to be treated as an even more pathological form of the pathologized fan: those fan boys fighting about the

engines on the *Enterprise* might be hopeless geeks, but at least they're not perverts writing gay porn about Kirk and Spock!"[495]

One difference in the Japanese versus the English-language context was that the recognition that male and female fans engaged with the same source texts in ways that were different and thus gendered was delayed in the latter until the early days of fandom moving online in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In Japanese fan cultures, and specifically through Comiket, this difference was obvious and explicit from the start, as different circles and their respective fans literally rubbed shoulders at the same events. Despite the temporal delay relative to the Japanese context, however, the experiences fans recalled about those gendered interactions in the early days of English-language internet fandom are quite comparable to what can, roughly and ahistorically, be characterized as the (male) otaku and (female) fujoshi ways of interpreting texts. In an interview in 2012, Henry Jenkins and his wife Cynthia Jenkins, both fans of long standing, recalled some of those early differences:

> HJ: You had all these different fandoms. If you go back to my fandom as a male experience versus Cynthia's experience, those conversations [between male and female fans] hadn't happened before. So to be a…male *Star Trek* fan [meant that you] lived in a world where you knew how to read *Star Trek*, what to talk about, what episodes mattered. And women lived in a totally different world. And you created a discussion list, and you brought them together, and, "*What?!*"
> CJ: You knew a male *Star Trek* fan who could tell you specs on every kind of ship. It [male fandom] is, like, totally hardware centered.
> HJ: [Male fans] knew the command structures, the uniforms and the badges, the ships and the technology. And had a totally different sense of what episodes were good and bad than those [female fans] who were into the characters.[496]

It is important not to miss that the emergence of both slash fiction and shonen'ai had sociopolitical dimensions: as new media scholar Abigail De Kosnik writes of fan fiction, "female fan authorship [is] a response by women and girls to a media culture in which they rarely see their own narrative priorities and preferences play out, and so feel compelled to create their own versions and extensions of film, television, music, game, and comic culture. It is the very exclusion of female narrative desires from the archives of culture, in other words, that motivates women and girls to write fan fiction…"[497] On shows in which female characters were either absent or stereotyped and underwritten, in other words, it was and is far easier for female fans to imagine male characters in meaningful relationships, sexual or otherwise, with other male characters, who did not suffer from the stereotypical and shallow writing that plagued female characters. This dynamic was replicated in dôjinshi fandom in the 1980s as female fans began to consume shonen properties from a boys' love perspective, but it was also at play in the work of the Showa 24 creators when they conceived and created shojo manga with male protagonists.

While the publication of *June* proved that Japanese contents industry companies were perhaps less stupid about the desirability of taking women's money and the mechanisms by which they can best do so than many of their Euro-American counterparts, this factor in the rise of fan fiction in general became more salient to

Japanese dôjin culture over the course of the 1980s, which broadly speaking witnessed a female turn to non-SF media properties. The exact same dynamic occurred in female readers' consumption of popular shonen manga, giving rise then and now to dôjinshi depicting sexual relationships between male characters. Whereas slashing male characters from TV shows to create male/male transformative fanworks appeared within a decade of the beginning of Star Trek fanfiction (which first appeared with the zine *Spockanalia* in 1967) in English-language fan culture in the States, dôjinshi doing the same thing for anime and manga characters did not become widespread in dôjinshi fandom until the appearance of Takahashi Yoichi's *Captain Tsubasa* manga (1981-88), which was also adopted into a popular anime.[498] Significantly, the titular Tsubasa is captain of a soccer team, and equally significantly, the manga was published in *Weekly Shonen Jump*. Female fans read the manga and watched the anime and then created dôjinshi about sexual pairings between the male characters; the sports context, which necessarily entailed a large cast of characters and thus many potential pairings, was key to its popularity as a "genre" (the Comiket term for source texts), which lasted for several years.[499]

Chasing the night: Queerness in shonen'ai and manga fan cultures

The other reason that girls and women may have been interested in this decidedly queer content in manga is the fact that some of them were almost certainly queer themselves. This assertion is somewhat radical in the context of most scholarship on boys' love manga, the shojo revolution, and indeed the general global phenomenon of fandom itself; certainly, until very recently the default assumption about female fans of slash/BL fanworks in both Japan and in English-language fandom spaces was that they were and are heterosexual, which assumption certainly played into the tendency to pathologize fans' interest in these texts in the same scholarship. But there is compelling evidence that a majority of fans in English-language internet fandom spaces are in fact queer (which I mean here in the broadest possible sense of "not straight"), and I would, mutatis mutandis, make the same assertion for fans in the Japanese-language boys' love sphere.[500]

The regimes of sexuality are different enough in these fan cultures' surrounding contexts, however, that more needs to be said. Compared with the United States and the other predominantly Euro-American countries that are the mainstays of English-language fandom online, Japanese society is far more oriented towards a model of compulsory heterosexuality in which, regardless of the individual's personal sexual inclinations or orientation, adults are still expected to marry a partner of the opposite sex and produce children from the union. It hardly needs to be said that as of 2017 this model has failed dramatically: Japan's birthrate is the lowest in the world and its net annual population growth has been negative since 2015 as more people die than are born every year despite manifold laws, mores, and policies designed to bolster said regime and the birthrate. By contrast, the model that has prevailed in many Euro-American countries since the rise of the gay rights movement in the 1970s, in which one's sexuality is something that one *is* rather than something one *does* and in which it is

predominantly determinative of one's access to marriage and childbearing, has only a precarious foothold in certain segments of Japanese society. Many if not most people in Japan who do or who would like to have same-sex sexual liaisons would answer negatively if asked whether they were anything other than heterosexual. Nonetheless, it would defy credulity to assume that every single female person who has ever consumed or produced boys' love media in Japan were straight: accordingly, I assume that a significant portion of these people were and are in fact queer.

Furthermore, there are aspects to fandom activity which are inherently queer regardless of the actual sexualities of participants. Particularly for female fans in Japan, and to a lesser but still-present degree in other societies, the perception that girls and women are interested in BL/slash in particular or fannish activities in general can have real social consequences, with stigma being the least of them. "If your ability to conduct your personal life is directly affected by people's perceptions of your fantasy life, because of things they read in relation to your identity and desire, then that is a kind of queerness," Henry Jenkins once remarked; because of the homophobia inherent in modernity worldwide, that holds true even now across national boundaries.[501] In addition to queering male characters whose heterosexuality is usually the unmarked default assumption, Abigail De Kosnik writes, "…female fans *queer themselves* when they identify with male characters in heterosexual narratives[…]. Female fans *engage in queer relations* by writing sexual or romantic fiction specifically for fellow female fans, for the purpose of intentionally turning other women on, or at the least, fulfilling those women's desires to be temporarily transported into an imaginary that is highly charged with libidinal energies. Whichever of these acts women and girls perform when they make and consume fan [works], they are *all acts of queering*."[502]

Given the strong contemporary stigma against female fans of BL media in Japanese society, it is no surprise that basic fan etiquette among contemporary fujoshi dictates that they display the signs by which fellow fans can read them as such (ita bags, cosplay, official merchandise, etc) only in certainly informally and formally designated times and places, such as on the weekends in Ikebukuro or at cosplay meetups or dôjin events. In transit to and from such locations, one changes one's clothes and meticulously hides these signs, with the result that in some respects fannish activity resembles a kind of drag (a public performance within a private community that, broadly speaking, exposes an inner reality).

The flip side of this effort to conceal one's interests amongst those who do not understand them is the payoff of friendship and *community*, which has been somewhat undersold in scholarship on boys' love fans in particular. It is fairly common for female fans in English to describe their discovery of fandom as something beyond their own personal emotions as a moment of discovery and recognition; in realizing that they are not alone, that there are other people like them out there—not just the obsessive male fanboys depicted as a leitmotif of immaturity in popular media—"in other words," in Abigail De Kosnik's phrase, "the experience described by fans is that of learning that a community exists to which one instinctively feels she is already a member."[503] Recent work on the experiences of contemporary fujoshi has highlighted the ways in which fans' engagement with BL media enables their engagement with each other: as

anthropologist Patrick Galbraith says specifically of non-professional BL media (yaoi, in his parlance), "its pleasures are nevertheless meant to be shared. [….] When someone stops at a table [at a dôjin event], picks up a fanzine, and flips through it, there is palpable tension; the creator waits in nervous anticipation of a response. Only if the prospective reader decides to buy the fanzine do the two women begin to engage in conversation, first confirming what the work is about and then discussing their shared interest."[504]

Dôjin are used to enable forming connections between strangers through personal interactions at events and through the contact info printed in the dôjinshi themselves and to deepen one's connections with one's pre-existing fannish friends. Indeed, a selling point of many conventions and fan groups in the pre-internet era in the English and Japanese-language fan spheres was the chance to meet up with like-minded people; this went double for fans of slash in English and of shonen'ai in Japanese, a distinct minority within a larger subculture. A huge and important factor in the growth of shonen'ai and the growth of Showa 24 dôjinshi was the fact that both the creators and the fans themselves experienced such moments of recognition with each other, forging in some cases lifelong relationships, such as those between Hagio, Takemiya, and Masuyama, or between Hagio and Kurimoto. Showa 24 creators, moreover, encouraged this feeling of community through the creation and maintenance of fan clubs; Takemiya, for example, routinely sent her fan club members ephemera from her annual trips to Europe through the club's contests and newsletters.[505]

Aside from the fact of queerness, both situational and actual, there is also a postmodern aspect to the entire phenomenon of media fandom, which is not unique to Japan or to English-language spheres centered on the United States.[506] At the most obvious level—collective emotional and creative response to a mass media text—fandom relies on the modern fact of mechanical reproduction: everyone everywhere is, mutatis mutandis, consuming the same media objects. But it is the liberatory, fragmenting energies of the postmodern period that really enable and fuel fandom, which is centered as much on *arguing about* one's personal emotional and creative response to a given text with fellow fans as it is about anything else. The predominantly male, "affirmational fandom" approach can be traced ultimately as far back as the Sherlockians of the early 20th century, who obsessively combed Arthur Conan Doyle's contradictory Sherlock Holmes works to gather facts about their hero and then wrote texts about him as though he were a real person, and/or challenged each other's knowledge of Sherlockian trivia, and thus fannishness, over dinners. But the predominantly female, "transformational fandom" approach is inextricably linked to the postmodern, when, in philosopher Azuma Hiroki's summary, "the coexistence of countless smaller standards replace the loss of the singular and vast social standard," which "corresponds precisely to the 'decline of the grand narrative' first identified by the French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard."[507]

Without allowing the question of grand narratives to detain us too much, the literal idea of dôjinshi as "coterie magazines," small publications aimed at an exceedingly narrow and like-minded tranche of a much broader sphere which in their proliferation signal, in the most basic terms, the rise of individual viewpoints on media,

is key to remember here. Just as *Garo* manga was drawn via the medium of the self, characters are interpreted via individual fans' own perspective in fanworks. Because a given fan or circle's interpretation of or interest in a given character or relationship was by definition both different from and as valid as another fan or circle's, fandom was powered by and enabled the rise of dôjin culture, the consumption and production of those individual, smaller viewpoints in toto, as a whole.

Moreover, early dôjinshi fandom was, after the rise of the Showa 24 group, increasingly powered by dôjinshi based on the works of Showa 24 creators, particularly those of Hagio, Takemiya, and Ikeda Riyoko. In this respect, the girls and young women who produced and consumed these dôjinshi were in some respects picking up what Showa 24 creators were putting down in their manga: many of Takemiya's works which were not explicitly BL, for example, were deliberately inculcated with BL subtext which like-minded readers could and did pick up on.[508] While the earliest dôjinshi of the *COM* era were usually original works, produced either for their own sake or with an eye towards turning professional, the female dôjin fans who dominated Comiket in its early days were inaugurating a strain of Japanese fan culture which has now come to play a major role in the same: namely that of transformative works, which are often known (somewhat dismissively) as "derivative works" (niji sôsaku) in Japanese.

Josei manga: The final frontier

The observation that the upstart and despised manga of one generation becomes the mainstream favorite of the next holds at least since Tagawa Suihô and *Norakuro* forever altered children's manga into a force to be reckoned with in the 1930s, and it applies particularly well to the rapid transformation of shojo manga from despised afterthought to celebrated trailblazer in less than a decade: by 1975, shojo manga and shojo manga creators were the acknowledged cutting edge of the medium, with manga fans of all ages and genders flocking to the latest serialized masterpieces that were being produced in the category. The rapid change in shojo manga, however, was arguably a sign of social changes of greater significance that were just then beginning in Japanese society, changes whose impact was fully felt beginning in the 1980s with the rise of the "OL" (office lady) and the beginning of the continuing collapse in birth and marriage rates. Women were starting to work outside the home in increasing numbers, and though various societal paradigms to try to force them back into the home emerged, such as the "joke" that women were like Christmas cakes—no good after the 25th—that phenomenon has never really slowed in the decades since. Ikeda Riyoko herself reflected on this fact in a retrospective interview about the impact of *Rose of Versailles*: she commented that at the time of the BeruBara boom, the low position of shojo manga was the same as the low position of women, who were expected to look young and pretty, to get married and have kids, and that was it.[509]

Careers outside the home gave women the time and money necessary to devote to consumption, and manga publishers are, if nothing else, good at following the money. Still, it says a lot that the acceptance of manga for adult women in the publishing industry took place years after the acceptance of shonen'ai manga aimed at

female readers (who were thought to be adolescents), as indicated by the establishment of manga magazines providing that content. *Be Love*, which was originally named *Be in Love* when it debuted in September 1980 as the first magazine in the "ladies' comics" category—itself now generally known as josei or women's manga—legitimized and answered a desire that, judging by the readers' letters, had long gone unserved in manga readership. The magazine's initial reception was rapturous, with multiple letter writers confirming that there had been a lot of pent-up demand. One woman wrote in saying that, as someone who had lost interest in shojo manga, she was very excited about the magazine's birth: "I'm certainly not the only one who wished for a volume like this." Another wrote in volunteering that, as a woman over 30 who just couldn't quit manga, it was a magazine whose publication she'd been awaiting anxiously for a long time. In this respect, josei really was a place that no manga had gone before: while the age groups targeted by shojo and shonen'ai had long been the targets of manga publications, josei manga was something new in that it took adult women seriously as consumers with their own money to spend and as subjects of stories worth telling that were not centered around marriage and children by default.

This is not to say that this final frontier was any kind of utopia divorced from society; indeed, society was all too with josei readers and creators. You can tell that *Be Love* was aimed at women deemed socially normal because of the weight loss ads featured prominently in each issue. But as evidenced by *Be Love*, it's also possible to see that the josei category itself was a direct answer to the complaints of the members of the Showa 24 group about shojo manga a decade earlier: whereas pre-revolutionary shojo, as it were, told the same highly constrained story about (heterosexual) love over and over, the variety of heterosexual relationships portrayed in the magazine neatly illustrated the assertion that "love could take various shapes" (ai wa iroiro katachi ga aru).

Much as in *June*, the overtly sexual edge to the readers' letters in *Be Love* was further proof of a sea change in manga aimed at female readers in terms of acknowledging sex and relationships in their lives. One woman whose letter was published in the magazine in December 1982 signed her name "I want to get married" and openly admitted to living with her boyfriend before detailing an incident in which the magazine itself caused a couple's fight when the boyfriend didn't bring home a copy of the new issue because it was already sold out at bookshops. Another letter writer admitted in the next issue that the magazine was a better "friend at night" than her fiancé and wrote that she would keep buying *Be Love* even if she and her future husband got divorced.[510] While these women were probably at the extreme edge of the *Be Love* readership in terms of their devotion to the magazine, their willingness to put manga at the same level or higher as their actual male significant others is a telling rebuke to the current notion that only degenerate fans of boys' love and other women-targeted media put their personal pleasure ahead of their socially obligated reproductive labor.

There is a further irony in the fact that the magazine was published by Kodansha, which had been stodgy to the point of forcing Hagio Moto to decamp for Shogakkan just ten years earlier. The company had evidently learned its lesson; when

the magazine debuted in November 1980 it had Ôizumi Salon alumna Satonaka Machiko's name displayed prominently on the cover along with lesser luminaries Takeda Kyôko (b. 1940) and Tachihara Ayumi (b. 1946), and the magazine's slogan was "A new comics magazine for adult tastes." Just in case its intended audience was unclear from all of this, "young ladies" was written in katakana under the *Be in Love* title, and the magazine's mascot was a fluffy white cat.

The "ladies' comics" genre developed a reputation for tawdry sex scenes over the course of the 1980s, somewhat comparable to the low repute in which romance novels are held in English-language literary circles, which contributed to the publishing decision to rebrand the category under the more highbrow "josei manga" moniker in the 1990s. There was, however, vigorous disagreement about the sex scenes among readers in *Be Love*'s initial issues. One letter writer said that she wanted to see "harsher" material depicted such as masturbation and menstruation, to which a male editor responded, in an obvious dodge, that such things were up to the creators themselves. Other letters complained that there were too many sex scenes, while still others said that the sex scenes were boring because they were ubiquitous throughout the magazine. Another woman wrote that, as someone who had only experienced "C" sex so far (the rough equivalent of "third base" in U.S. English sexual argot, whatever "third base" meant in Japan at the time), the sex scenes were embarrassing because they reminded her too much of her own life.[511]

The sex scenes debate continued for several issues, a clear sign that the magazine had managed to find a sensitive spot amongst its readership. Intriguingly, the debate recapitulated in a more explicit register many of the critiques of pre-Showa 24 shojo manga, as when one letter writer claimed that talking about love without sex was a lie, and that people who said it was okay to remove sex scenes from a manga depicting love had no "reading qualifications." Another letter writer requested both more sex scenes and that *Be in Love* be a magazine "like current ones," excising the non-manga content it initially contained, mostly poems and illustrations. Another letter writer asked that the magazine be more "adult-esque" (otonappoi) and "explicit" (echhi). Other letters asked for manga that weren't all happy endings, because portraying love that always ended happily was not reflective of the different "shapes of love" (ai no katachi), while others wrote in to commend the magazine for the depiction of childbirth in one series, itself another topic closely related to most women's lives that was infrequently portrayed in manga.[512]

The fact that the *Be Love* readership did recapitulate some of these debates, and the fact that readers from high school students to young housewives consistently wrote to the magazine that the manga it published resembled their actual lives, was further corroboration of letters published in the magazine's third issue in which several writers talked about how they had used to read shojo, but that the genre no longer satisfied them now that they were older and mothers and/or working women.[513] The girls who had breathlessly read *The Rose of Versailles* and sighed over Oscar and Andre's romantic first time, or cried over Juli's tragedy in *The Heart of Thomas*, were now young women. Their interests and what they wanted from their manga had evolved accordingly.

Fig 30: May 2017 issue of *Be Love* with art from Showa 24 creator Yamato Waki's current manga, *Ishtar no musume*

Crucially, the interests of the Showa 24 and post-Showa 24 creators had evolved as well. Although Hagio, Takemiya, Yamagishi Ryôko and many others had forever changed the shojo category, they ultimately did so just as much for the people who came after them as they did for themselves, because their own interests and the stories they wanted to tell changed as they themselves grew older along with their initial readership. The broad turn to science fiction and fantasy amongst the creators in these groups is indicative of this shift, as is the fact that as early as 1977 leading Showa 24 creators like Takemiya were being published in seinen magazines, beginning with her *Terra e…* (1977-80) in the short-lived monthly magazine *Gekkan Manga Shonen* (1976-81), which provided a home for many former *COM* creators including Tezuka himself. Takemiya herself summed up the reasons for this movement when she commented that "There are things seinen can do that shojo can't, I thought, so I had to go to a place where I could do them."[514]

Chapter Ten: Lost in Wonderland

Not so long ago in a galaxy not very far away at all

In many ways, science fiction has become the force that binds the Japanese contents industry together: it surrounds and permeates media in the contents industry to the extent that a given media property *not* having sf-nal or fantasy elements is more remarkable than one that does. "Nichijôkei" or "everyday stories" is a marked subgenre in the contents industry, for example, whereas something has to contain fairly classic science fiction elements to an exceptionally strong degree before it reliably acquires the "SF" moniker. This state of affairs is now one of the markers that separates the contents industry from other forms of pop culture in Japan, such as movies and TV shows, but it was by no means inevitable or always the case, and its roots go back to the sci-fi and manga and anime fandom scene(s) of the late 1970s and early 1980s in Japan.

Among other things, science fiction—as filtered through the SF masterworks of the shojo revolution creators—provided the key that enabled shonen and seinen manga to turn the corner into being interesting again and to finally shake off the oil shock blues in the late 1970s. There is indirect evidence that both the end of panel numbers and the adoption of screen tones in shonen manga over the course of the 1970s may in fact have come from an unlikely source—which is to say, from the very shojo manga that had been so roundly despised less than a decade earlier. The longform manga of the Shôwa 24 group creators broke all the previous rules of shojo manga storytelling and significantly pushed the boundaries of manga expression by, among other things, exhibiting a hitherto unseen willingness to play with the relationship between gutter, panel, and page to create new vistas of previously unachievable psychological complexity. The strong emphasis on fantasy and science fiction elements in the

masterpieces created by members of this cohort also pushed manga expression; the space operas published in shojo manga in this period exhibited a previously unknown artistic sophistication in using the manga page to its fullest potential to depict stories spanning galaxies in time and space. Under the influence of *Star Wars* (1977, dir. George Lucas) in particular, panels themselves were questioned and frequently discarded in favor of more expressive and less rigidly delineated layouts. In this context, numbering panels appeared hopelessly old-fashioned.

In the same year as *Star Wars*, moreover, another science fiction anime—and significantly, a military science fiction anime—began bringing male fans into the dôjin sphere in increasing numbers. This was *Yamato the Movie* (1977, dir. Matsumoto Leiji), a compilation of several episodes that had aired on TV during the show's original 1974-75 broadcast run. Unlike the original anime, the movie did extremely well, even beating *Star Wars* at the domestic box office for 1977. A sequel film, *Farewell Space Battleship Yamato* (1978, dir. Matsumoto Leiji) was successful enough that a sequel anime, *Space Battleship Yamato II* (1978-79, dir. Matsumoto Leiji) was greenlit for the same year. The basic plot of *Yamato*—in the year 2199, humans resurrect the WWII-era warship *Yamato* and turn it into a space-capable starship to fight the alien conquerors—appealed to a generation that knew war only in their parents' stories; the youngest among them, moreover, were the children of people who had been children during the war, not adults. But it was also an increasingly technologically-oriented age: Japan's strategy for circumventing the impacts of the oil shock, after all, was to move away from low-value industrial products to high-value and high-technology goods like cars and consumer electronics. The emphasis on and obsession with hardware and materiel in contents that became popular with otaku was partly an effect of this new development.

Science fiction itself transitioned in the 1970s, as Yonezawa Yoshihiro and other observers accurately noted, from a forward-looking vision of the future typical of modernity and exemplified by *Astro Boy*, the space race, *2001: A Space Odyssey*, and the 1970 Osaka Expo to a postmodern post-moon landing vision in which space was merely the arena for retelling familiar kinds of stories, typified by such works as *Star Wars*, *Yamato*, *Alien*, and even Takemiya and Mitsuse Ryû's *Andromeda Stories*.[515] The term "space opera" gained currency amongst fans of the genre to denote these kinds of narratives, loosely opposed to what is still known as "hard sf," which is seen as being more oriented towards scientific plausibility in technology, often to the detriment of other story elements such as characters. It will come as no surprise to those familiar with science fiction that this loose opposition has become increasingly politicized and gendered; it was and is gendered in Japan too, but thanks to manga, the story turned out very differently.

Manga and science fiction had related to each other since Tagawa Suihô created the first robot manga in Japan in 1929, but roughly until the mid-1970s, that relationship had been conducted largely in a clandestine fashion. Although *Kasei tanken* (1940) was beloved by everyone who had read it, manga was not, until the success of the shojo revolution, taken seriously by "pure" (read: literary, text-based) science fiction fans as an arena for serious science fiction storytelling. The case of the great Japanese science fiction writer Komatsu Sakyô (1931-2011) is a perfect example: although he first began

selling science fiction stories in 1961, with the publication of his first classic novel *Nihon Apache zoku* (The Japanese Apache) in 1964, Komatsu had in fact had a prior career in akahon manga beginning in 1949 under the name Mori Minoru. Heavily inspired by the akahon manga of Tezuka, who was only two years his senior, Komatsu penned a series of influential science fiction akahon manga in the early 1950s in order to pay the bills while he was still a college student. He quit the field not long after, and his sci-fi manga were forgotten for fifty years until one was rediscovered on the shelves of the famous second-hand shop Mandarake and reissued in facsimile in honor of Komatsu's seventieth birthday, the first time that Komatsu had publicly acknowledged his own manga background.[516] Prior to the rapprochement between science fiction and manga that occurred by the mid-1970s, it could have been damaging to his standing in the field to do so.

Given that, however, it was no coincidence that manga became accepted as a vehicle for science fiction partly through the creators of the shojo revolution, who in the late 1970s spearheaded a number of developments that had crucial effects on manga, sci-fi, and fandom. In 1977, the Hayakawa Science Fiction Bunko book series began commissioning Hagio Moto as a cover illustrator in a naked play to bring some of Hagio's female readers to the books, which worked. 1977 was also the year that Hagio began adapting the classic science fiction novel *Ten Billion Days and One Hundred Billion Nights* (1968) by Mitsuse Ryû (1928-99) as a manga for *Shonen Champion* (1977-78). Mitsuse later collaborated with Takemiya on the space opera manga *Andromeda Stories* (1980-82) after she had won the Seiun Award for her science fiction epic *Terra e…* (1977-80) in 1978.

One thing to keep in mind about the people who were on the point of being known as otaku and the science fiction media they consumed were that both were conditioned by the failures and triumphs of the 1960s and early 1970s. Specifically, the spirit of protest that had bloomed around Anpo in 1960 grew into a conflagration in the latter half of the 1960s, with a reinvigorated student/socialist/countercultural movement protesting a wide range of issues ranging from Japanese support for the U.S. war in Vietnam to the proposed construction of Narita airport in Chiba prefecture to the renewal of the Anpo treaty in 1970. Although the anti-airport protesters held out for years, by the mid-1970s it was obvious that the fire had gone out of the movement, which had ultimately foundered in the face of the complacency and complicity of the alleged political opposition parties. Former movement participants splintered into counterpublics; at the extreme end, some became members of international and domestic terrorist and guerrilla organizations, while at the other extreme, others became proto-otaku, the men who were so into shojo manga in the mid-1970s.[517] Disillusion with political utopias was certainly a factor that manga critic Murakami Tomohiko identified in the appeal of shojo manga to seinen readers in 1978: "We may have ben too impatient to follow our dreams," he reflected. "To discover the path connected to dreams within the mere everyday, it may have been necessary only to refine our sensitivity." For him, part of the appeal of shojo manga was that it was able to express the spirit of this "difficult age" within its depiction of the everyday, as opposed to explicitly discussing political subject matter.[518]

The rise of otaku on the manga and anime fandom scene slowly but surely changed the demographics and dynamics at Comiket, which had been dominated by women for its first few years. The number of anime circles began increasing from Comiket 7 in December 1977, with cosplayers first appearing in notable numbers at the next event in April 1978. By Comiket 12 in July 1979, the organizers began spatially dividing anime and manga circles for ease of navigating the event. Although the next Comiket in December 1979 witnessed a spontaneous *Gundam* corner, Yonezawa dated the sharp jump in the number of military cosplayers and anime-related participants from Comiket 17 in April 1981.[519] By 1988, about 20% of circle participants at Comiket were male, but during the early 1990s that figure rose to approximately 35%; general attendees had reached rough gender parity more than a decade earlier in 1981.[520]

What drove the increase in male participation at Comiket was not just *Yamato* and *Gundam* but also pornographic comics. The eromanga that had held sway for the prior decade was known as "ero gekiga" in light of its adopting the gekiga conventions of psychological and artistic realism, with professionally published ero gekiga magazines reaching a peak of about 100 titles appearing per month in 1977. Their collapse was swift, however, and by 1980 the trend in eromanga had totally reversed away from gekiga-style realism towards a more deformed character style familiar from anime in particular. This form of eromanga was known somewhat euphemistically as "bishôjo comics" (meaning "beautiful girls' comics") after their protagonists' being styled as "cute" or "anime-style."[521]

The people (overwhelmingly men) who consumed these bishôjo comics were members of the otaku generation, who found the ero gekiga style that had appealed to the postwar generation not to their liking. When members of this generation later self-consciously described themselves as "new types" of humans (shinjinrui, a term evidently borrowed from *Gundam*) who were interested in new, non-physical types of social relations, this preference for non-realistic pornography was one aspect of what they meant, as well as human relationships that were mediated by media.[522] Nurtured on minor female characters in shonen manga and anime, these "Lolicon" fans, as they came to be known (from the Japanese abbreviation for "Lolita complex," after the Nabokov novel that became widely known in translation in the 1970s) flocked to the bishôjo comics dôjinshi of pioneering creator Azuma Hideo (b. 1950) in particular after Azuma first participated in Comiket in 1979, a decade after he had made his professional debut in the magazine *Manga Ô* (Manga King).

Bishôjo comics sold well enough at Comiket that publishers began creating professionally produced magazines catering to the Lolicon market in 1982, usually run on the same open submissions model as shonen'ai magazines. Much like contemporary shonen'ai, however, the sexual content in these magazines was tame by current standards, as hentai manga researcher Kimi Rito summarizes: "The main factor in defining bishojô comics at this time was that cute girls appear, and the prevailing opinion at the time was that sex was not entirely necessary. In the majority of cases, an anime-style or cute heroine appears in somewhat erotic scenes that contained panty shots and nudity."[523]

Fig 31: Screen cap from DaiCon III opening animation depicting the schoolgirl protagonist as captain of a *Yamato*-esque starship in typical Lolicon style

The Lolicon boom roughly matched the boom in mecha anime, with both fading after 1985.[524] Eromanga as a whole, however, only became more popular, with increasingly graphic sex scenes, as Comiket and professional bishôjo comics magazines operated in a virtuous cycle: dôjin creators whose works sold well at Comiket would transition to the professional magazines, bringing their readership's proven appetite for increasingly explicit sexual expression with them and driving even more explicit sexual content in the dôjin sphere. The OVA market also provided a ready avenue for anime adaptations of popular eromanga, as in the case of Maeda Toshio's manga *Urotsukidôji* (1986-87), infamous as the progenitor of tentacle porn.[525]

The new type emerges: Otaku and consumption

The year 1977 was significant in Japanese pop culture not just for *Yamato* and *Star Wars* but because that year witnessed the start of the so-called "anime boom," which lasted until 1985. While manga, by 1977, was more or less mainstream for children and adults in Japan, anime was still what is known in Japanese parlance as a "subculture," at least for those who are above the age of middle school, and with the exception of such classic shows as *Sazae-san* (the longest-running anime in existence, in point of fact), which more or less everyone potentially watches. But after *Yamato*, enough enthusiastic young male fans of anime existed even within the small but growing subculture that a number of anime magazines were able to get off the ground and make a go of it. Along the way, in the words of anime scholar Renato Rusca, they "kickstarted otaku culture."[526]

Few words have been so widely misunderstood and attracted so much interest and opprobrium as "otaku," which was banned on-air at the NHK until 2008. Early leading members of the subculture universally recall that the term arose as an appropriation of a polite second-person pronoun literally meaning "your house." (Pronouns in Japanese are a matter of great delicacy and significance, and many of them in fact originated as circumlocutions.) This appropriation makes more sense when placed in the context of the elevated, self-consciously different speech styles that early otaku seem to have used amongst themselves: in GAINAX's hagiographic, semi-fictional, semi-autobiographical *Otaku no video* (1991, dir. Mori Takeshi), the otaku in the earliest scenes speak in a (bewildering, to outsiders) mixture of military/spaceflight jargon (borrowed from *Yamato* and other SF) and courtly language familiar from bad Renaissance Fair performers (a decent rendering, in English, of the *feeling* of the Japanese dialogue).[527]

The early anime magazines (*Fanto-shu, Out, Animage*) were created of, by, and for anime fans, and they fostered among the young men of the post-*Yamato* generation precisely the kind of affirmational fandom previously described, specifically by offering a place for three specific tasks: world-building, critique, and community-building. "World-building" is the most obviously affirmational fannish task among the three, and is a word that is widely familiar to science fiction and fantasy fans but much less well known among those not familiar with the genre. Briefly, worldbuilding is the process of constructing a consistent and plausible scaffold and foundation under a given work of science fiction or fantasy's essential concept, and for visual media like *Star Wars* or *Yamato*, which of necessity required a lot of background concept work and design which was never directly referenced on screen, being able to share worldbuilding elements via other media was a key way that creators could foster and maintain audience engagement. This was exactly what the anime magazines did, and crucially for otaku culture generally, because *Yamato* was a "hard" science fiction narrative with lots of ships and weapons, this worldbuilding was frequently oriented towards explaining the materiel shown on screen, in depth.[528]

Critique and community-building were more straightforward; the latter especially was almost overdetermined, as the audiences for anime, editorial, and production staff were, as members of the first generation to have grown up watching anime increasingly entered anime studios in the early 1980s, broadly similar: they wanted to make good anime that was visually and narratively interesting. Although this was the same movement that had begun in manga in the 1930s with Hasegawa Machiko and Ueda Toshiko and turned into a flood beginning in the late 1940s with Tezuka and those who came after, the contexts were very different. Specifically, those manga creators were very quickly inducted into the professional side of the industry, where they were surrounded by senior editorial and publishing staff who did not have the same lifelong exposure to and care for manga.

The anime generation, however, had it differently; they overwhelmingly came out of the anime fan (i.e. otaku) community, and they overwhelmingly stayed there even as they began to make their living making anime professionally. Inculcated in the dôjin culture of Comiket and similar events, the fan magazines were resolutely non-

hierarchical, and their avowed goal of fostering critique meant that they were routinely the site of arguments between anime creators and anime audiences. The arguments, however, were a part of being anime fans; one of the pleasures of fandom is arguing with other people about the thing that you both like, and not infrequently enjoying the sense that your views are correct and the other person's are wrong. The decisive split was not, it turned out, between these second generation anime creators and the fans, but between creators' interests and their corporate sponsors'.[529]

The decisive year for anime turned out to be 1982, when *Super Dimension Fortress Macross* (1982, dir. Ishiguro Noboru) and *Magical Princess Minky Momo* (1982-83, dir. Yuyama Kunihiko) met very different, equally indicative fates. *Minky Momo* was an early magical girl anime, enjoyed by both children in the target audience (predominantly girls) and male otaku, albeit for different reasons. Although the ratings were strong across gendered marketing lines, the merchandise sales were dismal because the otaku weren't interested in the toys that the sponsor, a toy company, was hoping to sell. Otaku watched anime for content, partly because toy companies at this point didn't make the toys they wanted to buy, and while content was also what anime producers were interested in, it didn't inflate the sponsor's bottom line.

Macross was generally agreed to be the second otaku anime after *Yamato*, because it was oriented around the kinds of toys that otaku wanted to buy, despite the fact that they were nominally too old for toys at all; it enjoyed the same good ratings and cross-gender appeal as *Minky Momo* had initially. Like *Momo*, it was ultimately at the mercy of toy sales, but the younger members of Studio Nue (originally a science fiction illustration studio) actually managed to persuade senior management to take a chance on the "plane toys" that were what the sponsor was trying to sell: while the older staff were convinced that "Plane toys don't sell!" the younger animators knew that otaku of their own age would definitely buy them, and they were proved right.[530] Thus, toys and toy production played an important role in spearheading the development of otaku culture and the revolt of otaku against established paradigms of merchandising and consumption. The keepers of those paradigms were proven wrong by the anime's spectacular success, and together with *Gundam*, another space-giant robots anime, the show touched off a mecha anime boom that was oriented around toy sales.

Pathologizing otaku behavior—their demonization after 1989 as closet perverts, their portrayal as obsessive collectors more interested in imaginary characters than real flesh and blood women—has tended to overshadow discussion of otaku politics in considering the members of this subculture since its emergence. Fujoshi have recently come in for the same treatment, pathologized as failed heterosexuals too lazy and selfish to do their part for Japan. Part of this denial comes from the strong impulse amongst critics of older generations, particularly men, to deny the presence of politics in the everyday after the advent of the postmodern and post-Fordist capitalism. Manga editor and critic Ôtsuka Eiji in particular has spilled a lot of ink criticizing younger generations' political apathy at the expense of realizing that the political potentially imbues everything, particularly for those who are already marginalized. But just as the turn to shonen'ai was in part an expression of dissatisfaction with the current gendered sociopolitical order for the women who undertook it, and for the women who continue

to consume and produce BL media, otaku culture was also partly a form of resistance towards the gendered sociopolitical order for the men who participated in it.

As Ian Condry writes: "In some ways, the image of the Japanese otaku as a geeky, obsessive, socially inept, technologically fluent nerd represents the polar opposite of the image of the gregarious, socializing breadwinner, the salaryman. If the salaryman is measured by his productivity, then the loner otaku, with his comic book collections, expensive figurines, and encyclopedic knowledge of trivia, can be viewed as a puzzle of rampant, asocial consumerism."[531] The postmodern sociopolitical order in Japan figured women as housewives and mothers of children; gender roles for men were expressed in terms of the salaryman, the so-called corporate samurai who, in the classical vision, sublimated his entire identity to one company for the four-decade span of his career before his retirement. Companies in Japan demanded long hours in the office and regular socialization sessions outside of it in order to suture male employees' sense of identity and self-worth to the workplace, partly through paid office outings to "hostess bars" where women are employed to make men feel manly through flirting, drinking, and conversation.

Needless to say, all this time spent at work took men away from their families whether they wanted to spend time with said families or not, and in the 1980s in particular the phenomenon known as karôshi (death by overwork) became increasingly publicized, making the ultimate potential cost of this form of white-collar employment painfully clear. The otaku retreat into consumption was thus on one level a choice to drop out of this paradigm rather than prop it up through one's own existence within it. If the relations between men and women that it entailed were fundamentally false anyway—on the one hand, supporting a wife and children who were essentially strangers with one's paycheck while spending all of one's "free" time socializing with sex trade professionals who were being paid to give one their attention—then being enraptured with nonexistent characters was a no less authentic affective relationship. In the years of the Bubble this choice was eccentric at best; in the Lost Decades, however, it became pathologized as a threat to Japanese society.

Am I awake or do I dream? GAINAX, garage kits, and girl games

If fans like to argue, science fiction fans may be some of the most nit-picking and argument-prone of them all. In this respect, it is significant that otaku culture emerged out of science fiction fandom, as the extremely self-referential otaku humor and otaku culture, which relied on obsessive and exhaustive knowledge of media properties, was in many ways the logical end of the "affirmational" fandom paradigm that constitutes much of science fiction fandom in Japan and worldwide constitutes, then and now.

The kings of the otaku were the group of people associated with the General Products company and its spin-off anime studio Gainax. Although it was General Products founder Okada Toshio (b. 1958) who was the self-proclaimed "otaking," everyone in the GP/Gainax inner circle retains a certain aura of centrality to otaku culture, honed after Gainax's epochal release of the anime *Neon Genesis Evangelion* in 1996. But the roots of General Products (the name is an authorized reference to Larry

Niven's Ringworld series) and Gainax go back more than twenty years before to the science fiction fandom scene in Kansai in the late 1970s, and specifically 1978, when Takeda Yasuhiro (b. 1957) met Okada in line at his first science fiction convention. He and Okada hit it off in the way that fans do, and they quickly turned a dynamic in-line discussion into a sci-fi standup routine.[532]

Takeda and Okada, significantly, felt like outsiders even in Kansai science fiction fandom, which was already alienated from the fans in Tokyo (who were universally agreed to have a condescending attitude): Takeda wrote in his memoir that "even then, there was the widespread idea that sci-fi was big enough to accommodate everything, which is why we actively promoted anime and tokusatsu films that weren'tconsidered 'true sci-fi' by the old-timers." In a move quite comparable to Meikyû members' decision to found Comiket, Takeda and Okada decided that the way to resolve the debate between generations in science fiction fandom was to put in a bid to host the Nihon SF Taikai, essentially the local version of Worldcon. They were successful, and DaiCon 3 (a pun on Osaka) was held in Osaka in 1981, with Takeda as the chair.[533]

The "near-mythic" DaiCon 3 inaugurated a number of influential trends within Japanese science fiction fandom: specifically, it was the first time that a Japanese convention had featured a dealers' room where fans could purchase sf-related goods, an idea that Takeda and Okada borrowed from the 1980 Worldcon that they attended in Boston, and in Osaka Okada apparently realized that there was a huge pent-up demand for sf-related goods, which led directly to him founding General Products as Japan's first sci-fi specialty store in 1982, with Takeda as the manager.

Okada Toshio opened the storefront of General Products, Japan's first specialty science fiction hobbyist store, in February 1982; they sold out of everything they had in stock on the first day, and also obtained a key early fan in the person of the then-editor in chief of one of the leading anime magazines, *Animec*. With General Products, Okada and Takeda were explicitly setting out to make the model kits they wanted, because established companies didn't make what they wanted. Their early model kits were known as "garage kits" because they were pouring the vinyl and plastic themselves and the kits required a relatively sophisticated degree of know-how to put together. The fantastically sophisticated models of vehicles from anime that are now available for fans to buy and assemble themselves are the descendants of those early garage kits, just as the vinyl figures depicting anime characters that are now ubiquitous elements of the media mix for popular anime are the result of applying the same otaku logic of model kits to character designs.

Fig 32: Screen cap from DaiCon IV opening animation depicting now-teenaged protagonist (in Playboy bunny costume) sky-surfing on a sword amidst fighter planes: typical otaku aesthetics

Garage kits, models, and figures are all still exhibited at the biannual Wonder Festival, which General Products inaugurated as a pre-event at its Osaka storefront in December 1984 before holding the actual event in Tokyo in January 1985. In his memoirs, Takeda confesses bluntly that they started holding Wonfes, as it is known, because the General Products staff had no idea about professional distribution networks for model kits, but they did know how to put on a 4000-attendee event, so they just did that. Although Wonfes began as a strictly amateur event (the fact that General Products was formally registered as a trademark in the same month is an indication of how non-professionally the company was still being run), with the kits for sale almost exclusively fan-produced small production runs, and it still retains a strong non-professional element, it is now equally important as a major venue for toy companies to showcase their upcoming products before the most adoring audiences possible. It is now also usual practice for license-holders to grant Wonfes fan exhibitors single-day licenses authorizing their sales of kits at the event.[534]

Although these items are not character goods in the strictest sense, they nonetheless are part of the same logic of otaku consumption which now powers the anime media mix for every anime, regardless of who that anime's intended audience is. Moreover, the fantastic amounts of money that could be obtained from the male fans who bought these items—and now, as these companies increasingly realize that women will buy them too, if they are the kind of things they like, from female fans as well—powered entire subgenres of anime from this moment onwards. In many ways, the merchandising aspects of the anime media mix are now as important, or more so, than the anime itself.

Otaku movement: From DaiCon to *Dragon Quest*

The other legendary feature of DaiCon III was the opening animation, which brought Okada and Takeda into contact with Anno Hideaki, Yamaga Hiroyuki, and Akai Takami, who were already a unit after their entrance into Osaka University for the Arts in 1980. They approached Takeda about the possibility of doing an opening animation for the con, and according to him they already "had a clear idea of what they wanted to do" when they did. The opening animation, which was done on vinyl for maximum cheapness and which the animators were working on literally up until the morning of the convention, remains a legendary touchstone for contemporary anime fandom and in the history of otaku culture, particularly when paired with its successor, the opening animation for DaiCon IV in 1984: the female protagonist's evolution from a cute sailor-suit wearing schoolgirl in the DaiCon III opening animation to a hot teenager wearing a red Playboy bunny costume, surfing through the air on a sword, and then using that weapon to duel Darth Vader, among many other pop culture figures, in the DaiCon IV opening animation represents a real index to the aesthetics of otaku culture. The DaiCon III opening animation also, as Tom Lamarre points out, is the first instance of what he calls "otaku movement," a marriage of planar motion and technologically-oriented ballistic vision that would come to dominate a certain subgenre of anime as the otaku generation matured and which has increasingly been taken up in visual media worldwide, particularly Hollywood.[535]

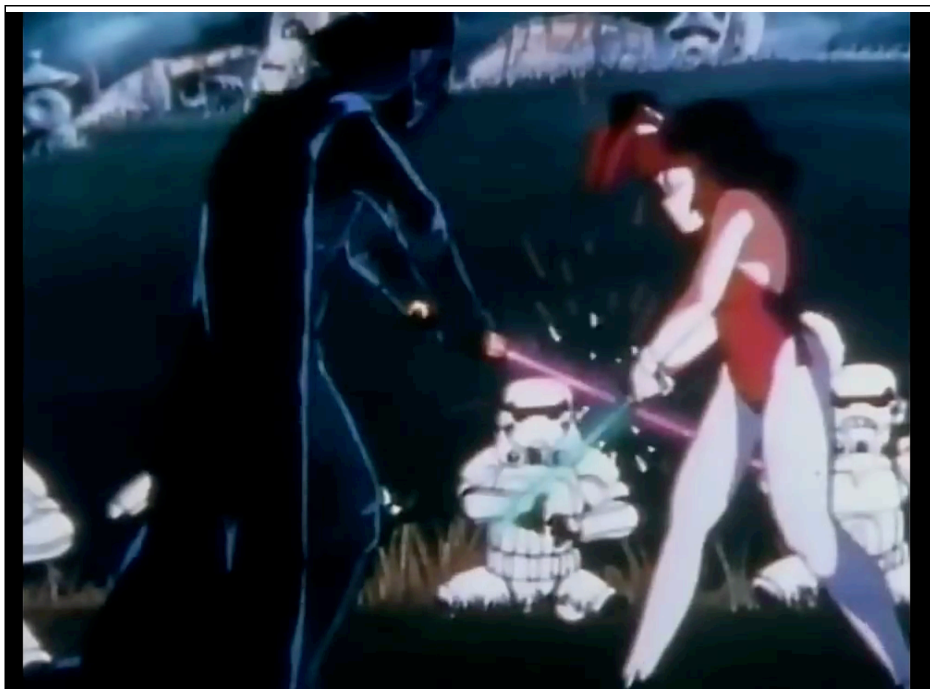

Fig 33: Screen cap from DaiCon IV opening animation depicting the bishôjo protagonist dueling Darth Vader

The otaku generation was famously distinguished by its aptitude with new forms of technology; indeed, Okada Toshio theorized otaku as "people with a [highly] evolved sense of sight," which was enabled by their usage of VCRs and videocassettes to collect and watch their favorite series repeatedly.[536] To quote Thomas Lamarre's summary of this new form of perception:

> Otaku then are people who began to look at anime with close attention to how it was put together. […] In other words, otaku perception entails a form of connoisseurship, which demands a new kind of literacy or competency in reading images. Above all, the new competency demands an attention to production details as so much "data" about the animation (what is often called neta in Japanese), which has the effect of flattening the image into a distributive filed of elements. […] This way of looking at anime dehierarchizes the image along two axes. First, it flattens the hierarchy of production by which directors are supposed to be of primary importance, followed by producers or writers, followed by animation directors, key animators, and character designers. Second, it flattens the hierarchy of elements in the visual field—to give some simplistic examples, character design or mecha design may prove more important than story or character, or the key animation of battle scenes may garner as much attention as character development, especially with repeated viewing. Of course, the best animation could be said to combine the best talents in all these areas within one film or series. Nonetheless what is important is the ability to make these distinctions, to discern the interplay of different elements and "signature layers" with the anime image.[537]

Otaku consumption thus worked on two levels: in terms of this new way of seeing, of looking at anime, it tended to valorize different kinds of anime and different elements of anime than had previously been regarded as the gold standard. In terms of the consumption of goods by exchanging money for objects, otaku consumption propelled the anime media mix to its mature form by opening up all elements of a given property—whether anime, manga, or video game—to merchandising in various forms of media. In this respect *Macross* and *Dragon Quest* are again key, as *Macross* cemented the key role that music plays in anime by its incorporation of a pop star character and storyline into the show itself. Uniting music with anime brought the anime media mix full circle from Takarazuka and Kadokawa by providing anime with an additional "frequency" by which to influence viewers' perceptions and emotions; even today, music frequently plays a much more loaded part in anime storytelling than it does in animation made in other countries, where scores and soundtracks are almost always dependent elements of the production process. But it also created new venues in which to merchandise characters, as well as creating anime composers and singers as figures with fanbases in their own right: watching an anime because a given composer has done the score or a certain musical act is doing the opening or ending theme song is now entirely normal. Moreover, the role of music in meaning-making and the media mix was ported wholesale into the nascent medium of video games, suturing that emerging form of new media into the anime media mix paradigm.

Video game consoles were largely pioneered in Japan after the spectacular collapse of Atari, Inc. in 1984 after the so-called "video game crash" the previous year left the U.S. market wide open to Kyoto-based Nintendo, which was founded in 1889 as a manufacturer of playing cards. What was known as the "Famicom" in Japan (short for "Family Computer") and the "Nintendo entertainment system" (NES) in English

debuted in 1983 and became the best-selling console of its generation and, among other things, standardized the multi-sided market model that the video game industry continues to operate on, in which third-party developers are officially licensed by console makers to create games for their consoles. Among other features, this approach neatly solved the problem of overproduction of low quality games that had doomed Atari and its pioneering home console in the United States.

The earliest Nintendo games for Famicom, including *Donkey Kong* (1983) and *Super Mario Bros.* (1985), were ports of previously existing arcade games, and the Famicom continued to be influenced by arcade games' format, particularly in that their gameplay was exclusively linear and that they were constructed in terms of levels, which players had to clear in a single playthrough before moving to the next level. One of the hit video game franchises of the decade in Japan, however, changed all that: *Dragon Quest* (1986) combined some of the elements of tabletop role playing games (TRPGs) such as *Dungeons and Dragons* with a greater emphasis on story and characters to appeal to people not already familiar with video games, and it used character designs by Toriyama Akira, the creator of the hit manga *Dragon Ball*, as one of the means of doing so. *Dragon Quest* also synthesized one of the crucial innovations of contemporary anime—the extreme reliance on music to involve audiences and create emotions—by recruiting the classically trained composer Sugiyama Koichi to do the game's score. Taken all together, the combination of these elements produced an instant hit, and a franchise that has continued across platforms and media through to the present, with *Dragon Quest XI* currently scheduled for release in 2017.

Dragon Quest was doubly significant in this regard, as it was one of the first video games to employ a full score, albeit rendered via an 8-bit processor, and also because it was the first video game to be merchandised according to otaku logic: General Products approached Bandai about obtaining the rights to produce model kits of the equipment characters used in the game, but the Bandai staff initially assumed they wanted the rights to Toriyama's character designs, as no one had ever asked about video game materiel before. General Product's *Dragon Quest* model kits were so successful, moreover, that they led directly to Gainax's direct-to-video live action *Dragon Quest* film in 1988.[538]

Before that, however, the DaiCon III opening animation also won the General Products guys some influential fans, including Tezuka, who liked it enough that they put Tezuka characters in the DaiCon IV animation. Anno and Yamagi got their first paid professional work as animators on *Macross*, and by 1984, they were ready to strike out on their own by forming their own anime studio. Studio Gainax, as they called it, was capitalized by General Products for ¥2 million in 1984, and Anno, Yamagi and NAME recruited an established animator from Tezuka Productions to show them the ropes of professional anime production, echoing Tezuka's recruitment of Toei animators a generation earlier. Over the next several years Gainax and General Products continued an extremely ambiguous interrelationship which culminated in their formal merger in June 1987, during which the principals of both produced a string of popular anime, animated films, and live action fan films and parodies.[539]

Partly because it was so thoroughly immersed in the fandom scene, Gainax managed to successfully navigate a major transition in the anime industry in these same years which had a huge impact on Japanese pop culture overall. In a word, this was the collapse of the mecha anime boom and the rise of original video animation in 1985, as a group of ex-*Macross* animators who, thanks to otaku consumption habits, were increasingly well known in their own right, turned to OVA production independent of the established sponsorship/broadcast production model. This was the same transition that manga had undergone a generation before when manga magazines shifted from product to advertising; prior to 1985, toys were the product that anime was selling, while after that year, anime itself was the product.[540]

Just as this transition had touched off a reorganization of manga publishing, it touched off a similar reorganization in the anime world, namely the end of the first generation of anime magazines and the interactive nature of the fan/producer relationships they had fostered. From 1986 onwards, anime magazines were reorganized not as community forums but essentially as advertising, adopting the same kind of unidirectional, top-down hierarchy from producers to fans that had been repudiated by the anime generation in the previous decade.[541] Within a short span of time, anime production had also been reorganized around the production committee model, in which stakeholders across media come together to fund the production of an anime that will power an anime media mix. This new production logic, which is now the model across most pop culture media production in Japan, increasingly empowered manga as a base for anime because a manga with pre-existing popularity seemed like a relatively safe bet. But it also increasingly subjugated manga to the production logic of anime as a subordinate component of the anime media mix.

Golden years: *Shonen Jump* turns a profit

Conspicuous consumption transformed all of Japanese society in the 1980s and leant the urban cityscape of Tokyo a new luxe patina that it had previously witnessed only in the 1920s, if ever. Publishing too benefitted from the money sloshing around the country, and the annual publishing databooks tell a story about manga in the 1980s that is particularly interesting. For starters, it was not until 1986 that the *Shuppan Nenkan* started including commentary on the year in manga as a separate category; before that, various categories of manga were sliced and diced into other publishing categories about magazines, ranging from girls' to boys' to women's to sports. In part, this reflected a new acknowledgment on the part of the industry overall that manga was a legitimate form of media, spurred in no small part by the fact that manga was coming to constitute an increasingly large portion of the amount of things published in Japan: the standard figure in recent years is that manga comprises about 40% of the publishing industry by quantity.

Despite this almost stupefying success, however, observers of the contemporary manga industry are, from a variety of vantage points, less than sanguine about its long-term prospects in its current form. The roots of this unease reach back to the very same era in which manga experienced its era of greatest success: the late 1980s to the early

1990s, the years of the Bubble and the ebb tide of material prosperity after it burst. The success of manga in these years—and its problems—are ably encapsulated by *Weekly Shonen Jump*, which dethroned *Weekly Shonen Magazine* as the country's best-selling manga magazine in 1974 and never looked back. It was so successful, in fact, that its circulation numbers ballooned from 2.55 million copies per week in 1982 to 6.53 million copies per week in 1995, an increase so large that the magazine, which like all postmodern manga magazines was designed as a loss-leading advertisement for the real moneymakers (manga tankôbon and, in *Shonen Jump*'s case in particular, sales related to anime media mixes of hit series), actually turned a profit in these years despite Shueisha's best efforts.

Although it is certainly not incorrect to attribute the magazine's success in this era to the fact that readers liked its hit manga, particularly *Dragon Ball* and *Slam Dunk*, in the age of the anime media mix a hit manga is by definition only part of the story, and this was most certainly true in *Shonen Jump*'s case. Publishers noted that sales of manga were increasingly synergized with TV and media mix adaptations: once the latter occurred, the former started to sell well.[542] Sales of *Jump* in particular boomed, with the 1988 New Year issue selling five million copies and the 19 December 1990 issue selling six million, an increase that the 1991 yearbook deemed "astounding." In the same report, the publishers speculated that one probable cause of the magazine's success was adults buying it too.[543] This was certainly part of the story; in that same year the publishing yearbook also shrewdly noted that "the generation that was raised with comics" was now reaching their 40s, in the prime of their consumption habits and possessing unprecedented material wealth.[544] Much of the history of manga throughout this book has been the history of this generation; the problem publishers confronted after 1989 was essentially how to continue to foment a profitable industry in a world in which mere demographics no longer initially buoyed their sales.

In this respect the cross-marketing category potential of the media mix became increasingly important to players throughout the contents industry: another advantage of the anime media mix was that it made potential audiences aware of the existence of content that might appeal to them in other media on the principle that, as Marc Steinberg writes, "The anime media mix […] has no single goal or teleological end; the *general* consumption of any of the media mix's products will grow the entire enterprise. Since each media-commodity is also an advertisement for further products in the same franchise, this is a consumption that produces more consumption. In contrast to the pyramid structure of the marketing media mix, which presumes a single goal to which synergy is the means, the anime media mix regards synergy as a goal unto itself that will support its collective media life."[545]

The media mix and specifically, anime adaptation of *Jump* manga certainly propelled female readers' consumption of *Jump* manga, which were ostensibly in the shonen category and aimed at male readers. This trend began with *Captain Tsubasa* in 1981 and continued to gain strength over the course of the 1980s as the dôjin sphere increasingly turned to creating dôjinshi directly based on existing media. The female fans who created and consumed BL dôjinshi about *Jump* manga characters, in other words, did so only after consuming the original content in one or more forms, and

female readers' consumption of *Weekly Shonen Jump* manga in particular and shonen manga in general—some for the purposes of BL, but others simply because they liked it—became an increasingly open secret from the 1980s onward. The muscle-bound adult male protagonists of *Fist of the North Star* and *Saint Seiya*, two smash hits of the early to mid-1980s, were replaced before the end of the decade by such shonen manga as *Dragon Ball* and *Ranma ½*, the latter created by a woman, Takahashi Rumiko (b. 1957), in a key early example of what came to be called the "new shonen:" as the number of children shrank across the board, shonen publishers increasingly toned down the sexism and violence that had been standard in the genre since the emergence of seinen in 1968 in order to appeal to female readers.

Even as *Jump* made money, however, video games began to exert increasing influence on manga in particular and popular culture in general and became an increasingly important part of otaku consumption and the anime media mix. Though the *Dragon Quest* media mix was still in its infancy in 1990, that year the publishing yearbook remarked frankly that they wanted the game to be made into a manga so that manga publishers could be included in its "explosive popularity."[546] The publishers observed almost immediately that the existence of video games related to a given manga began having a visible effect on manga sales, and video games became an increasingly important part of the annual reports on comics from 1986 onwards. In a very real way, the rise of video games also represented a passing of the torch: it was the children of the manga generation who got hooked first and hardest on the new home consoles and whose consumption of video games as a form of new media led the way for manga to escape the stigma of being bad across the board. The moral panics of the years after 1986 were directed towards video games, towards anime, and/or towards specific forms of eromanga, but the manga medium overall was no longer attacked as deleterious across the board.

If this was success, it came at a price. First, the increasing importance of the anime media mix increasingly effaced and undercut manga's historical status as the progenitor of anime and the unidirectional source of successful franchises. As Marc Steinberg explains, drawing on manga critic Gô Sasakibara's comments about origins, "The media mix's erasure of origins does not only appear when the original becomes nonlocalizable but rather in every one of its incarnations. The media mix in all its forms effects an erasure of origins, whereby the primacy of the temporally original work is *always already* called into question by the serial spin-off. […] As soon as the media mix begins, there is a fundamental reordering of the work such that the primacy of the original is necessarily lost."[547] In concrete terms in the 1980s, the mature form of the media mix meant that an increasing number of manga were produced as manga versions of or tie-ins to anime or video games which had not started as comics. These works were conceptualized and produced by media companies, with the mangaka who physically created the comics working as freelancers without copyright ownership, an arrangement comparable to what is known as "packaged books" in the United States publishing industry and a notable difference to the traditional manga IP model.

Second, manga attained "cultural citizenship" at the same historical moment that many observers bemoaned its current circumstances as doldrums and its sales began to

shrink. But there was more going on to these developments than was apparent from observing only the professional manga industry, rather than the manga field as a whole.

Emerging paradigms: Comitia and the importance of amateurs

Looking at the manga field as a whole that is comprised *both* of the dôjin sphere *and* the professional industry is crucial to accurately understanding the situation of manga after the mid-1980s. Although Comiket has acquired a reputation as an important venue in which emerging creators are now scouted into the professional ranks of the contents industry, this image is in some respects not wholly accurate, and it was even less the case in 1982 than in 2017. But Comiket has, over its more than forty years of history, indubitably changed the face of the contents industry and how it relates to itself and its audiences. Though many of these changes postdate the 1989 terminus of this chapter, it was possible by 1985 to say that the event had succeeded in its original organizers' ambitions of reorganizing the manga field. The final proof of this success lay not in Comiket itself but in the foundation of a different event called Comitia.

Comitia was very much a product of the fandom atmosphere that Comiket had instigated. It started in November 1984 with 100 circles and 200-300 attendees; in 2014, its quarterly events ranged from 3500-5600 circles participating, with 20-30,000 attendees. The essence of the event, as set forth in its thirtieth anniversary commemorative volumes, was that anyone could participate at all skill levels and that it would (unlike, by this point in time, Comiket) feature all genres mixed together, forming a truly chaotic "assembly of expression." The cardinal rule that separated it from Comiket, however, was also its organizing principle: that original works would be the only genre.[548]

Nakamura Kimihiko, one of three members of the original organizing committee, wrote in the commemorative volume that by the 1980s, there were amateur manga magazines (manga jôhô zasshi) in print along with other subculture magazines such as the anime magazines mentioned earlier. Nakamura himself was staff for one of them, *Pafu*, and he and the other members of the organizing committee copied the structure of *Pafu* for Comitia. As is normal in fan organizing, all of the members had connections with people who were making dôjinshi—either they did it themselves, or they had those connections through friends or through the magazine, and they brought in those dôjinshi friends to be staff. After the other two members of the committee graduated college, Nakamura took the lead on organizing the event from the third iteration onward.[549]

Unlike Comiket and the "anything goes" culture of mixed transformative and original dôjin works that it fomented, where professional creators were held at something of a distance, Comitia made the decision to treat pros and amateurs the same: whereas Comiket was originally founded as a means of communication amongst manga fans, with that communication taking the form of a dôjinshi marketplace, Comitia was founded as a "place" where readers and creators could interact directly. And because Comitia has over the years acquired a reputation as a good event to

become popular at, regardless of one's current status in or vis-a-vis the professional industry, it has in fact been the origin point for many professional creators' careers, not only in manga but in related creative fields such as design, illustration, advertising and anime production, as the three volumes of *Comitia 30th*, reprinting dôjinshi that these successful creators sold at their first Comitia events, makes clear.[550]

Those developments, however, took time. Nakamura dated the era when Comitia began to be a place where popular creators were emerging from Comitita 13 in 1989, the first of those creators being Nightow Yasuhiro (b. 1967), the creator of the beloved anime and manga *Trigun* (1995-97). Befitting its new cachet, Comitia implemented a franchise system in 1991, starting with Niigata; franchisee events have the same name and same "original works only" policy, but everything else is run independently. Over its first ten years of existence, in addition to the creation of franchise events, Comitia itself grew to about 1000 participating circles on average.[551]

In the foreword to the second volume, Nakamura wrote that people ceasing to be creators of dôjinshi and dôjin works was not a cause for sadness, because the fact that they could and did stop was a sign that in the dôjin world drawing manga is an activity that people undertook freely and just as freely ceased.[552] For a while in the late 1980s and early 1990s, moreover, people ceasing activity in the dôjin world to turn pro, as in the case of the artists' collective CLAMP, was a fairly normal occurrence, though that is less the case now simply because turning pro is no longer seen as the ideal career path through the manga world. All of these developments, moreover, are a sign of the increasing maturity of the manga market: although it is tempting to see the creators of transformative dôjin works who exhibit at Comiket and other events as having lesser skill than those who exhibit original works at Comitia or who turn pro, in practice this hierarchy breaks down completely and it is just as normal for creators of original dôjin works who exhibit at Comiket, particularly anime and video games, to turn pro directly from there as from Comitia.

While dôjinshi in the age of *COM* were rather rudimentary fare, that is no longer the case and the 80/20 rule is often effectively suspended: today the majority of dôjinshi are technically competent comics (the circle would not last if they were not), a sign again of how deeply manga praxis has become engrained in manga fan cultures and indeed in Japanese society overall. The question of which dôjin works one likes often comes down not to questions of quality but to questions of one's own personal tastes.

It is important to recognize, moreover, that the extreme variety of manga today, particularly in the seinen category—which has increasingly come to comprise any manga for adults that does not fit into the josei category—is also a consequence of the dôjin sphere and its influence on manga. This extreme variety is immediately visible at Comiket, where in winter 2014 I purchased a handmade bird figurine and dôjin ranging from Anonymous-authored hit pieces on the Church of Scientology to travel guides to obscure prefectures to handbooks on how to cook exotic foodstuffs and modify electric guitars to the more conventional dôjin based on *X-Men: First Class* (2011, dir. NAME) and Yamagishi Ryôko's classic manga *Hi izuru kuni no tenshi* (DATES). But it features at Comitia too: my haul from Comitia 113, in August 2015, ranged from art prints to badges to figurines and original dôjinshi, and needless to say, these purchases reflected

the intersection of my own personal interests with the variety of art and goods on offer at the event.

Although seinen started out as a genre overwhelmingly devoted to producing more "adult-oriented," i.e. sexually explicit manga, the category featured a steadily increasing variety of content from the late 1970s onward, as people like Takemiya entered a space that would have been foreclosed to them just a few short years before. Although the 1990 edition of the publishing yearbook commented on this increasing variety and noted that "it could be said to be a response to population growth," this explanation seems inadequate from the vantage point of thirty years later, when population shrink has in fact had little effect on the increasing variety of manga available in the professional and dôjin spheres.[553] Even by 1990, there was so much manga being produced that being able to tell what was or wasn't "adult oriented" (i.e. sexually explicit) had become a social problem for libraries, which some solved by putting a "seijin mark" on books that were deemed "inappropriate to boys and girls' healthy development."[554]

The relationship between manga publishing and the dôjin sphere became increasingly problematized as the 1980s wore on, and there is evidence that in the 1990s seinen publishers thought that the dôjin sphere's existence had vitiated creativity both amongst professional and dôjin creators: it would be equally accurate to say that these editors were increasingly alienated from manga fan cultures and that their prior business experience did not enable them to envision ways of monetizing the products of these fan cultures under the existing publishing paradigm.[555] But it is equally true that the dôjin sphere did not need the validation of turning pro to exist for its own sake, and its participants similarly did not necessarily need or want to turn pro. The essential point of seinen, boys' love, and Comitia was that the existence of the dôjin sphere, and works and types of content gaining popularity within it, provided a structural alternative to professional manga publishing that worked in several ways: most importantly, it demonstrated that works that would once have been considered too weird or too niche would, if published professionally, do well in that world as well. Today's extreme diversity of manga subject matter was the eventual result of this development, but that diversity took more than a decade for editors and publishers to embrace.

In the meantime, publishers attempted to use the flexibility of seinen as a vehicle for new sub-genres of manga with pedagogical and didactic aims: this was the result of a new editorial paradigm that began in 1986 with Ishinomori Shôtarô's *Japan Inc.*, a hagiographic handbook to the Japanese economy in manga form. Over the next ten years, editors increasingly took the lead in reinventing the seinen manga category, stretching it to its limits by instigating "new [sub-]genres of political and economic adult [seinen] manga."[556] The publication of the *Manga History of Japan* in 1989 was an early landmark in this movement, and its eventual approval for use as a textbook in schools marked a total and telling reversal from the days in the 1950s and 1960s when national policy dictated that manga in school be confiscated on sight. By 1989, in other words, manga had arrived; the existence and increasing visibility of anime and video

games made this older form of new media palatable to the holders of social and cultural prestige by comparison.

The prestige manga gained in Japan in the 1990s was partly a reflection of its slowly but surely increasing visibility abroad (especially in the United States), but also partly a function of mere demographics: the "manga generation" born in the postwar years was now of an age to command socioeconomic and cultural prestige and power, and as members of that generation increasingly took key roles in political and cultural institutions, those institutions naturally shifted to accommodate their views. This prestige, to be clear, was a far cry from the art world bona fides that Kitazawa Rakuten, Okamoto Ippei and their contemporaries had struggled to acquire for their upstart medium in the 1910s and 1920s: manga had changed irrevocably in the intervening seventy-five years, and in the 1990s it was recognized on its own terms, as a hybrid art form with its own unique means of expression. Indeed, the bulk of manga criticism in Japan from this point on set itself the task of theorizing manga's uniqueness as a form of sequential art, in a notable turnaround from the art journal arguments nearly a century earlier. But as Yonezawa Yoshihiro rightly foresaw, the cultural recognition afforded to manga after 1989 was in some respects a memorial. Over the next twenty-five years, much of the energy in the contents industry in general and manga in particular shifted to the dôjin sphere, and it remains to be seen whether it will ever shift back.

Conclusion: Still preoccupied with 1989

The year 1989 was a watershed for Japan, for manga, and for the world. On January 7, the Shôwa emperor finally died, concluding 63 years on the throne and 68 in power with a lingering illness that paralyzed the social life of the country until its resolution. Barely a month later, the anime and manga world was shocked by Tezuka Osamu's death from stomach cancer at the cruelly young age of sixty. In November 1989, the end of the Cold War began with the fall of the Berlin Wall, while in December, Tagawa Suihô passed away peacefully at the age of 90. It was, in every possible sense, the end of an era.

The summer of 1989 also witnessed the gruesome Miyazaki incident, in which a young man named Miyazaki Tsutomu (1962-2008) was arrested for, and eventually found guilty of, the murder and post-mortem sexual molestation of four elementary schoolgirls. Anime, manga, and subculture goods found in his apartment led the press to label him, histrionically, as "the otaku killer," and being seen as a fan of anime in particular immediately became a mark of deep social stigma. Manga and anime fan culture were deeply affected by this development, making the 1990s and early 2000s a very different atmosphere in which to participate in either.[557] Among other things, there is strong evidence that the gendered social reaction to the Miyazaki incident in which otaku (who were male by default) were stereotyped as more or less closet perverts and latent pedophiles while female fans (note the lack of specific word denoting a female fan in this era) largely escaped societal notice and censure, strengthened the incipient gender divide in Japanese fan culture. Significantly, when female fans of manga and anime, and especially boys' love media, were made visible through social criticism beginning in the mid-2000s, these "fujoshi" (literally "rotten women") were castigated for different perceived social crimes, namely their focus on their own consumptive pleasure of fictitious male bodies instead of undertaking their societally prescribed sexual and reproductive labor as wives and mothers. Meanwhile, after the success of the mid-2000s *Densha otoko* (Train Man) media franchise and state efforts to co-opt the "Cool Japan" discourse for tourism and profit, the image of otaku has been more or less socially rehabilitated into one of well-meaning but socially awkward nerds, and "otaku" is becoming a generic term for a serious fan or hobbyist in any arena, not merely the contents industry.

Although Hirohito's son Akihito acceded to the Chrysanthemum Throne under the felicitous name of "Heisei"(very roughly rendered as "peace everywhere"), and property values in Tokyo rose a stupefying 60 percent over the course of 1989, with the Nikkei stock index reaching an all-time record high of 39,000 just before the end of the year, the Bubble economy burst definitively soon after. Japan's economy, although still prosperous, has slipped to number three in the world after the United States and China, and the Heisei period overall has been collectively dubbed "the Lost Decades" for their calamitous series of natural and human disasters, monetary deflation, negative economic growth, and rapid population aging and shrinkage. The Heisei emperor is now scheduled to abdicate on New Year's Eve 2018.

The manga industry was able to outrun these developments for a while: sales of manga magazines in fact peaked in 1995, years after the socioeconomic doldrums had set in. But even before the era of declining magazine sales set off a period of panic about the medium's future, it was clear that the rise of the media mix had permanently altered manga's position in the contents industry from one of pre-eminence to equal prominence with the other two pillars, anime and video games. The global success of the Pokémon franchise over the past two decades, which has been powered primarily by video games and anime with relatively little success in manga, is a neat encapsulation of this brave new world. The other is the fact that manga publishers—and, increasingly, anime studios—have been dragged, kicking and screaming, into the global media scene, primarily but not exclusively mediated via companies located in the United States. The rise of anime and manga globally is material for a future book, but suffice it to say here that, however transnational manga was in terms of inspiration and influence in its first century, it was never the ambition or intention of manga industry figures in Japan to play overseas—with the qualified exceptions of Tezuka and Rakuten, who had a retrospective exhibition devoted to his career in Paris in the late 1920s. Now, however, overseas reception increasingly determines manga production even at a fairly granular level in order to maximize foreign profits—in some cases.

Manga criticism went into a funk as well, with overwhelmingly older and male commentators focusing obsessively on the fact of Tezuka's departure from the scene as a sign of the times, and a terrible one. It was left to the young, iconoclastic critic Itô Gô (b. 1967) to pen an insightful polemic under the deliberately incendiary title *Tezuka Is Dead: Towards an expanded theory of manga expression* in 2005. Itô pointed out rightly that manga criticism had atrophied in the nearly two decades since Tezuka's death, reifying shonen, shojo, and other manga designations as very nearly separate media when they were little more than convenient marketing categories and futilely seeking to return to the vanished manga golden age most critics remembered from their childhood in the 1960s. Just in case anyone had missed the point the first time around, the back cover flap of the book's 2014 edition is unsubtly emblazoned with the phrase "Manga Is Not Dead," and Itô's second book was titled *Manga Changes* (2007, Manga wa kawaru: Mangagatari kara mangaron he).[558]

Reports of manga's death have certainly been greatly exaggerated, but it is equally true that manga is definitely not what it once was: while magazine sales continue to shrink as the 2010s wear on, sales of dôjin works and goods continue to rise,

and even professional creators now routinely bank on the dôjin sphere as a more stable source of additional income—and an entirely separate outlet for their creativity—than the increasingly shaky professional manga industry. The dôjin world business model of "open source cultural goods," as scholar Nele Noppe demonstrates, is proving far better suited to the post-Fordist capitalism of the Lost Decades than traditional publishing.[559] In one sense, the manga industry is something of a victim of its own success: by virtue of their business model, legal constraints, and social mores, to say nothing of economies of scale, publishers simply cannot supply the myriad and frequently sexually explicit narratives that fans want to consume in manga, leaving fans themselves to fill the gap.[560] The divide between the fates of the two newest manga categories since 1980 bear this out: whereas boys' love manga has only become increasingly popular, and increasingly visible, josei manga contracted after the Bubble years because, since it essentially comprised professionally published (and often relatively sexually explicit) heterosexual romance manga, it didn't have the same anchoring foot in the dôjin world.

Yonezawa Yoshihiro's place in the history of manga would be secure if he had done nothing else in his life than co-found Comiket, but his vantage point in the dôjin world and his abiding (if not maniacal) love of manga gave him an incisive perspective on the history and future of the medium that few have matched, past or present. In Yonezawa's meditation on the evolution of manga in the post-postwar era, he remarked of its development that "…in other words, there was always a back alley group of enthusiastic manga within the age, different from mainstream because it was B or C grade, half-professional. And even though it was scorned and looked down upon, by means of that energy and newness it became the popular manga of the next age."[561] Heeding Yonezawa's formulation leads to the inescapable conclusion that the future of manga lies exactly where he and the other Meikyû iconoclasts wanted to move it in 1975: in the fandom rather than the professional sphere. If nothing else, it is increasingly clear that the manga magazines' days *in their current format* are numbered. Whether manga tankôbon will survive, and if so whether they will do so in their current paperback format, is another open question as manga e-books become increasingly popular in Japan and manga enters its second century.

Conclusion

A Distinctive History

This book has surveyed an extremely broad slice of twentieth century Japanese history asking a deceptively simple question: how has manga become what we mean when we talk about manga today? What has "manga" meant throughout its history, and how has it changed as a medium since it got its start at the turn of the twentieth century? The preceding chapters are my attempt to explain the answers to these questions; here, let me make a few additional remarks in an attempt to sum up.

I began this book by claiming that, while manga are the Japanese form of comics, it was not their form or even their content that made them distinctive or uniquely Japanese. What is distinctive about Japanese comics is the ways in which its social context, i.e. as comics in Japan in the context of Japan's place in the world, has affected its development. Certainly there are aesthetic dimensions to this development; the ways in which the women of the shojo revolution pushed comics expression beyond its limits are only now being adopted by comics creators in the United States and Europe, and will surely continue to bear exciting fruit in the years to come. But comparing the story of manga with the stories of comics in the United States and of bandes-dessinées in France and Belgium makes it clear that what makes the medium so popular in Japan is not its content. Rather, as the emergence of seinen and josei manga and the shojo revolution itself demonstrates, content is a consequence of the medium expanding to target additional audiences, not the driver of that expansion. Instead, what has enabled manga to emerge from a very comparable—and societally quite low—position to that of American comics and bandes-dessinées in, say, 1937 to its currently 40% share of the

publishing market overall in Japan in 2017 are the more prosaic, but ultimately more consequential, facts of *platform* and *format*.

The question of format comes into focus readily if manga is compared to bandes-dessinées. I mentioned at the very beginning of this book that color is often one of the standard facile differences used to set manga apart from other comics traditions. Bandes-dessinées are printed in beautiful full color on high-quality glossy paper; even those that are black and white are printed in color on the same paper stock. The standard bandes-dessinées format is known as the album: roughly A4 standard size, about 30 centimeters by 23 (15″ by 11″), usually but not always hardcover. They are, in other words, very roughly comparable to picture books in the United States, and the format has been copied for other European comics traditions.

The social position of comics in the Francophone sphere is if anything even higher than that of manga in Japan, with comics being acclaimed as the "ninth art" and comics scholarship having been afforded the highest levels of respect in the Francophone academy for more than half a century. But just as a classic is, according to Mark Twain, a book that is praised but not read, bandes-dessinées manifestly do not have the same social currency as manga. With the exception of beloved characters such as Tintin, Asterix, and the Smurfs, whose fame has even reached Japan and the United States, bandes-dessinées are popular, but nowhere near as popular as manga. I have never seen adults reading BD albums on mass transit in Brussels, for example, though I have seen adults reading manga and manga tankôbon openly on mass transit—sometimes even without a cover on the books, and increasingly on digital devices—almost every time I have taken public transportation in Tokyo, despite comparable rates of transit ridership between the countries in question.

Again, this is not a question of content; though BD is much less open to female creators than manga, it has far more female protagonists than mainstream U.S. comics, and its storylines, roughly speaking, tend to be as adventure and science fiction-driven as comics in the States or as seinen manga. It is, unequivocally, a question of *format*: people read manga on the train in Japan because the paperback manga tankôbon is convenient to carry with them on their very long commutes, tucked into a briefcase or a bag or a purse. Manga in ebook format on one's personal device is even more so. A BD album, by contrast, is an awkward size to hold, particularly in the close quarters of mass transit, and though mainstream U.S. comics, whether the single-issue "floppies" or collected trade paperbacks, are roughly half a BD album's size, that is not much better. Manga's permeation of Japanese society is, in large part, attributable to the tankôbon format's portability and affordability.

The flip side of this coin is that the manga industry is oriented around the sales of paperback tankôbon and the profits from media mixes including given manga series rather than magazine sales, which have been a loss leader since roughly the late 1970s, if not earlier in some cases. The exact opposite is true in the case of "mainstream" U.S. comics, with devastating and detrimental effects on the industry: only in the past ten years or so, partly through the rise of digital comics and partly through the increasingly undeniable presence of female comics fans and creators, have Marvel and D.C. even begun to adjust their business models to factor in sales of the trade volumes which are

overwhelmingly consumed by female comics fans. Both companies remain overwhelmingly oriented towards the weekly publication of "floppies," the single-issue magazine-style installments of single comics series. Since approximately the early 1980s, as comics vanished from urban newsstands and moved into the infamously dank spaces of dedicated comics shops in strip malls across the suburbs, both Marvel and D.C. have pursued an ultimately self-defeating strategy of simultaneously publishing many different series, many featuring the same casts of characters in different permutations with bewildering connections to the so-called "main continuity" of each universe. Along with this confusing variety of series, they have also pursued the phantasm of the "comics collectors market," publishing a number of variant covers of every issue in the hopes that dedicated (male) comics fans with the requisite disposable income would buy every cover in the vain hope that such variant covers would be "worth a lot of money one day."[562]

This idea was based on a fundamental misapprehension about collectibles and the proclivity of baby boomers (as opposed to other generations) to acquire and hoard them, among many other wrong-headed assumptions, but the salient point is that single-issue floppies are everything that a manga magazine is not: whether weekly, monthly, or bi-weekly, manga magazines are fundamentally anthologies that are designed to get as many series in front of readers' eyeballs as possible at once. The manga magazine publishing model, in other words, is extensive rather than intensive, and the magazines are not the only way that potential audiences can consume the publishers' product: though manga magazines are generally bought either casually and occasionally or regularly by hardcore fans, or even more frequently read while standing in a store and not purchased at all (the ubiquitous practice of tachiyomi), manga tankôbon are the publishers' real source of income, and readers can come to the tankôbon of a given series through a variety of ways, many of them via the anime media mix.

The other reason that manga enjoys the position it now does in the Japanese mediascape is that manga has not sought to limit its audiences by gender. While mainstream U.S. comics companies largely abandoned the idea of female readers from the late 1970s to early 1980s (although female readers emphatically did not abandon comics), in those same years manga publishers were expanding their audiences to encompass not only middle and high school girls but also adult women, a demographic whose consumption has become increasingly central to the profits of the contents industry overall since *The Rose of Versailles* first appeared onstage in Takarazuka in 1974. Manga and anime fandom are unquestionably gendered, but manga and anime formats are not—a stark contrast to mainstream U.S. comics, where a certain segment of male fans and producers continue to argue that "real fans" (read: men) only read floppies and that consumption of trade and digital formats by people who aren't real fans (read: women) is killing the industry. A less biased view might read this history and conclude that Japanese manga publishers have simply been better at capitalism than Marvel and D.C. Given the respective labor models of the two industries, particularly the fact that mangaka in Japan retain copyright to their works while comics creators working for

mainstream presses in the States do so "for hire," with the company retaining copyright, there is certainly merit to this interpretation.

The history of kashihonya in the postwar years reminds us that platforms are an important element of manga and comics history too. Whereas in Japan manga magazines and tankôbon are ubiquitous in convenience stores, bookstores, and transit platform kiosks, comics after the 1970s disappeared from newsstands in America and retreated almost entirely to specialty comics shops as white flight vitiated urban landscapes and energized the entropic suburban sprawl. Chain bookstores, moreover, are unable to make up the gap, as their buyers are not dedicated comics specialists and their employees are not knowledgable comics fans able to help customers navigate the exceedingly complex Marvel and D.C. universes and publishing practices. Unsurprisingly, mainstream comics audiences shrank along with the move to comics stores, and in many ways it is the so-called "indie" comics industry—by market share, actually larger and more profitable than Marvel and D.C.—that have benefitted from the anime and manga-led boom in American animation, comics, and graphic novels over the past two decades.

One of the more surprising aspects of the history of manga is how comparable its history was to those of American and Franco-Belgian comics until roughly 1963. All three sequential art lineages began at the turn of the twentieth century and navigated a rocky wartime history of collaboration and social censure through the early postwar years, but their histories sharply diverged thereafter. Despite the efforts of the mothers in the ban bad books movement, manga was able to suture itself to the postwar order in Japan, partly through its rapprochement with television in the form of anime. In the United States, meanwhile, the self-imposed Comics Code Authority stifled comics expression in the crucial decade of the 1950s, and movies and TV came to provide the socially sanctioned forms of escapist media: notwithstanding several animated and live-action television shows in the 1960s and 70s, as well as early superhero movies, comics failed to obtain the same social license and position. Although manga censorship efforts flared up again in the early 1990s in the wake of the Miyazaki incident, and a landmark set of metropolitan regulations passed in 2010 has also put vague constraints on manga expression in some contexts, manga as a whole has survived these attacks relatively unscathed.[563] Indeed, since the turn of the third millennium, manga, anime, and video games have increasingly been marketed as sources of national prestige and potential tourism income by various government entities in Japan.

All that having been said, as manga continues into its second century it increasingly appears that the key feature differentiating manga from its fellow forms of comics is the existence of the dôjin sphere and its increasing vibrancy and prominence within the Japanese mediascape overall. Comiket remains the largest fan event in the world, and it is only the pinnacle of a nationwide network of similar events that draw millions of participants annually. Although fans are now the creators responsible for many beloved genre franchises in the United States, from individual comics series to J.J. Abrams and Dave Filoni of Star Wars fame, the advancement of these figures has proceeded through pre-existing corporate structures that have enacted the predictable tolls of sexism and racism on the ranks of would-be participants. The dôjin sphere, by

contrast, has provided a more equal playing field in which successful creators have found a range of successful outcomes since the 1970s, from professional careers to fame and popularity as dôjin creators to an enjoyable hobby to the increasingly common hybrid model incorporating elements of all three.

Historians are barred by professional courtesy from attempting to predict the future, but it is clear that the post-Fordist model of capitalism associated with postmodernity, in which consumption itself becomes a form of labor as all aspects of life are subsumed into the network of capitalist relations mediated by media, has reached a position of ascendancy within the world's leading economies since 1970. Manga's success as a professional industry has been linked to the success of this model via the anime media mix, which since the mid-1980s has increasingly reordered the Japanese mediascape and Japanese society in general around its own logic of consumption, production and what otaku have long discussed as the 2.5D: slightly more real than 2D characters and slightly less real than 3D people, the 2.5D is a "just right" dimension that increasingly overlays and is imbricated with both real space and imagined worlds in the minds and perceptions of contents industry fans. Critics and theorists in previous decades were prone to discussing the desires of (young) people to experience and live in the 2.5D as a failure to engage with or a retreat from reality, but the history of the dôjin sphere and Japanese fan cultures makes clear that the 2.5D is a generative, and often strategically or tactically necessary, space that can have profound effects on its adjacent dimensions, from the rise of the production committee model in Japanese media to the transformation of rural towns throughout Japan under contents tourism and the creation of Akihabara, Ikebukuro and Nakano in Tokyo as meccas appealing to different tranches of contents industry fans.

Since 1970, Japan's experience under postmodernity has repeatedly been positioned as a global outlier, perhaps most famously in the 1980s when the fear of "turning Japanese" animated hit pop songs and entire cottage industries of racial-economic paranoia and techno-Orientalism worldwide. What has repeatedly proved true, however, is that Japan has simply experienced aspects of the postmodern earlier than other capitalist societies; it is only a matter of time, generally speaking, before phenomena that are initially raced and Othered as uniquely and weirdly Japanese have come to the rest of the world. Bearing that insight in mind, it may well be that the experience of the dôjin sphere in Japan may be a model for or a forerunner of what the mediascape will look like around the world in a few decades—or it may be that local conditions in the form of legal regimes, geographic particularities, and social policy may prove decisive, and no such grand global dôjin order comes to pass. Whatever does transpire, the history of manga in the twentieth century makes clear that the question of how and why pop culture becomes popular is intimately connected with the work that pop culture does in society, and that manga's work, both in Japan and worldwide, is not yet done.

References

1. Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1994), 9.
2. For examples of such arguments, see Brigitte Koyama-Richard, *One Thousand Years of Manga* (Flammarion: Paris, 2007) and Adam Kern, *Manga from the Floating World: Comic Book Culture and the Kibyôshi of Edo Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), respectively. These ideas are themselves the contemporary forms of the respectability politics which early manga creators used to ingratiate themselves and their medium with painting and the Japanese fine arts establishment in the early 20th century. For more on this history, see Part One.
3. Itô Gô, *Tezuka Is Dead: Hirakareta manga hyôgenron he* (Tokyo: NTT Publishing, 2005), 82.
4. Ryan Holmberg, "Paper Megaphone: *Garo* Manga, 1964-1971," (PhD diss, Yale University, 2007), 8.
5. See in particular Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600-1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
6. See Thomas Lamarre, *The Anime Machine: A Media Theory of Animation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), especially Part II.
7. Andrew Gordon, *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 126.
8. Shinozawa Misako, "The Birth of a Million Seller: Magazines as media in the Meiji-Taisho era" in *Million seller tanjô he!: Meiji, Taishô no zasshi media*, ed. Tokyo Printing Museum (Tokyo: Tokyo Shobun, 2008): 179-83 (179).
9. *Japan Punch*, May 1862, 3.
10. Shimizu Isao, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* (Tokyo: National Diet Library, 1986), vol. 1; Nagamine Shigetoshi, "Magazines in Modern Japan and Their Readers" in *Million seller tanjô he!*: 189-91 (189-90).
11. Shimizu Isao, *Manga tanjô: Taishô democracy kara no shuppatsu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa, 1999), 165.

12. Miyamoto Hiroto, "Ponchie to manga, and the newspapers between them," in *Shinbun manga no me: Hito seiji sekai* (Yokohama: Newspark, 2003): 106-09.
13. See Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).
14. Shinozawa, "The Birth of a Million Seller," 180.
15. Miyamoto, "Ponchie to Manga," 106.
16. Nagamine, "Magazines in Modern Japan and Their Readers," 189-90.
17. Shinozawa, "The Birth of a Million Seller," 181-82.
18. Kasuhara Akihiko, "Introduction," to *Shinbun manga no me*, 5.
19. Omiya-shi, *Kitazawa Rakuten, Founder of the Modern Japanese Cartoon* (Omiya, Japan: Omiya City Planning Department International Culture Division, 1991), n.p.
20. Much contradictory information circulates about Nankivell in Japanese sources. Although he was in fact Australian, Rakuten described him as British (possibly because Australia was still a Crown colony at the time), and many Japanese sources, even those published after the rise of the internet, accordingly describe Nankivell as English. (*Manga*, August 1941, 12; Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 5, 157)
21. Shimizu*, Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 5, 157*.*
22. Ibid.*,* vol. 6, 157.
23. Kasuhara, "Introduction," 7.
24. Shimizu*, Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 5, 158.
25. Ibid., 158, n.p.
26. Many thanks to Fred Schodt for figuring this image out.
27. Omiya-shi, *Kitazawa Rakuten,* 14, 22.
28. Shimizu*, Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 5, n.p., 158.
29. Ibid.
30. An important exception to this trend is Shimokawa Ôten (1892-1973), the pioneering animator who is considered to have created one of the first anime films (*Imokawa mukozu genkanban no maki*, 1917). Unfortunately, Ôten was not prolific, and none of his films survive.
31. Shimizu*, Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 5, n.p., 158.
32. *Osaka Puck* was the longest-running manga magazine in Japanese history until 1997, when it was overtaken by *Nakayoshi*.
33. Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 8, n.p., 169.
34. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 96, 100-04, 107-10.
35. Ibid., 105.
36. Tokyo Printing Museum, *Million seller he!* 55, 77.
37. Nagai Kiyoko, "Tanjô: Shôjo-tachi no kaihôku: *Shôjo Sekai* to 'shôjo dokushokai," in *Onna to otoko no jikû: Nihon joseishi saikô 9*, ed. Tsurumi Kazuko and Okuda Akiko (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2000): 278–311.
38. Tokyo Printing Museum*, Million seller he!,* 78. The Princeton University Library holds issues of *Yônen Gahô* published as late as 1923; it's not clear whether scholars in Japan are aware of their existence.
39. Although 'yônen' is conventionally translated as 'childhood' or 'children' in English, in practice it refers specifically to very young children, roughly ages 4-8.

40. Shinozawa, "The Birth of a Million Seller," 182.
41. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 31.
42. Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 5, 159.
43. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 68-69.
44. Ibid, 19, 23.
45. Ibid., 4.
46. Ibid., 84-86.
47. Aaron Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity: Articulations of Cinema, Nation, and Spectatorship, 1895-1925* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 47-48.
48. See Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity*, Chapter Four.
49. Interestingly enough, Ippei seems to strike a weird balance between the two camps of film theory that Gerow identifies in Japan in this era: his use of the term eiga ("projected image") rather than the deprecated katsudô shashin (literally "moving pictures") aligns him with the emerging Pure Film movement, but his deployment of film expression and benshi-style textual intercutting aligns him with the vernacular modernism that Pure Film, along with many other conservative forces in imperial Japan, was trying to stamp out.
50. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 90-92.
51. The peculiar labor system of the so-called "mainstream comics publishers" in the United States, which evolved so as to be able to publish as much as possible as fast as possible, is a good example of this tendency: writing the script, drawing the art, lettering the text (U.S. comics persist with labor-intensive hand lettering), and coloring the pages are all separate jobs done by separate people. Not coincidentally, the pay rates for any single job are abysmal, and all jobs are done on a work-for-hire basis, which has the added benefit of denying artists the copyright to the work they do. In Japan, however, creators retain the copyright and are paid much more, but are expected to turn completed pages in to publishers on short deadlines. In practice most mangaka hire assistants, thus accomplishing a similar subcontracted division of labor.
52. Ian Condry, *The Soul of Anime: Collaborative Creativity and Japan's Media Success Story* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 8. Emphasis original.
53. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 95.
54. Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 6, n.p.
55. Ibid., vol. 7, n.p.
56. See Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 7.
57. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 124.
58. Ibid., 114.
59. Ibid., 87-89.
60. Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), 30.
61. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 182.
62. Ono Kôsei, "Ôbei no shinbun manga ha Nihon de dono yô ni ukeireraretaka," in *Shinbun manga no me*: 118-121 (119).

63. *Osaka Puck*, February 1920, August 1921. The archival record for *Osaka Puck* in Japan is extremely spotty, as a consequence of which it is difficult to speak with much precision about the details of its development.
64. Ono, "Ôbei no shinbun manga," 118-121.
65. Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*, Part One, Chapter Two.
66. *Osaka Puck* vol. 18, no. 8 (15 September 1923).
67. *Jiji Manga*, 15 January 1928.
68. Shimizu Isao, "*Gendai manga taikan* no nana ôtokushoku," in Ôkûsha, eds., *Gendai manga taikan bessatsu* (Tokyo: Ôkûsha, 2010), 12.
69. Ibid, 10; Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 178. Shimizu says that the total was eight volumes and two were released, but the preface to the first volume says that there will be twelve volumes, and at least nine were published.
70. Ôkûsha, *Gendai manga taikan bessatsu*, n.p.
71. Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*, 20.
72. Okamoto Ippei, introduction to *Manga kenkyû shiryô kôza* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Nihon Manga Kenkyûkai, 1935), 9.
73. Rei Okamoto Inouye, "Theorizing Manga: Nationalism and Discourse on the Role of Wartime Manga," *Mechademia* 4 (2009): 20-37 (20).
74. Shirota Shûichi, ed., *Gendai manga taikan* vol. 6 (Tokyo: Chûô bijutsusha, 1928), n.p.
75. Ishii Hakutei, "Honchô mangashi," *Chûô bijutsu* 4, no. 1 (January 1918): 139-42.
76. Yamamoto Kanae, "Gendai no kokkeiga oyobi fûshiga ni tsuite," *Hôsun* (special issue, February 1907): 3-4.
77. Okamoto Ippei, introduction to *Manga kenkyû shiryô kôza* vol. 1, 6-8; *Manga kenkyû shiryô kôza* vol. 1, 16-20.
78. Jennifer Roeder, *Wide Awake in Slumberland: Fantasy, Mass Culture, and Modernism in the Art of Winsor McKay* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2014), 158.
79. Ibid., 147.
80. See Miriam Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*, 20-28 especially.
81. Shimizu Isao desperately wants to construct Okamoto Ippei as, essentially, a feminist man by virtue of his marriage to Kanoko and the nebulous proposition that Ippei's manga were more popular than Rakuten's because they were "sympathetic" rather than scornful to the situation of women in Taisho and early Showa Japan. Given that Ippei cheated on Kanoko and did not encourage her literary ambitions, however, I am inclined to make less of the fact that "even housewives" read and enjoyed Ippei's manga. Reading against the text for personal enjoyment is not a strategy that was invented in the 1960s.
82. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 123.
83. Gerow, *Visions of Japanese Modernity*, 35.
84. Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 5, 158.
85. Roeder, *Wide Awake in Slumberland*, 180-81.
86. See Hugh T. Patrick, "The Economic Muddle of the 1920's," in James William Morley, ed., *Dilemmas of Growth in Prewar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971): 211-66.

87. Here and elsewhere I am drawing on Andrew Gordon's excellent *Labor and Imperial Democracy in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991).
88. Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 17.
89. Ibid., 57.
90. Ibid., 114.
91. *Manga kenkyû shiryô kôza* vol. 1, 12-14.
92. Shinozawa, "Million seller he," 182-83.
93. Although the pronunciation of "Club" in these magazines' names did not change from before to after the war, I have retained the direct transcription of "Kurabu" for the prewar versions in order to differentiate them from their postwar successors and to indicate in English the fact that the prewar titles were written with kanji rather than katakana.
94. Miyao Shigeo, *Miyao Shigeo no hon,* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kanô Shobô, 1984), 1.
95. Takeuchi Osamu, "Mangashi ni okeru *Shô-chan no boken,*" in Kabashima Katsuichi and Oda Shôsei, *Shô-chan no bôken* (Tokyo: Shogakkan Creative, 2003): 136-38 (136).
96. Miyao Shigeo, *Manga no omatsuri* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1931).
97. Both are collected in Miyao, *Miyao Shigeo no hon*, vol. 1.
98. Owari Shinnosuke, "Shô-chan no omoide," foreword to Kabashima and Oda, *Shô-chan no bôken*; Chûjô Shôhei, "Gendai manga to Shô-chan" in Kabashima and Oda, *Shô-chan no bôken*: 132-34.
99. Ibid.; Takeuchi, "Mangashi ni okeru *Shô-chan no bôken*", 136-37.
100. Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense,* 213.
101. Takamizawa Junko, "Tagawa Suihô no kioku," in *Tsuitô Tagawa Suihô-ten: Norakuro to ayunda 90-nen*, ed. Machida-shi (Machida, Tokyo: Machida Shiritsu Kokusai Hanga Bijutsukan, 1990), 11.
102. Ibid., 10-11; Tagawa Suihô, *Norakuro tosshintai: Manga book* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1933), 26.
103. Tagawa Suihô, *Manga no kanzume* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1930), preface (n.p.).
104. Ono, "Ôbei no shinbun manga," 120. Note that animation was referred to at the time as "manga eiga" (cartoon films).
105. Tagawa Suihô, "Norakuro tanjôki," in *Manga kenkyû 2* (Tokyo: Nihon Jidô Manga Kenkyûkai, n.d./ca. 1950s): 46-47.
106. Tagawa Suihô, *Norakuro sôchô* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1935), n.p.
107. Tagawa, "Norakuro tanjôki," 46. Those who detected a *Fullmetal Alchemist* reference in this sentence aren't wrong: Arakawa Hiromu has cited Tagawa as one of the mangaka who were most influential for her.
108. Tagawa, *Manga no kanzume*, 1.
109. In my opinion, the three greatest newspaper comics of all time are *Little Nemo, Krazy Kat,* and *Calvin and Hobbes*, in that order.
110. See for example Tagawa Suihô, *Norakuro jôtôhei* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1932).
111. Deborah Shamoon, *Passionate Friendship: The Aesthetics of Girls' Culture in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 48.

112. Tagawa Suihô et al., *Bokura no Norakuro: Norakuro 50-nen kinen album* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1984), 16.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid.; Machida-shi, *Tsuitô Tagawa Suihô-ten*, 22.
115. A few of these films are available online: the National Museum of Modern Art in Tokyo has two reels of *Norakuro nitôhei* (1933) and *Norakuro gochô* (1934) on its Japanese Animated Film Classics website (animation.filmarchives.jp). The latter film is also on YouTube; search for "Norakuro movie" or "Norakuro gochou." For a manga advertisement for the Norakuro manga talky, see *Shônen Kurabu*, March 1935, 51. Notably, the manga depicts children in the theater watching the movie together.
116. See Marc Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix: Franchising Toys and Characters in Japan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).
117. Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 64.
118. Tagawa, *Norakuro jôtôhei*, 30-33, 110.
119. Available on YouTube; search for "のらくろ歌" or "勇敢なる水兵."
120. Kajii Jun, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen: Senjika mangashi nôto* (Tokyo: Wise Shuppan, 1999), 99.
121. Quite a few of the Norakuro records are available on YouTube, including some that appear to be uncataloged elsewhere; search for "のらくろ."
122. U.S. Department of the Interior War Relocation Authority, *Minidoka Internment Camp, Hunt, Idaho. Norakuro band*, 20 August 1943 (Records of the War Relocation Authority, National Archives, College Park, MD), accessed 27 November 2015. Available at https://catalog.archives.gov/id/539490
123. Thomas Lamarre, "Manga Empire: Comics and Companion Species," lecture at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan, 27 April 2015.
124. My translation of furoku as "freebies" is somewhat loose; Jennifer S. Prough provides a dictionary-perfect definition of this important manga magazine practice when she renders it as "supplements." However, "freebies" much more accurately captures the nature of furoku, and why they were an important part of children's magazines. See Jennifer S. Prough, *Straight from the Heart: Gender, Intimacy, and the Cultural Production of Shôjo Manga* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).
125. Tagawa, "Norakuro tanjôki," 46.
126. Ozaki Hotsuki, "Norakuro no hanseiki," in Tagawa Suihô et al., *Bokura no Norakuro:* 42-45.
127. *Shônen Kurabu*, March 1933, B4.
128. I viewed one of these in the manga library of the Taito ward office adjacent to the Tagawa Suihô memorial hall in February 2015.
129. Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 12, 35.
130. Tagawa Suihô, *Norakuro gunsô* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1934), preface (n.p.). Tagawa also declared that these values were the same as those possessed by Lieutenant Murakami, one of the war heroes (bidan) whose pointless but glorious death in Manchukuo was venerated in media across the empire. For more on these stories, see Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, Chapter 3.

131. Tagawa Suihô, *Norakuro tankentai* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1939), n.p.
132. See Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, Chapter 5.
133. Tagawa, *Norakuro gunsô*. This nostalgia also extended to military hardware; this same volume includes an entire chapter on gas masks (47-72).
134. See Gregory J. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan, 1918-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
135. Young, *Japan's Total Empire*, 13.
136. Tagawa, *Norakuro sôkôgeki* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1937), 5; Ozaki, "Norakuro no hanseiki," 43.
137. Quoted in Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 83.
138. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 86.
139. Quoted in Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 188.
140. In the post-postwar era this scene would have rightly been read as a classic slash or boys' love scenario.
141. Tezuka Osamu, Ôshiro Noboru, and Matsumoto Leiji, "'Oh! Manga' 2: Sensô made" [1972], reprinted in Asai Tarô and Ôshiro Noboru, *Kasei tanken* (Tokyo: Tôdosha, 2003): 200-15 (209). Sadly this commemorative edition merely photo-reprinted the 5th printing of the 1940 tankôbon in monochrome, with the result that its originally striking and lovely color looks like crap.
142. Ibid., 209.
143. Tezuka, Ôshiro, and Matsumoto, "'Oh! Manga' 2," 210-14; Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubatsukan* vol. 8, 170.
144. Quoted in Nagamine, "Magazines in Modern Japan and Their Readers," 183/18.
145. *Shinbun manga no me*, 3.
146. Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 11, 166.
147. Ibid., *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 9, 206-07.
148. Ibid., 145-46, n.p.
149. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 150.
150. Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 9, 146.
151. Ibid., n.p.
152. *Manga Man,* January 1930, 2.
153. Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 10, n.p.
154. Kozawa Shô, "Shinmangaha shûdan no hitotachi," *Gendaishi konwakai* vol. 108 (2002): 12-15 (14).
155. Ibid., 13-14.
156. Shinmangaha shûdan, *Shinmangaha shûdan manga nenkan* (Yokohama: Bunza Shorin, 1933), 92-93, 95, 98-100.
157. Quoted in Shimizu, *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 9, 211-12.
158. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 144-46, 154-55 .
159. Ibid., 150-51, 155.
160. Ibid., 159.
161. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 124, 152.
162. Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan*, qtd. 40, 42, 43.

163. See Gennifer S. Weisenfeld, *MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-garde, 1905-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
164. Okamoto Tôki and Matsuyama Fumio, *Nihon proletarian bijutsushi* (Tokyo: Zôkeisha, 1967), 114, 119.
165. Ibid., 121.
166. Ibid., 120-21.
167. Ibid., 160.
168. Ibid., 142-47.
169. Ibid., 116, 113-14.
170. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô,* 144.
171. Shimizu, *Manga tanjô*, 147.
172. Okamoto and Matsuyama, *Nihon proletarian bijutsushi,* 132-35.
173. Ibid., *Manga zasshi hakubutsukan* vol. 9, n.p., 205-06.
174. Ibid., 207.
175. Mizushima Niô, "Nihon mangashiron," in *Manga kôza* vol. 3, ed. Nihon Mangakai (Tokyo: Kensetsusha, 1934): 5-8 (6).
176. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 167, 170-71.
177. Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan*, 165.
178. Ibid., Chapter 7. The statistics quoted are given in a table on 188.
179. Okamoto and Matsuyama, *Nihon proletarian bijutsushi,* 151, 149. To add insult to injury, Shimoda and his wife died of eating bad seafood in 1943, while Yanase died in the May 1945 firebombing of Tokyo.
180. Quoted in Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 169.
181. Ibid., 151.
182. Kasza, *The State and the Mass Media in Japan*, 221-24. Statistics given on 224.
183. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 183.
184. Ibid., qtd. 182.
185. "Rakuten-sensei ôi ni kotaru," *Manga*, August 1941, 19.
186. Ibid., 19-20.
187. Ibid., 20-21.
188. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 187-88.
189. "Rakuten sensei ôi ni kotaru," 21.
190. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 189-90, 196.
191. Katô Etsurô, *Shinrinen manga no gihô* (Tokyo: Geijutsu Gakuin Shuppanbu, 1942), 67, 15.
192. Quoted in Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 186.
193. Natsume Fusanosuke, "*Norakuro* to aratana mangashi," in *Kokkei to pathos*: *Tagawa Suihô 'Norakuro' ichidaiki-ten*, ed. Machida shimin bunka gakkan kotobarando (Machida, Tokyo: Machida shimin bunka gakkan kotobarando, 2013): 4-5.
194. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 204-05.
195. Ibid., 99.
196. Ibid., 194-96.
197. Tezuka Osamu, *Tezuka Osamu: Sôsaku nôto to shoki sakuhin* (Tokyo: Shogakkan Creative, 2013), "Fukusei Genga" supplement, n.p.

198. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 116-18.
199. Ibid., 190-91.
200. Matsumoto Leiji and Komatsu Sakyô, "*Kasei tanken* to Shôwa no manga" [1980], reprinted in Asai and Ôshiro, *Kasei tanken*: 168-81 (168-69, 180-81).
201. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 123.
202. Quoted in Edmund de Waal, *The Hare with Amber Eyes: A Family's Century of Art and Loss* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), pos. 693 of 735.
203. Silverberg, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense*, 269.
204. Andrew Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers: The Sewing Machine in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 120.
205. Ibid., 146.
206. Tezuka, Matsumoto and Ôshiro, "'Oh! Manga' 2," 201.
207. Matsumoto and Komatsu, "*Kasei tanken* to Shôwa no manga," 179.
208. Tezuka, Matsumoto and Ôshiro, "'Oh! Manga' 2," 200.
209. Ibid., 215. This story is related by Tezuka himself in the original.
210. Kajii, *Tore, yôchô no jû to pen*, 28.
211. Shimizu Isao, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga: Sengo manga no tanjô* (Tokyo: Zoionsha, 1989), 72-74.
212. Ibid., 73.
213. Tezuka, Matsumoto and Ôshiro, "'Oh! Manga' 2," 200.
214. Shimizu, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga*, 13. In this respect akahon manga also seems comparable to pachinko machines today.
215. Ibid., 74, 78.
216. Ibid., 80, 69-72; Mori Seiji, "Commentary," in Tezuka Osamu and Sakai Shichima, *Shintakarajima original-han* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2012): 198-99.
217. Terada Hiroo, '*Manga Shônen'-shi* (Fujisawa, Japan: Shônan Shuppansha, 1981), 253.
218. Mori, "Commentary," 198.
219. The bulk of this section draws on the materials on display in the Hasegawa Machiko Museum in Setagaya, Tokyo, in September 2015.
220. Shimizu Isao makes this point about the level of popularity required for akahon knockoffs in general, but given the tendency to downplay the achievements of female mangaka, it is worth making in connection with *Sazae-san* explicitly. Shimizu, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga,* 115-16.
221. Tatsumi Yoshihiro, *A Drifting Life*, trans. Taro Nettleton (Montreal: Drawn & Quarterly, 2009), 403.
222. The question of which way to write manga—characters, hiragana, or katakana—has remained a vexed one since approximately this moment in the postwar era, with many people in the manga world insisting that one orthography means different things as opposed to the others. The movement to denote alternative, independent comics under the term "comix" in the Anglosphere in the 1970s and 80s is quite comparable, and ultimately just as recondite.
223. *Kodomo Manga Times*, 13 August 1950, 29 October 1950, 29 April 1951. Many thanks to the Diet Library staff for arranging my viewing of this newspaper in person.

224. Manga Shûdan, ed., *Manga Shôwa-shi: Manga Shûdan no 50-nen* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobo Shinsha, 1982), 7, 67.
225. *Shônen Club*, May 1946, 56.
226. Shimizu Isao makes this point early in his book and charts the rise of "contemporary manga" from the mid-1950s accordingly. I find attempting to impose such subjective distinctions to be less analytically useful.
227. In many ways, the role that Tagawa and *Norakuro* played for children's manga in this respect is exactly that played by J.K. Rowling and *Harry Potter* for English-language middle grade and young adult publishing at the turn of the twenty-first century.
228. Katô Misako, "Chichi Ken'ichi to 'Manga Shônen,'" in *Manga Shônen-shi*: 107-10 (107-08).
229. Quoted in Terada, *Manga Shônen-shi*, 11.
230. *Manga Shônen*, October 1947, 26.
231. Ibid., 108, 110; *Manga Shônen-shi*, 251.
232. Katô Misako, "Chichi Ken'ichi to 'Manga Shônen,'" 109.
233. Shimizu, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga,* 54-55.
234. Ibid., 15, qtd. 27-28, 28-29.
235. Ibid., 51-52.
236. Ibid., 93.
237. *Manga Shônen*, January 1947, October 1947, November 1948; Katô Misako, "Chichi Ken'ichi to 'Manga Shônen,'" 109.
238. Shimizu, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga*, 108-09. Sakurai seems never to have gotten over the fact that Tatsumi was more talented and more famous than him; he later published a book pointedly entitled *I Was the Instigator of Gekiga* (Tokyo: April Music, 1978). In return, Tatsumi's memoir *Gekiga hyôryû* (2 vols, Tokyo: Kodansha, 2008) paints him as unreasonably jealous and unpleasant towards Tatsumi since they were teens.
239. Katô Misako, "Chichi Ken'ichi to 'Manga Shonen,'" 110.
240. Or in other words, #nohomo. Terada, *Manga Shônen-shi*, 135.
241. Yonezawa Yoshihiro, "*Manga Shônen* kara Komiketto he…," in *Shônen natsu man'ô* #16 (1995): 46-49 (47).
242. Tezuka, "Katô Ken'ichi-min to watashi," in *Manga Shônen-shi*: 6-8 (6).
243. Tezuka's prodigious output may in the end have contributed to his early death; Mizuki Shigeru, who was six years older than Tezuka and outlived him by 26 years, remarked in the 2010s that unlike him, who'd always insisted on a reasonable work schedule, all the mangaka who'd bragged about not sleeping in the 50s and 60s were already dead.
244. Shimizu, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga,* 102-03.
245. Ibid., 121-23.
246. The term "apartment building" may be somewhat misleading for English-language readers. The Tokiwa-sô had individual rooms, but a shared bathroom and kitchen.
247. Shimizu, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga,* 152.
248. Ibid., 153.; *Manga Shônen*, October 1947, November 1948.
249. Shimizu, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga,* 123-24.
250. Ibid., 124-25.

251. Toshima-ku kyôdo shiryôkan and Tezuka Productions, eds., *Tokiwasô no hero-tachi: Manga ni kaketa seishun: Toshima-ku hatsu manga bunka wo ichidô ni shôkai* (Tokyo: Toshima-ku, 2009), 11.
252. Ibid., 12, 14.
253. Ibid., 41, 34.
254. Ibid., 34.
255. See Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970 (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).
256. Ueda Toshiko, *Fuichin-san* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2015).
257. Ozaki Hotsuki, "Ke'ai de huizhen," in *Fuichin-san* (Tokyo: Mushi Pro Shôji, 1969): 217-18 (218).
258. Kashihon manga kenkyûkai [KMKK], *Kashihon manga returns* (Tokyo: Popurasha, 2006), 13-14.
259. Kajii Jun, "Introduction" to Zenkoku Kashihon Kumiai Rengôkai [ZKKR], *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 1 (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2010), 1, 5.
260. Shimizu, *'Manga Shônen' to akahon manga*, 10, 73.
261. KMKK, *Kashihon manga returns*, 14-15.
262. Ibid., 15.
263. Ibid., 25-26, 20-21.
264. Ibid., 16-17.
265. ZKKR, *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 1, 4.
266. Ibid., 27-28.
267. ZKKR, *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 2 (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 2010), 22, 48, 59, 66, 130-31.
268. Ibid., 10-11.
269. Ibid., vol. 1, 4.
270. KMKK, *Kashihon manga returns*, 19-21.
271. Tatsumi, *A Drifting Life*, 556. Yamada is given the alias "Kuroda" in the manga.
272. Ibid., 730.
273. Ibid., 852-53. The D&Q edition gives Japanese name in reverse (i.e. Western) order. What they translate as "realist" manga is what I have generally been referring to as "satirical manga."
274. KMKK, *Kashihon manga returns*, 22.
275. "Zadankai gekiga kaidô wo tsuppashiru," *Mantenrô* 1 (1959), 158-60.
276. Ibid.
277. Ibid.
278. Ibid.
279. *Musô* 4 (1959), 179.
280. *Mantenrô* 1 (1959), 157.
281. Ibid., 33-37.
282. *Mantenrô* 2 (1959), 48.
283. Ibid., 55.
284. Yonezawa, "*Manga Shônen* kara Komiketto he…," 48.
285. Tatsumi, *A Drifting Life*, 730-817.

286. ZKKR, *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 2, 22.
287. Ibid., 143
288. Tagawa Suihô, *Chameken to Norakuro* (Tokyo: Saikensha, 1948), n.p. (preface).
289. Terada, *Manga Shônen-shi*, 250-52. The argument about the best manga containing both laughter and tears echoes other arguments made at various points in regards to the best kind of comedy, namely that it's built on a foundation of pain.
290. For more on the tortured history of U.S. comics in this period, see David Hajdu, *The Ten-Cent Plague: The Great Comic Book Scare and How It Changed America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008).
291. Tatsumi, *A Drifting Life*, 815-16.
292. KMKK, *Kashihon manga returns*,26.
293. Kajii, "Introduction" to *Zenkoku Kashihon Shinbun* vol. 1, 7-8.
294. Ibid., 7.
295. "Hirogaru akusho tsuihô undô," reprinted in *Manga Kenkyû* 3 (August 1995), 6.
296. Shimotsuki Takanaka, ed., *COM 40-nenme no shûkangô* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2011), 128.
297. Qtd. in Jayson Makoto Chun, "*A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots"?: A Social History of Japanese Television, 1953-1973* (New York & London: Routledge, 2007), 51.
298. Chun, "*A Nation of a Hundred Million Idiots"?*, 53.
299. Ibid., 93.
300. Ibid.
301. ZKKR, *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 2, 137, 139.
302. Ibid., 139.
303. Marc Steinberg, "Genesis of the Platform Concept: From Japan's Platform Theory to Nintendo, iMode and Niconico Video" (lecture, University of California, Berkeley, 10 March 2016).
304. Expo'70 Pavilion, Osaka, Japan. Visited on 20 November 2016.
305. Andrew Gordon, *The Wages of Affluence: Labor and Management in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 175.
306. Ibid., 200.
307. World Economic Forum, "The Global Gender Gap 2016" (October 2016), available online at reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016 (accessed 5 April 2017). Japan currently ranks 111 out of 144; ten years ago its rank stood at 80.
308. Anne Allison, *Permitted and Prohibited Desires: Mothers, Comics, and Censorship in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), xv.
309. ZKKR, *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 2, 272. The article in question is a reprint from the Fukuoka *Nishinippon Shinbun*.
310. Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix*, 10.
311. Lamarre, *The Anime Machine*; Condry, *The Soul of Anime*; Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix*.
312. Yamaguchi Yasuo, *Nihon no anime zenshi: Sekai wo seishita Nihon anime no kiseki* (Tokyo: Ten Books, 2004), 69-75.
313. Frederik L. Schodt, *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga* (Berkeley, CA: Stonebridge Press, 1996), 238.

314. Yamaguchi, *Nihon no anime zenshi*, 75.
315. This definition does mean that the work of Studio Ghibli, for example, and other studios producing what Thomas Lamarre calls "full limited animation"—feature-length animation on ones that uses the same distinctive visual regime of planar motion that was developed by Tezuka and company for limited TV animation—is not, strictly speaking, anime, despite the fact that calling these works anime is habitual around the world. But the merchandising really is key, a fact which is borne out by the different relative social positions of Ghibli movies versus Gainax anime in Japan, for example.
316. Akiyama Mitsuru, *COM no seishun: Shirarezaru Tezuka Osamu* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990), 174-80.
317. Yamaguchi, *Nihon no anime zenshi*, 74.
318. Akiyama, *COM no seishun*, 144-45, 224.
319. To make matters even more confusing, Tezuka Productions, which still survives today, is commonly referred to as "MushiPro" in both Japanese and English, deriving from the alternate reading of the first character in "Tezuka."
320. ZKKR, *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 2, 158-59, 183.
321. Kajii, "Introduction," qtd. 9.
322. ZKKR, *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 2, 195.
323. Ibid., 201, 228-29.
324. Ibid., 243.
325. Ibid., 199, 253.
326. Ibid., 180.
327. Ibid., 96.
328. Ibid., 104.
329. Ibid., 197, 271.
330. Ibid., 223.
331. KMKK, *Kashihon manga returns,* 28-30.
332. Ibid., 286.
333. Ibid., 290, 310.
334. Ibid., 272.
335. ZKKR, *Zenkoku kashihon shinbun* vol. 2, 311-12, 322.
336. Onoda Shô, "*Garo* and *COM*: The United Front Years," in Shirato Sanpei et al., *Garo COM Manga meisakusen* 1: 1964-1970 (Tokyo: Kodansha Comic Create, 2012): 284-87 (284). Onoda Shô is a penname for Asakawa Mitsuhiro, a former editor for Seirindô and Mandarake.
337. Ibid.
338. Ryan Holmberg, *Garo Manga: The First Decade, 1964-1973* (New York: The Center for Book Arts, 2010), 6.
339. *Garo* no. 4 (Dec. 1964), n.p.
340. Holmberg, *Garo Manga*, 8, 10.
341. Ibid.
342. Ibid., 10-11. "Kotodama" is a key concept in the early modern nativist school of thought, which was directly adopted by the imperial state that Shirato's father resisted. The implication is thus that the state is responsible for Garo's murder.

343. Ibid., 6, 11; for the back issue advertisement, see for example *Garo* no. 138 (Feb. 1975), 210.
344. Akiyama, *COM no seishun,* 41.
345. Ueno Kôshi, "The First Age of *Garo*: Opening up the *Garo* Age," in *The Wooden-Mortared Kingdom: Garo 20th Memorial Issue* (Tokyo: Seirinsha, 1984): 569-73 (qt. 570).
346. Yamagishi Akane, "Seinen manga gannen," reprinted in *Garo COM Manga meisakusen* 2: 1968-1971 (Tokyo: Kodansha Comic Create, 2012), 28, 45.
347. Ono Kôsei, "*Garo* no jidai to sono eikyô," in *Garo COM Manga meisakusen* 2: 292-93 (qt. 290).
348. Holmberg, *Garo Manga*, 13, 15.
349. Ueno, "The First Age of *Garo*," qt. 571.
350. Shimotsuki Takanaka, ed., *COM 40nenme no shûkangô*, (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun Shuppan, 2011), 122-24.
351. Akiyama, *COM no seishun*, 36-39.
352. Ibid., 38-39.
353. *COM* no. 2 (May 1967), 24.
354. Ibid.
355. Yonezawa, "*Manga Shônen* kara Komiketto he…," 49.
356. Akiyama, *COM no seishun*, 58-59. The so-called "80/20 rule" states that at minimum 80% of everything is crap, and this has certainly held true with my experience in reading slush for genre magazines.
357. Yonezawa, "*Manga Shônen* kara Komiketto he…," 49.
358. Mori Seiichirô and AS, eds., *Manga dôjin no hanseiki: Azu 50-nenten 1966-2016* (Kitakyushu, Japan: Kitakyushu Manga Museum, 2016), 9.
359. *COM* no. 2 (May 1967), 204.
360. *COM* no. 3 (June 1967), 200, 204.
361. *COM* no. 3 (June 1967), 200-201.
362. Mori and AS, *Manga dôjin no hanseiki*, 2-4.
363. Ibid., 3-7.
364. Ibid., 6-7.
365. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 30's File* (Tokyo: Comic Market Jûnbikai, 2005), 26.
366. Ibid. 4, 7, 12-13.
367. *COM* no. 3 (June 1967), 203.
368. Edward Fowler, *The Rhetoric of Confession:* Shishôsetsu *in Early Twentieth-Century Japanese Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 131.
369. *COM* no. 2 (May 1967), 190.
370. Nihon Mangaka Kyôkai, ed., *Nihon Mangaka Kyôkai sôritsu 50-shûnen kinenshi* (Tokyo: Nihon Mangaka Kyôkai, 2015), iv-v.
371. *COM* no. 2 (May 1967), 204.
372. *COM* no. 4 (July 1967), 70-73.
373. Takemiya Keiko, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 2016), 27.
374. Murakami Motoka and Takemiya Keiko, "Murakami Motoka x Takemiya Keiko Talkshow" (lecture at Kawasaki City Museum, Kawasaki, Japan, 4 December 2016).

375. Hannah E. Dodd, "'Welcome to the Sorority': Second-person pronouns and the diverse readership of *Comic Yuri Hime*" (presentation at Center for Japanese Studies Graduate Student Conference, University of California, Berkeley, 8 April 2017).
376. Akiyama, *COM no seishun*, 134.
377. Yonezawa Yoshihiro, "The Happiness Called Bad Luck: The Glory and Demise of *Shônen King," (Shônen natsu man'ô* 18, July 1995): 120-23.
378. "Kore ga gekiga da!", ed. Ozaki Hotsuki, *COM* no. 2 (June 1967): 84-89.
379. Murakami and Takemiya, "Murakami Motoka x Takemiya Keiko Talkshow."
380. Ueno, "The First Age of *Garo*," qt. 573.
381. Akiyama, *COM no seishun*, 134-36.
382. Ikegami Ryôichi et al., *Garo COM Manga meisakusen* 2: 1968-1971 (Tokyo: Kodansha Comic Create, 2012), 2, 6.
383. What no one involved with *Big Comic* could have known at the time was that "Vin Packer" was in fact the lesbian writer Marijane Meaker (b. 1927). Her pseudonym was also misspelled as "Paker."
384. *Big Comic* no. 1 (April 1968), 312.
385. Interestingly enough, this statement pretty much directly contradicts Akiyama's anecdotes about Tezuka's private views, in which he strongly implied that only his own, increasingly old-fashioned story manga was "real" manga (Akiyama, *COM no seishun*, 134-37).
386. *Big Comic* no. 3 (June 1968), 121, 181.
387. *Big Comic* no. 2 (May 1968), 224.
388. Murakami Tomohiko, "Seinen manga toshite no shôjo manga," *Shisô no rigaku* 6 (1978): 54-59 (qt. 55).
389. Ibid., 54.
390. "Wooden Mortared Kingdom ni yosete," 17pp supplement to *Wooden-Mortared Kingdom: Garo 20th Memorial Issue*, 12, 10.
391. Prough, *Straight from the Heart*, 36. This influence from television is comparable to the influence of movies on manga in the 1920s and 1930s.
392. Ibid.
393. Prough, *Straight from the Heart*, 4.
394. *Nakayoshi*, September and October 1955.
395. *Nakayoshi*, January 1965.
396. Prough, *Straight from the Heart*, qtd. 64. Prough translates "furoku" as "supplements," which I find obfuscatory and potentially confusing; I have replaced "supplements" with "freebies" in my quotations of Prough's interviewees.
397. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 194-95.
398. Prough, *Straight from the Heart*, 71.
399. Ibid., 64-71.
400. Freebies and mail order goods in *Be.Love* and *June* in the late 1970s and early 1980s, for example, often featured Mickey Mouse and David Bowie.
401. Matt Thorn, "Introduction" in Hagio Moto, *The Heart of Thomas*, trans. Matt Thorn (Seattle: Fantagraphics, 2012), n.p.
402. "Shôjo manga no genjitsu," ed. Ozaki Hotsuki, *COM* no. 5 (August 1967), 70.

403. Ibid.
404. Ibid., 70-71, 73.
405. Ibid., 74.
406. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 83-87.
407. Ibid., 86-87, 95.
408. Shamoon, “Revolutionary Romance,” 6.
409. This is Masuyama Norie’s insight, as reported in Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 94-95.
410. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 119-20.
411. Yonezawa Yoshihiro, ed., *Speech Balloon Ballad: Manga wo meguru shôjotachi no bôken* (Tokyo: Kawade Shobô Shinsha, 1988), 123-24, 134, 142, 150-51.
412. Asahi Publishing, *Shûkan Shôwa no. 22 (Shôwa 49-nen): Berubara boom, Mona Lisa-ten, Onoda Hiroo-shôi kikoku* (Tokyo: Asahi Publishing, 2009), 9.
413. Yonezawa, “*Manga Shônen* kara Komiketto he,” 46-47.
414. Yonezawa, *Speech Balloon Ballad,* 127, 134-35.
415. Ibid., 47.
416. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 16.
417. Snarp, “Translation of a 2007 Interview with Keiko Takemiya,” available at https://snarp.dreamwidth.org/279314.html, accessed 9 April 2017.
418. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 172-84,, 37.
419. Ibid., 45-50.
420. Ibid., 54-55, 68-72.
421. Ibid., 70-72, 82, 100-01.
422. Ibid., 73-74.
423. Ibid., 75-78.
424. Gordon, *The Wages of Affluence*, 200.
425. Allison, *Permitted and Prohibited Desires*, xv.
426. Fujimoto Yukari, “*Beruysaiyu no bara* to sono jidai,” in *Shûkan Shôwa* no. 22: 4-7 (4-5).
427. Leonie R. Stickland, *Gender Gymnastics: Performing and Consuming Japan’s Takarazuka Revue* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2007), 21-30.
428. Fujimoto, “*Berusaiyu no bara* to sono jidai,” 5.
429. Deborah Shamoon,“Revolutionary Romance: *The Rose of Versailles* and the Transformation of Shojo Manga,” *Mechademia* 2 (2007): 3–17.
430. *Shûkan Shôwa* no. 22, 9.
431. Ibid., 40.
432. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 8-11.
433. Ibid., 96-98.
434. Ibid., 98-99.
435. Ibid., 123-25, 86.
436. Ibid., 139.
437. Prough, *Straight from the Heart*, 49.
438. Matt Thorn, “Introduction” to *The Heart of Thomas*, n.p.
439. Ibid.

440. *Shûkan Shôwa* no. 22, 9.
441. Stickland, *Gender Gymnastics*, 46.
442. Fujimoto, "*Berusaiyu no bara* to sono jidai," 7. The sum is equivalent to about ¥54 million in 2016 money; it was worth about $103,000 in dollars at the time, which is roughly $458,000 in 2016 dollars.
443. Kodansha, ed., *Nichiroku 20-seiki: 1974 - Berubara Boom!* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997), 3.
444. Ibid., 3-4.
445. Ibid., 4.
446. Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix*, 152.
447. Stickland, *Gender Gymnastics*, 46.
448. Kodansha, *Nichiroku 20-seiki: 1974*, 3.
449. Ibid., 4.
450. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 216.
451. Murakami and Takemiya, "Murakami x Takemiya Talkshow."
452. Ibid.
453. Yonezawa, "The Happiness Called Bad Luck," 121.
454. Jonathan Sterne, *MP3: The Meaning of a Format* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 7-8. Emphasis original.
455. Ibid., 11.
456. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 30's File*, 26.
457. Azuma Hiroki, *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*, trans. Jonathan E. Abel and Shion Kono (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 19 (emphasis original).
458. ¥10000 is about ¥11,500 in 2016 money; at the time, it was worth about $65, or $136.62 in 2016 dollars. T-shirts at Uniqlo now retail for ¥1500 or less.
459. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 30's File*, 26.
460. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 20's: Comic Market 20-shûnen kinen shiryôshû* (Tokyo: Comic Market Junbikai, 1996), 24-26.
461. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 30's File*, 27.
462. Ibid., 28.
463. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 20's*, 26.
464. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 30's File*, 29.
465. Ibid., 66.
466. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket Appeal Vol. 3* (26 October 1980), n.p.
467. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 30's File*, 29.
468. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comic Market-7 Report* (1978), 11-13.
469. This was in fact the exact schedule of the dôjin event I attended in the same venue 39 years later in December 2016.
470. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comic Market-7 Report*, 11-13.
471. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket Appeal Vol. 3*, n.p.
472. Ibid.
473. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comic Market Manual 1* (1982), 14-15. Official Comiket terminology now categorizes all three groups as some form of "participants," namely "circle participants," "general participants," and "staff participants," respectively. I have refrained from following Comiket's lead for the sake of brevity and clarity, and

also accuracy to the materials in question; these terms do not seem to have been standardized in this era of Comiket.
474. Fan-Yi Lam, "Comic Market: How the World's Biggest Amateur Comic Fair Shaped Japanese Dôjinshi Culture," *Mechademia* 5 (2009): 232-48 (236-37).
475. Ibid.
476. Comic Market Junbikai, *Comiket 30's File*, 66, 70.
477. Mori Seiichirô and AS, *Manga dôjin no hanseiki,* 11-12.
478. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 37-38, 172-73, 183-84.
479. Takemiya Keiko, *Kaze to ki no uta* (Tokyo: Hakusensha, 1995), 10 vols.
480. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 220-21; 224.
481. Ibid., 86.
482. Ôgi Fusami, "Nihonshiki shôjo manga kara josei manga he," in *Josei manga kenkyû: Ôbei, Nihon, Ajia wo tsunagu manga*, ed. Ôgi Fusami (Tokyo: Seikyusha, 2015), pp. 20-47 (qt. p 31).
483. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 183-84.
484. Takemiya, *Kaze to ki no uta* vol. 1, 8-11. Gilbert appears to be getting the other boy off, though from the art exactly how he's doing that is unclear as they are touching only at the hands and shoulders.
485. *Comic Jun* no. 1, October 1978.
486. The appropriate language to discuss sexuality in the past and the present is a somewhat complicated question: in the ancient world and in premodern Japan, sexuality was not bifurcated into the same binary of hetero- and homosexuality which continues to structure the way most contemporary societies, including those in North America, Europe, and northeast Asia, categorize sexuality. In other words, what we now consider to be queer history is not actually such, because the binary of "queer vs straight" did not exist at the time, although such histories are self-evidently queer for us. Nonetheless, *June* and its readers did organize past and present same-sex sexuality into these categories, and I have generally followed their lead in describing content in the magazine and in the larger BL sphere.
487. Sasaya Nanae, Nakajima Azusa, Lark, Masuyama Norie, and Takemiya Keiko, "Motto kimi no koto ga shiritai," *Comic Jun* no. 2 (December 1978): 52-56 (54); Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 40-41.
488. Sasaya et al., "Motto kimi no koto ga shiritai," 54.
489. Ibid.
490. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 102.
491. Shamoon, *Passionate Friendship*, 104. Tellingly, Shamoon's account of the shojo revolution neglects Takemiya's masterwork in all but lip service. By neglecting the possibility of queerness as an actual reality amongst shojo manga creators and audiences, she ultimately participates in the same sort of repression which the shojo revolution creators struggled against.
492. April S. Callis, "Homophobia, Heteronormativity, and Slash Fan Fiction," *Transformative Works and Cultures* 22 (September 2016), DOI: 10.3983/twc.2016.0708.
493. See Abigail De Kosnik, *Rogue Archives: Digital Cultural Memory and Media Fandom* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016) for an entire book-length study devoted to these

questions, and specifically the "Fan Data" chapter; I was one of the members of the Fan Data research team and a lead researchers on the oral history projects which Gail conducted for this book as well. The internet is dominated by English just as internet fan fiction is dominated by English-language fic, but the internet has also enabled the rise of parallel fanfiction cultures and significant fandom activities in other languages, such as Spanish.
494. De Kosnik, *Rogue Archives*, 146.
495. Henry Jenkins, "Aca-fandom and Beyond: John Edward Campbell, Lee Harrington, and Catherine Tossenberger (Part Two)." http://henryjenkins.org/2011/07/aca-fandom_and_beyond_harringt_1.html. Accessed 3 May 2017.
496. Henry Jenkins and Cynthia Jenkins, interview by Abigail De Kosnik, 14 August 2012, transcript. Available at University of Iowa.
497. De Kosnik, *Rogue Archives,* 142.
498. Ibid., 35.
499. James Welker, "A brief history of *shônen'ai, yaoi*, and Boys Love," in *Boys Love Manga and Beyond*, ed. Mark McLelland, Kazumi Nagaike, Katsuhiko Suganuma, and James Welker (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2015): 42-75 (57).
500. See De Kosnik, *Rogue Archives*, 147ff.
501. Jenkins and Jenkins, interview by Abigail De Kosnik.
502. De Kosnik, *Rogue Archives*, 151.
503. Ibid., 140.
504. Patrick W. Galbraith, "Communication among female fans of *yaoi*," in *Boys Love Manga and Beyond*, ed. Mark McLelland, Kazumi Nagaike, Katsuhiko Suganuma, and James Welker (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2015): 153-68 (157).
505. James Welker, "From Vicarious Voyages to Jumbo Jets: Shôjo Manga Artists and Fans Head Abroad in the 1970s and 1980s." Paper given at the Popular Culture Association, Seattle, WA, 25 March 2016.
506. It would be facile to deny the outsize role that English and the United States continue to play in global fandom as sites of production both fannish and professional, but it is important to note that fandom crosses national boundaries in ways that do not lend themselves to strict definitions. Many fans participate in media fandom as ESL speakers and writers; for them, as one fan put it on Twitter, English is "the language of porn" and the English-language fandom sphere draws fans worldwide. At the same time, the rise of the internet has enabled the production of significant minority-language fandom spheres in media fandom, with Spanish (itself a language with a significant global footprint) being particularly notable. Boys' love fandom also crosses national divides in East Asia, with some fans for whom Japanese is not their native language (such as yours truly) participating in Japanese-language fandom both online and in Japan, and others participating in their native languages, principally Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan and mainland China and English in the Philippines.
507. Azuma Hiroki, *Otaku*, 27-28.
508. Takemiya, *Shônen no na wa Gilbert*, 164-65.
509. *Shûkan Shôwa* no. 22, 9.
510. *Be Love* Vol. 3 no. 19 (December 1982), 240; ibid., Vol. 3 no. 20 (December 1982), 240.

511. *Be in Love* Vol. 1 no. 1 (November 1980), 238. Many thanks to Caitlin Casiello for helping me clarify this point over Twitter.
512. Ibid., 238-39; *Be in Love* Vol. 1 no. 2 (December 1980), 238-39.
513. *Be in Love* Vol. 2 no. 1 (January 1981), 201.
514. Murakami and Takemiya, "Murakami Motoka x Takemiya Keiko Talkshow."
515. Yonezawa Yoshihiro, "Uchû wo boku no te no hira ni: Uchû SF manga no nagare," in *Shônen natsu man'ô* no. 12 (July 1992): 38-41 (39).
516. Takayuki Tatsumi, "Mori Minoru's Day of Resurrection," trans. Christopher Bolton, *Mechademia* 1 (2006), 87-90.
517. Patrick W. Galbraith, "Real(ity) Problem: Otaku and the Politics of Imagination," lecture at Sophia University, Tokyo, 22 July 2015.
518. Murakami, "Seinen manga toshite no shôjo manga," 57-59.
519. Yonezawa Yoshihiro, "Comiket's Progress Towards its 20th Occurrence, 1975-1982," in *Comic Market Manual 1*, 15.
520. Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 112; Lam, "Comic Market," 236.
521. Kimi Rito, *Hentai Manga! A Brief History of Pornographic Comics in Japan*, bilingual edition (Tokyo: Fractal Jigen, 2015), 4-5. My thanks to Kimi Rito for providing me a copy of this dôjinshi at Comiket 90, and to Patrick W. Galbraith for introducing us at the event.
522. The use of "shinjinrui" was never without a certain sense of irony or hyperbole, although it is always difficult to tell with the Gainax crowd. The first use of the term in professional print occurred in 1984.
523. Kimi, *Hentai Manga!*, 7. The English translation is by Patrick W. Galbraith.
524. Ibid., 8.
525. Ibid., 8-10, 4.
526. Renato Rivera Rusca, "1985: The End of the Anime Boom," presentation at Mechademia Tokyo, Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo, 18 March 2016.
527. *Otaku no Video*, directed by Mori Takeshi (1991; Wilmington, NC: AnimEigo, 2001), DVD.
528. Rivera Rusca, "1985."
529. Ibid. A video version of this talk, delivered at AX in Los Angeles in 2015, is available on YouTube.
530. Ibid.
531. Ian Condry, "Love Revolution: Anime, Masculinity, and the Future," in *Recreating Japanese Men*, ed. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011): 262–83 (263).
532. Takeda, *The Notenki Memoirs*, 34-35.
533. Ibid., 43-47.
534. Ibid., 87-89.
535. Lamarre, *The Anime Machine,* 129-34.
536. Okada Toshio, *Otakugaku nyûmon* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 2008), 10.
537. Ibid., 144-45.
538. Takeda, *The Notenki Memoirs,* 124-27.

539. Ibid.
540. Rivera Rusca, “1985.”
541. Ibid.
542. Publishing Yearbook Editorial Department, *Nenkan shuppan* (Tokyo: Shuppan News, 2001), 83.
543. Shuppan Nenkan Henshûbu, ed., *Zenshû sôgô mokuroku: 1990* (Tokyo: Shuppan News-sha, 1990), 123.
544. Ibid., 107.
545. Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix*, 141 (emphasis original).
546. Shuppan Nenkan Henshûbu, ed., *Zenshû sôgô mokuroku: 1990* (Tokyo: Shuppan News-sha, 1990), 81.
547. Steinberg, *Anime's Media Mix,* 160-61.
548. Nakamura Kimihiko, preface to *Comitia 30th Chronicle 1*, ed. Comitia Jikkôiinkai (Tokyo: Comitia Jikkôiinkai, 2014), n.p.
549. Nakamura Kimihiko, “Comitia History,” in *Comitia 30th Chronicle 1*: 624-31 (625-27).
550. Nakamura Kimihiko, “Comitia History,” *Comitia 30th Chronicle 2*, ed. Comitia Jikkôiinkai (Tokyo: Comitia Jikkôiinkai, 2014): 642-48 (642).
551. Ibid., “Comitia History” in *Comitia 30th Chronicle 1,* 629-31.
552. Nakamura Kimihiko, preface to *Comitia 30th Chronicle 2*, n.p.
553. Shuppan Nenkan Henshûbu, ed., *Zenshû sôgô mokuroku: 1990* (Tokyo: Shuppan News-sha, 1990), 65.
554. Shuppan News-sha, ed., *Shuppan databook: 1945-nen - 1991-nen* (Tokyo: Shuppan News-sha, 1992), 107.
555. Kinsella, *Adult Manga*, 162-63. Notably, Kinsella takes the manga editors' word for it, rather than seeking to make an informed judgment herself.
556. Ibid., 202.
557. Miyazaki was found guilty; he received the death penalty in 1997 and was hanged in June 2008 in what many saw as an official reaction to the Akihabara massacre just a week earlier. Katô Tomohiro (b. 1983), the perpetrator of those murders—a very different kind of otaku crime—was sentenced to death in 2011.
558. Itô Gô, *Manga wa kawaru: “Mangagatari” kara “mangaron” he* (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2007).
559. Nele Noppe, “The cultural economy of fanwork in Japan: Dōjinshi exchange as a hybrid economy of open source cultural goods,” (PhD diss, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2014). Available online at http://www.nelenoppe.net/dojinshi/PhD_thesis:_The_cultural_economy_of_fanwork_in_Japan:_d%C5%8Djinshi_exchange_as_a_hybrid_economy_of_open_source_cultural_goods. Accessed 3 May 2017.
560. To take one example, the Fan Data project under Abigail De Kosnik found that the 1.09 million words in the *Harry Potter* series of books were dwarfed by the 6.16 *billion* words of Harry Potter fanfiction available on the internet's two leading fanfiction archives in August 2013—5650% larger, in other words. Publishers could never hope to

meet this scale of demand with content produced through their own structures. See De Kosnik, *Rogue Archives*, Conclusion.
561. Yonezawa, "*Manga Shônen* kara Comiket he…," 46-47.
562. See Ramzi Fawaz, *The New Mutants: Superheroes and the Radical Imagination of American Comics* (New York: New York University Press, 2016).
563. See Alex Leavitt and Andrea Horbinski, "Even a Monkey Can Understand Fan Activism: Political Speech, Artistic Expression, and a Public for the Japanese Dôjin Community," *Transformative Works and Cultures* 10 (June 2012), DOI: 10.3983/twc.2012.0321.

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